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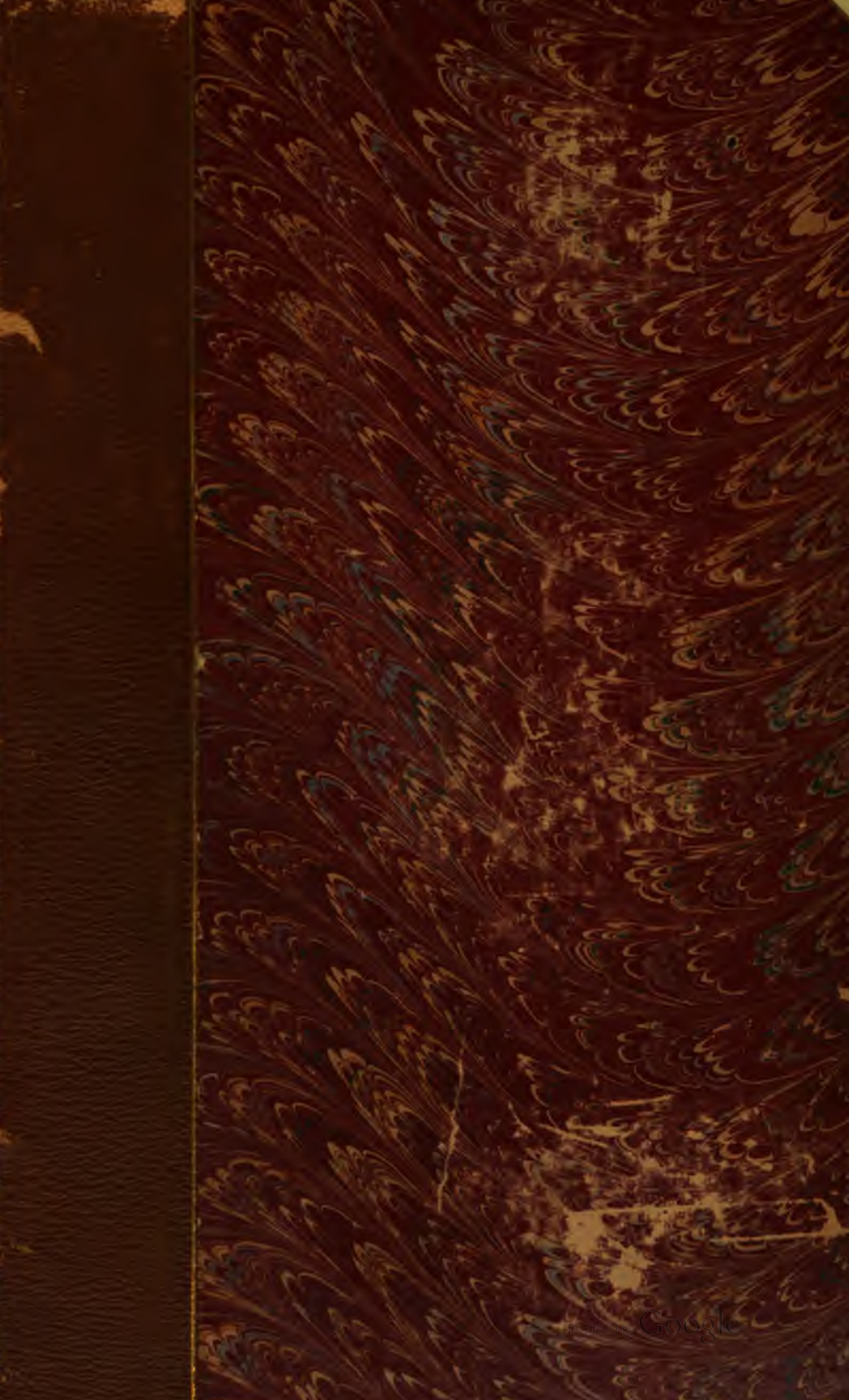
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ERRATA.

In the article, "Henry Clay, as an Orator," page 105, beginning of second paragraph, instead of "*it is a most valuable possession,*" read "*they are.*"

It is said, page 502, that Governor Saltonstall, at the time of his death, "had been Governor of Connecticut nearly seventeen years, a longer time than any other man has ever held the same office." This is an error. Governor Talcott, the immediate successor of Governor Saltonstall, was elected governor by the legislature in October, 1724, and was continued in office by annual popular election till his death in December, 1741; a little more than seventeen years.

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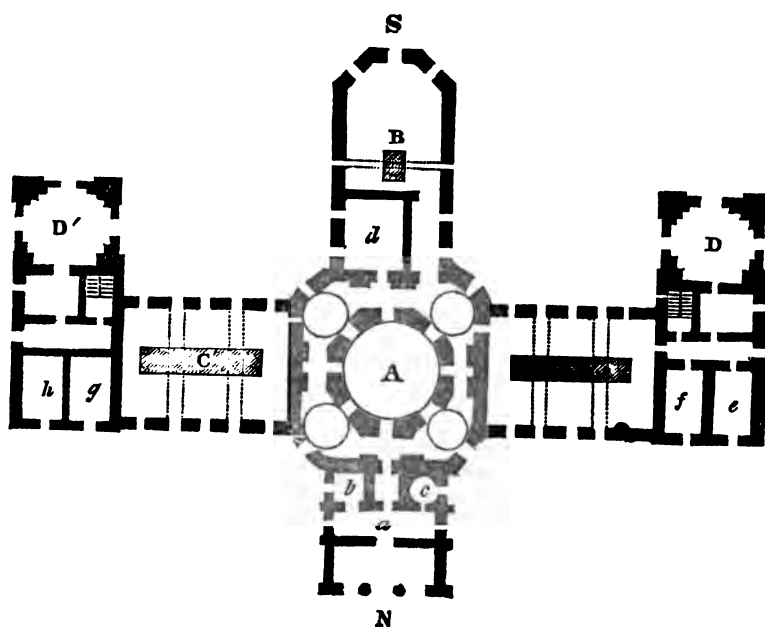


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SCALE OF FEET.



THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. V.

JANUARY, 1844.

MODERN ASTRONOMY.

JOSEPH PIAZZI was born at Ponte, at the foot of the Alps, in 1746. At eighteen years of age, he entered the order of the Theatines, a class of Catholic priests, at Milan, and studied at Milan, Turin, and Rome. In 1770, being twenty four years of age, he was appointed professor of mathematics at the new university in Malta, on the abolition of which he returned to Italy, and in 1780 became professor of the higher mathematics at Palermo. He inspired the viceroy of Sicily with the desire to improve an old tower in the palace of the kings of Sicily at Palermo, by building upon it an observatory. For his own improvement, he felt the necessity of visiting the large observatories, and becoming acquainted with the most celebrated astronomers. He arrived at Paris in January, 1787, being now forty one years of age, to pursue the study of astronomy under the celebrated Lalande. Lalande had now been for twenty five years astronomical professor at the Collège de France, where he knew how to give to his lectures a peculiar attraction. His lecture room was a kind of nursery, from which a multitude of his scholars were transplanted to domestic and foreign observatories. Here Piazza not

merely received the benefit of the instructions of Lalande, but formed a friendship which lasted through life. In 1788 he visited England, where he ordered of Ramsden the best instruments for his observatory. Among them was a circle of five feet diameter, an instrument both new and ingenious in its construction, which Lalande characterized as forming an epoch in astronomy. Piazza informs us that Ramsden twice undertook the construction of this instrument, and as often abandoned it; but at length in January, 1788, he entered upon the work in earnest, and finished it in August, 1789. It is an altitude and azimuth instrument, the azimuth circle being of three feet diameter, the vertical circle, as already stated, of five feet. The latter is divided to six minutes, and has two microscopes, each reading to a single second of arc.

In 1789, Piazza returned to Sicily with his instruments. His observatory was completed, and he entered upon his new duties with all the enthusiasm of youth. His first observations were published in 1792. He soon after began his catalogue of stars, and dedicated the first, containing six thousand seven hundred and eighty four stars, to the Institute

at Paris. On the evening of January 1, 1801, he was occupied as usual with his catalogue, and while observing the eighty seventh star of Lacaille's Zodiacal Catalogue, between Aries and Taurus, he saw close by it a star of the eighth magnitude, which he also observed.* "At that time," he informs us, "no doubt arose in regard to the nature of it; but on the evening of the 2d, having repeated my observations, and finding that they did not correspond either in time or zenith distance, I suspected that some error had been committed in my observations on the preceding day. I then began to entertain some idea that it might perhaps be a new star. On the evening of the 3d, my conjecture was confirmed, as I assured myself that it was not a fixed star. However, before I would speak of it, I waited till the evening of the 4th, on which I had the satisfaction of finding that it had moved according to the same laws which it had observed on the preceding days. From the 4th to the 10th, the sky was overcast. On the evening of the 10th, it appeared to me in the telescope accompanied by four others nearly of the same magnitude. I observed them all as well as possible, and comparing these observations with others which I made on the evening of the 11th, I easily distinguished the new one from the rest by its motion. I was however exceedingly anxious to see it when not on the meridian, and therefore employed myself in examining it with great care; but notwithstanding all my exertions and those of my assistants, both possessing excellent sight and accustomed to viewing the heavens with a tele-

scope, it was not possible to distinguish it from many others by which it was surrounded. I was therefore obliged to be contented with seeing it on the meridian for the short space of about two minutes, that is, during the time it employed to pass over the field of the telescope; the other observations made at the same time not permitting me to remove the instrument from its position. To render these observations however more certain, while it was observed by myself with a circle, it was observed at the same time by Carioti with a transit instrument. Thus the heavens being constantly nebulous, and often obscured by thick clouds, our observations were frequently interrupted till the 11th of February; after which the star having approached very near to the sun, it was no longer possible to see it at the time of its passing the meridian. I resolved then to search for it beyond the meridian by means of azimuths; but having fallen ill on the 13th of February, I was not able to make any further observations."

Piazzi wished to enjoy the pleasure of calculating the orbit of his comet, and still secure the honor of first discovery. On the 24th of January, he therefore sent to M. Oriani at Milan, and Bode at Berlin, two observations, viz. those of Jan. 1st and 23d, a number insufficient for determining an orbit. He added merely that the comet was stationary on the 10th. Oriani, finding that it had no nebulosity like comets, and that it had been stationary and retrograde within a short period like planets, calculated its orbit for a circle. Baron de Zach at Gotha did the same, and on the 24th of May sent his elements to Lalande. He thought at first it might be the comet of 1770, or the long expected planet between Mars and Jupiter.

Lalande, having heard of the discovery of the comet at Palermo, wrote to Piazzi for a copy of his

* Perhaps some of our readers may not be aware of the distinction between *seeing* and *observing*. The former is a simple exercise of our organs of vision; the latter implies something more. To observe a star, is to locate it in the heavens by accurate measurement.

observations. **Piazzi** replied, "I had resolved to communicate my observations to no one before I had deduced the elements of the comet; but it is you who claim them; I can no longer object; here they are." (*C'est vous qui me les demandez, je n'ai plus d'objection: vous les trouverez ci-jointes.*) **Burckhardt** at Paris, immediately commenced the computation of an orbit. He soon found that a parabola would not satisfy the observations, and he was the first to obtain an elliptic orbit. **Piazzi** meanwhile was proceeding with his computations. He made trial of a parabolic orbit, but without success. He however obtained a circular orbit which succeeded much better than the parabola. For a long time **Piazzi** persisted in the opinion that he had discovered a comet, but finding that its orbit was so nearly circular, he was satisfied to call it a planet, and named it *Ceres*, from the tutelary goddess of Sicily.

The planet was no where seen but at Palermo before conjunction; yet astronomers throughout Europe, were prepared to search for it as soon as possible after conjunction, and **Baron de Zach** published a chart showing the track which the planet should pursue according to the elliptic elements. Still for nearly a year the new planet was not found; and about the close of 1801, **Delambre** thus addressed the Institute of France. "The star discovered about a year ago by **Piazzi**, has hitherto escaped the researches of all astronomers. Resembling in respect of light a star of the seventh or eighth magnitude, it exhibited none of those appearances that serve to distinguish comets. It need excite no surprise that nine months after its disappearance to **Piazzi**, all the astronomers of Europe should have failed in their researches, since there is an uncertainty of some degrees respecting the exact place where it is necessary to search for it, as the elements of its orbit, calculated on so small an

arc, can not after so long an interval give the apparent places with sufficient accuracy."

Understand the nature of the difficulty. The planet had been observed for a period of forty days, yet during this time it had described an arc of only four degrees in the heavens. Now the accuracy of a calculated orbit depends more upon the arc described, than upon the interval between the observations; yet from this small base line of four degrees, was to be computed the planet's place after the interval of a year. It might now be in nearly the opposite quarter of the heavens. To this uncertainty of the orbit, was to be added the faintness of the star. It could only be seen with a good telescope, and could not be distinguished in appearance from a fixed star of the same brightness. An observer might thus sweep over the planet a hundred times, see it distinctly, and not be aware what he had seen. It was only by observing it on successive evenings, and detecting a change of place, that it could be identified. This required a minute and oft-repeated examination of every faint star in the heavens within the region where the planet might possibly be found. Thus the planet was lost, and its rediscovery promised to demand a labor equal to that of original discovery. One might set about the discovery of a new planet with about as good encouragement as he could prosecute the search for the lost *Ceres*.

Thus every mathematician of Europe, had failed to obtain a satisfactory orbit. Shame on the astronomers of the nineteenth century! that so small a body should defy your combined powers! But is it not possible that we have been imposed upon? No one out of Palermo, ever saw this new star? **Bode** and **Lalande**, **Oriani** and **De Zach**, sought for it in vain. Who knows but **Piazzi** might have manufactured his observations from his own fertile

brain? At all events, science owes him no great obligations for his discovery. But there still remained a newly fledged mathematician, young Gauss, now professor in the University of Göttingen.

Charles Frederic Gauss was born in Brunswick, April 23, 1777.—When at school he displayed striking indications of talent, and in his disputation for the Doctor's degree, he showed his acuteness and ingenuity, in the criticisms which he made upon the former attempts to demonstrate the first principles of algebra, at the same time proposing a new and rigorous demonstration of his own. But in 1801, he gave a more brilliant display of his powers in his *Disquisitiones Arithmeticae*; a work full of the most refined mathematical speculation. This was the strippling, now twenty four years of age, who had the hardihood to attempt a problem in which all others had failed. Let us hear his own account of this discovery. "In the month of September, 1801, while engaged upon a labor of a very different kind, some ideas occurred to me which promised to lead to a solution of this great problem, the accurate determination of the orbit of a heavenly body from a small number of observations, independent of hypothesis. Not unfrequently in like cases, for fear of having our attention diverted from the main object of pursuit, we allow trains of thought to be forgotten, which if followed up, might lead to important results. Perhaps my own reflections would have shared the same fate, if they had not occurred at a time singularly fortunate for their preservation. For about this time the report was circulated of the discovery of a new planet, and soon the observations of Piazzi were published. Never before in the annals of astronomy, has there occurred a better occasion, scarcely can we conceive a better one, for showing the importance of this problem, than that which now presented itself,

when the last hope of rediscovering this planetary atom, after the lapse of a year among the countless stars of the firmament, depended upon an accurate determination of the orbit founded upon those few observations. Could I have ever found a more fortunate moment for testing the practical value of my ideas, than by applying them to the determination of the orbit of Ceres, which during the forty days of observation had described an arc of only four degrees, and now after the lapse of a year, was to be sought in a remote part of the heavens? The application of my new method was first made in October, 1801, and on the first clear succeeding night, the fugitive was seen in the very place indicated by my computations."

The planet was rediscovered by De Zach, on the 7th of December, 1801, about 120° from the place where it was last seen by Piazzi. Jan. 5, it was seen by Dr. Olbers of Bremen; Jan. 26, it was seen by Mechain at Paris; and Feb. 3, it was observed by the Astronomer Royal at Greenwich. Since that time it has been constantly followed at all the large observatories, and its orbit is as well known as that of any of the planets observed by the astronomers of Chaldea.

Let us dwell for a moment upon these facts, and see if they contain any thing very extraordinary. Might not the whole scene have been laid at Alexandria or Babylon? The discovery of Ceres, was a matter of *chance*. Lucky Piazzi! Might not the same accident have happened to Hipparchus, or the astronomers of the Celestial Empire? Is there any thing in all this history which indicates the boasted superiority of the nineteenth century? And was the discovery of Gauss of any higher order than that of Columbus, who succeeded in making an egg stand upright on its smaller end?

The interest attaching to the discovery of this little body is rather

increased than diminished by its diminutive size. For ages it had pursued its silent pathway in the heavens, when no human eye was sufficiently acute to discover its existence. From the summit of the temple of Belus, the astronomers of Chaldaea almost realized the poetic conception of touching the stars with their heads, yet no planet Ceres ever gladdened their eyes. Hipparchus first counted the stars, yet he never dreamed of the existence of this planetary atom. Still the Greeks and Chaldeans had eyes as acute as our own. Not one in a thousand of the people of these United States ever saw Mercury, and still fewer have ever had any evidence from their own observations of its being a planet. Yet Mercury was well known to the ancients, and still retains the name given to it by the Greeks. Through one of the fairest skies of nature, the Greek with eagle eye, sounded the depths of the firmament. In those primitive times, no short-sighted mortal strove to remedy the defects of nature with concave eye-glass. Nature had cast their physical forms in her most perfect mould. Compared with civilized man in modern times, the Greeks were superior in strength, in fair proportions, in acuteness of sense. Yet Hipparchus only counted 1022 stars, and even that great body Uranus had shone upon all the ancient world of astronomers, unnoticed and unknown. For ages had Ceres strown the plains of Sicily with her richest gifts, yet hitherto no mortal eye had presumed to gaze on the countenance of the goddess. The discovery of Ceres required the previous discovery of the telescope. This discovery dates back only two hundred years, and a telescope of sufficient perfection to disclose minute objects is of still more recent origin. The discovery of Ceres is then a proof of the advanced state of the age in which it was made, as it required the use of a superior telescope.

This discovery not merely required good optical power in the telescope, but several auxiliaries for accurate measurement. Simply to see the planet, requires mere optical power in the instrument. Ceres *might* then have been discovered with a bare telescope tube, without graduated circle, micrometer or vernier. From an observation of a single evening, however, it could not be distinguished from myriads of stars of equal size. It is shown to be a planet only by its motion, and to detect this requires a second day's observation. Our unmounted tube *might* have disclosed the planet on a second evening, and a quick eye, aided by diagrams, might have detected motion without measurement. The same thing might have been done on a third, a fourth, a fifth evening, and so on as long as the body was in sight. We say this *might* have been done. It is not physically impossible—but almost infinitely improbable, that such a series of observations should be made with an unmounted tube, however excellent the object-glass, for reasons some of which are sufficiently obvious, and others can be duly appreciated only by the practical astronomer. But even this does not secure to us a permanent member of the planetary system. Ceres was visible only forty days, when it disappeared in consequence of its proximity to the sun. It became visible again only after the lapse of many months, when it was to be sought for in a distant part of the heavens. Without accurate observations, and a computation of the orbit, the planet is irrecoverably lost. By accurate observations, we mean something of which the bulk, even of educated men, entertain no adequate conception. The ancients had acute senses, but proved clumsy observers. The astronomer royal of Alexandria was mistaken fifteen minutes in the latitude of his observatory, and Pytheas concluded that Marseilles and Constantinople

were on the same parallel of latitude. The difference we now know to be two degrees and a quarter. The errors in the famous catalogue of Hipparchus frequently amount to half a degree. Who has not heard of the astronomers of Chaldea? Yet the times of their observations are given in hours without a fraction, or if with a fraction, it is never less than a quarter. This rudeness in their observations may be ascribed mainly to the want of suitable instruments. Without the great circle of Ramsden, we might be still ignorant of the existence of Ceres. With this assistance, Piazzi produced a series of observations of a precision at his time almost unexampled. The orbit of Gauss represented all the observations of Piazzi within five seconds; and several of these Piazzi had noted as less certain from the unfavorable circumstances of observation. But how great a quantity is five seconds of arc? Astronomers are now accustomed to employ in their measurements the finest lines which can be obtained, stretched in the common focus of the object-glass and eye-glass of the telescope. Metallic wires having a diameter of about the thousandth part of an inch were formerly employed; but astronomers now patronize a nicer artist, the spider. The spider lines in the focus of the telescope subtend an angle of about one second. Thus the greatest error in the observations of Piazzi did not exceed the breadth of a few spider lines. These observations then indicate a very advanced state of practical astronomy. They could not have been made a century ago.

But the most difficult work remains. It is to compute the orbit from the observations. It is impossible to give any distinct idea of this process to one not versed in the higher mathematics. The Chaldeans could predict an eclipse. But how? Not by an accurate compu-

tation of the orbit of the moon, but from having observed that eclipses recur in nearly the same order after the lapse of about eighteen years. This method, though it might serve as a general guide, could give no information of the precise time or magnitude of the eclipse. But no such method was applicable to Ceres. It had been observed through barely the hundredth part of a single circuit. Indeed, what task can appear more hopeless to the uninitiated, than from a few observations of a new body, to compute its distance, its orbit, its place after a long interval? You simply see the object in a certain *direction*; but who is to measure its distance in that direction? Is the path in space a straight line, a broken line, or a curve? The planet was observed to move westward a little, then to halt and return to the east. It seems as if actuated by will. When tired of traveling upon one road, it starts upon another. Who can tell how soon it may tire again; and towards what new goal its spontaneity may direct it? A partial solution of this problem was revealed to Newton, and he was the first to compute the orbit of a comet. His method was gradually improved until the discovery of Ceres, and Burekhardt computed an elliptic orbit from the best methods then known. This orbit satisfied the observations pretty well, but after computing an ephemeris from these elements, the planet was sought for in vain. The orbit was deficient in precision. The planet was not found in the place assigned it. The circumstances of the case were more disadvantageous than had ever before occurred. The orbit might represent the planet's places tolerably well through an arc of four degrees; but extended to an arc of one hundred and twenty degrees, the error is vastly multiplied. The science of astronomy was not sufficiently advanced for the case now

presented. There was wanting a method for deducing with facility and the greatest accuracy, the orbit of a new celestial visitor from a small number of observations. To this honor did Gauss aspire. At almost the same breath, his method was invented and applied; and the united voice of Europe accorded to him the credit of complete success. The discovery therefore of the planet Ceres, and the determination of its orbit, required a rare combination of circumstances; perfection of instruments—perfection in the modes of observation—perfection in the mathematical theory. It deserves therefore to be quoted as one of the proudest triumphs of science.

Another subject in which some definite progress has recently been made, is the *distance of the fixed stars*. The ancients placed the stars at a great but unknown distance, and it is certain that they had no instruments capable of measuring it. But soon after the invention of the telescope, the idea seems to have been entertained that now we might hope to learn the distance of the stars. We compute the distance of an inaccessible object, after measuring its bearing from two points sufficiently remote from each other. We compute the distance of the sun or a planet from the earth, by observing its direction from the extremities of the earth's diameter. The same method would be applicable to the stars if they were not too remote. Experience however has shown that this base line is too short. No instruments ever yet invented by man are delicate enough to indicate that one point of the earth is nearer to, or further from the stars than another. Astronomers have therefore endeavored to find a parallax in some of the fixed stars, by taking the diameter of the earth's orbit as a base line. Viewed from the extremities of a base line of

a hundred and ninety millions of miles in length, it might be supposed there would be a great difference in the direction of some of the stars. More than a century ago, Hooke attempted to deduce an annual parallax from the observations of Flamsteed. The variation amounted to $47''$ from one solstice to another. The observations were good, but the inequality proceeded principally from aberration, which was then unknown, and could not be explained by parallax. Horrebow found the sum of the parallaxes of Sirius and Lyra $65''$; between Sirius and the Head of the Dragon $124''$, from which he calculated their distances. In 1717, Cassini found a parallax of $6''$ for Sirius; but Halley showed that this inequality might be ascribed to refraction.

At the commencement of the present century, astronomers had generally settled down in the opinion of Copernicus, that the parallax of the fixed stars was insensible. The inequalities which had been noticed in their places had been mostly explained by the discovery of aberration and nutation, and the small differences which still remained were so mixed up with the unavoidable errors of observation, that no satisfactory result could be deduced from them. If a parallax was ever to be discovered, it was clear that it must be exceedingly small in amount. This discussion was again revived by Dr. Brinkley, of Dublin.

John Brinkley was born in England, and was educated at Cambridge University, where he graduated in 1788, with the rank of senior wrangler. Being appointed to a fellowship in Caius College, he devoted himself with unabated zeal to the pursuits of science. Upon leaving Cambridge, he went to the University of Dublin to fill the chair of astronomy, left vacant by the death of Usher. An observatory had recently been erected, and

partially furnished with instruments. Among the instruments ordered, was an entire circle of ten feet diameter, movable on a vertical axis, for measuring altitudes. This circle was begun, as ordered, with a diameter of ten feet; but was reduced by Ramsden to nine feet, and afterwards to eight feet, of which last size it was finished. Only one other astronomical circle so large as this has ever been made, namely, that which was finished for Cambridge a few years ago, but which is not capable of moving in azimuth like the Dublin circle. This is the instrument with which Dr. Brinkley's observations were chiefly made. In the year 1813, he announced the following parallaxes as the result of twelve months' observations: α Aquilæ $3''.0$; Arcturus $1''.1$; α Cygni $0''.9$; α Lyræ $0''.7$. The next year he published new determinations, differing not greatly from the preceding. Some astronomers in reply to these observations, objected that a change of temperature might occasion a change of figure in the circle. To this Dr. Brinkley replied, that other stars in the vicinity gave no indications of parallax. Why should a change of figure in the circle affect only the observations of the four preceding stars? The observations made at Greenwich by Pond, with Troughton's mural circle, not having confirmed Dr. Brinkley's results, he undertook, in 1818, a careful examination of all the errors to which mural circles are liable. His memoir, contained in the Philosophical Transactions of 1818, furnishes new determinations of parallax, founded upon all the observations made at Dublin, from 1808 to 1818. The result is, α Aquilæ $2''.5$; α Cygni $0''.8$; α Lyræ $0''.7$; γ Draconis $0''.0$. Still, the astronomer royal at Greenwich determined to have no parallax; whereupon Dr. Brinkley, in 1821, renews the discussion of the prob-

lem, and concludes with the following numerical results: α Aquilæ $1''.6$; α Lyræ $1''.2$; Arcturus $0''.6$; α Cygni $0''.3$. It is worthy of remark, that these results differ materially from those before announced. The next year appeared another memoir announcing new parallaxes. The star which throughout furnished the greatest parallax, is α Aquilæ, and in this last memoir, finding that his observations of this star gave too great a value for the constant of aberration, Brinkley admits that the parallax deduced from them must be considered doubtful. From a comparison of the observations at Greenwich and Dublin, Pond derived the conclusion, that movable circles are less to be depended upon than mural. Brinkley maintains the contrary, and in 1824, gives his final results for α Lyræ. In 1827, Dr. Brinkley received the appointment of Bishop of Cloyne, a chair formerly occupied by the celebrated Berkeley. Henceforth, the man whose whole preceding life had been devoted to the contemplation of the firmament, and to the solution of the sublimest questions of science, divorced himself entirely from these enchanting occupations, to give himself exclusively to the duties of his new charge. To escape all temptation, the ex-astronomer royal of Ireland, the ex-Andrews professor of astronomy in the University, did not so much as retain in his house the smallest telescope. The disclosure of a fact so incredible, we owe to the indiscretion of a friend, who happening with the Bishop one day of an eclipse, was disappointed at not being able to observe it otherwise than with his naked eyes, for want of instruments. So soon may frail man leave his first love.

Thus stood the question of parallax only ten years ago. After the controversy between Brinkley and Pond, astronomers had mostly abandoned the idea of detecting a

parallax in any star amounting to a single second, and this was a quantity so difficult to answer for, that the discovery of any parallax seemed almost hopeless. A satisfactory solution of this much vexed problem was reserved for Bessel.

Frederic William Bessel, was born at Minden, in Germany, July 22, 1784, and at the age of fifteen years entered one of the first commercial houses of Bremen. The maritime intercourse of that place with foreign countries, excited in him an inclination for geography, and afterwards for the science of navigation, and induced him to attempt the acquisition of mathematical knowledge from books. He soon passed to astronomy, and as his days were otherwise occupied, he devoted his nights to these labors. An astronomical work which he wrote, procured him the acquaintance of Dr. Olbers, (a resident of Bremen,) who from that time became his adviser. In 1806, he joined Schröter at Lilienthal, with recommendations from Olbers, and was employed for four years as inspector of the instruments belonging to the University of Göttingen. From thence he was invited to Königsberg, where he built in 1812-13, the observatory, which is a monument of the scientific enterprise of the north of Germany, since it was erected when Prussia was almost exhausted by war, and Königsberg was situated on the great theater of Napoleon's operations against Russia. This observatory was, till 1819, provided with English instruments, when the ministry supplied it with the means of procuring new ones, made by Reichenbach, of the best workmanship. No one knows better how to use his instruments than Bessel, being considered by many the best astronomical observer of the present age. This is the man who has undertaken to settle the long-mooted question of parallax of the stars.

All the stars have a general motion of translation, which tends ultimately to mix the individuals of the different constellations, but none that we know of moves so rapidly as 61 Cygni. This is a star of the fifth or sixth magnitude, barely visible to the naked eye. Seen through a telescope, this star is found to consist of two, of nearly equal brightness, distant from each other about 16" of arc, and this distance has remained nearly the same for at least fifty years, but is slowly increasing. Meanwhile they have shifted their local situation in the heavens in this interval of time, through 263", the annual proper motion of each star being 5".1, by which quantity this system is every year carried bodily along in some unknown path. On account of its great proper motion, this star has long been reckoned to be nearer to us than any other, for an object seems to move more quickly the nearer we are to it. This circumstance induced MM. Arago and Mathieu to endeavor to determine its annual parallax. They found that this could not exceed a half second, but how much less, remained undetermined. This discovery was reserved for Bessel. To understand the principle of the method employed, imagine two stars situated nearly on the same line passing through the earth, but at very unequal distances from us; it is obvious, that any motion of the earth must produce different displacements of the two stars on the surface of the heavens. If we measure carefully with micrometers adapted to the purpose, their apparent situation with respect to each other at different times of the year, we should find a periodical change both in the direction of the line joining them, and in the distance between them. Thus it is not the absolute parallax of either, but the difference of their parallaxes, which is measured by this method. This

mode of observation has the advantage, that the two stars will be equally affected by refraction, errors of graduation, aberration, etc. Let us hear the account of this discovery in Bessel's own words. "In September, 1834, I began the comparison of the star 61 Cygni with my great Fraunhofer heliometer,* by measuring its distance from two small stars of the eleventh magnitude, of which one precedes and the other is to the northward. But I soon perceived that the atmosphere was seldom sufficiently favorable to allow of the observation of stars so small, and for two or three years afterwards, my time was constantly occupied with other enquiries. In 1837, I selected among the small stars which surround that double star, two between the ninth and tenth magnitudes; of which, one (*a*) is nearly perpendicular to the line of direction of the double star; the other (*b*) nearly in the same direction. I have measured with the heliometer the distance of these stars from the point midway between the two stars of 61 Cygni. The distance of (*a*) is 461'', of (*b*) 706''. I have found the difference of annual parallax of 61 and (*a*) 0''.3584; of 61 and (*b*) 0''.3289. The mean error of the parallax deduced is not $\frac{1}{15}$ of its entire value. Assuming the parallax of (*a*) and (*b*) to be equal, its most probable value is 0''.3483; whence the distance of the star 61 Cygni is five hundred and ninety two thousand and two hundred times the mean distance of the earth from the sun. Light, which requires about eight

minutes to come from the sun to the earth, would employ nine and a quarter years in traversing this enormous distance. The orbit described by these stars about each other, will therefore be about two and a half times that of Uranus, and the time of their revolution about each other is more than five hundred and forty years. Hence it is computed, that the sum of the masses of both stars is less than half the sun's mass."

In 1841, the Royal Astronomical Society of London, presented their gold medal to M. Bessel for this discovery. From the address of the President, Sir John Herschel, we extract the following remarks. "It is an immense accession to our knowledge, to have measured the distance of a single fixed star. To accomplish this, has been the object of every astronomer's highest aspirations ever since sidereal astronomy acquired any degree of precision. But hitherto it has been an object, which, like the fleeting fires that dazzle and mislead the benighted wanderer, has seemed to suffer the semblance of an approach only to elude his seizure when apparently just within his grasp, continually hovering just beyond the limits of his distinct apprehension, and so leading him on in hopeless, endless, and exhausting pursuit. Gentlemen, I congratulate you and myself, that we have lived to see the great and hitherto impassable barrier to our excursions into the sidereal universe—that barrier against which we have chafed so long and so vainly, (*astuantes angusto limine mundi*,) thus fairly overleaped. It is the greatest and most glorious triumph which practical astronomy has ever witnessed. Perhaps I ought not to speak so strongly—perhaps I should hold some reserve in favor of the bare possibility that it may be all an illusion, and that further researches, as they have repeatedly before, so

* This is a telescope with its object glass divided in the middle, and the two parts capable of sliding upon each other, as also of being revolved about the axis of the tube. It gives two images of an object, whose distance is proportioned to the separation of the two parts of the lens. It is therefore a species of micrometer. It was originally employed for measuring the sun's diameter—hence its name, *heliometer*.

may now fail to substantiate this noble result. But I confess myself unequal to such prudence under such excitement. Let us rather accept the joyful omens of the time, and trust that, as the barrier has begun to yield, it will soon be effectually prostrated. Such results are among the fairest flowers of civilization. They justify the vast expenditure of time and talent which have led up to them; they justify the language which men of science hold, or ought to hold, when they appeal to the governments of their respective countries for the liberal devotion of the national means in furtherance of the great objects they propose to accomplish. They enable them not only to hold out, but to redeem, their promises, when they profess themselves productive laborers in a higher and richer field than that of mere material and physical advantages. It is then when they become (if I may venture on such a figure without irreverence) the messengers from heaven to earth of such stupendous announcements, as must strike every one who hears them with almost awful admiration, that they may claim to be listened to when they repeat in every variety of urgent instance, that these are not the last of such announcements which they shall have to communicate—that there are yet behind, to search out and to declare, not only secrets of nature which shall increase the wealth or power of man, but *truths* which shall ennoble the age and the country in which they are divulged, and by dilating the intellect, react on the moral character of mankind. Such truths are things quite as worthy of struggles and sacrifices as many of the objects for which nations contend, and exhaust their physical and moral energies and resources. They are gems of real and durable glory in the diadems of princes, and conquests, which, while they leave no

tears behind them, continue forever unalienable.”

The apparent motion of five seconds annually, which this star has, seems to us to be extremely small, yet its absolute motion is more than a thousand millions of miles annually, or forty four miles per second, which is more than double the velocity of the earth in its orbit—and this is what we call a *fixed star*.

The two preceding sketches of astronomical history illustrate the importance of public observatories. We should never have learned the existence of Ceres nor the distance of a single fixed star, without systematic observations with large and accurate instruments. We propose therefore to give some account of a modern astronomical observatory, and to find a model of its kind, we must take our readers to Russia. The history of the progress of science in Russia is nearly as extraordinary as that of free institutions in this country. A century ago, Russia was scarce emerged from the depths of barbarism. One of the last acts of that wonderful man, Peter the Great, was the erection of an academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, in 1725, and the establishment of an observatory, which was presented with costly instruments by Catherine II. No great advance was however made in Russian astronomy, until the accession of the late emperor Alexander. Under him, the observatories at Dorpat and Abo were founded and furnished with instruments, which placed them on a level with the richest establishments of Europe. For Dorpat was procured the great refractor of Fraunhofer, the masterpiece of that incomparable artist. A third observatory was erected at Nicolajef on the Black Sea. Under the reign of Nicholas, astronomy has been patronized with renewed zeal. The resources of Dorpat were augmented. A new ob-

servatory has been established at Helsingfors, another at Cazan, and another at Moscow, so that during one generation, more has been done by the Russian government for astronomy, than by any other state during an equal period in the whole history of the science. For several years the idea had been entertained of establishing a central observatory at St. Petersburg; and its erection was decreed in 1833. This plan contemplated,

1. Regular and complete observations, aiming at the perfection of astronomy as a science.

2. Corresponding observations in reference to the geographical enterprises undertaken in the empire and abroad.

3. The perfection of practical astronomy in its application to geography and navigation.

The observatory was completed in 1838. It is located on the hill of Pulkova, about eleven miles south of St. Petersburg. It consists of two parts; the observatory proper, constituting the main body of the building, and the wings, designed as dwellings for the observers. The whole together, presents a front of eight hundred and forty English feet from east to west. The observatory proper, forms a cross two hundred and twenty feet from east to west, and one hundred and seventy feet from north to south.

The cut prefixed to this article represents the ground plan and elevation of the observatory proper. The principal front is towards the north, where is also the main entrance. By this door we enter an ante-room, *a*, which leads to the central hall of the observatory, *A*. This room is a square, fifty five feet on a side, truncated at the angles. Within are seen eight columns upon which rests the great dome. This room has a vaulted ceiling, and is lighted by four windows in the truncated angles. The inner circular area

serves for the reception of company, and has in the middle a large pillar connected directly with the foundations, in a niche of which the main clock of the observatory is placed. The open side of the niche is closed by three plates of glass separated from each other, and thus the temperature of the clock can not vary sensibly in twenty four hours. With this main clock, all the other clocks used in the different rooms of the observatory are compared by chronometers. The rooms, *a* and *A*, are both warmed by pipes proceeding from under the entrance. The chamber, *b*, can also be raised in the same way to a high temperature. It has besides, a free communication with the open air, so that it may be suddenly cooled in winter. This contrivance is designed for testing the compensation of clocks and chronometers, before they are erected in their places. *c* is the stairs which lead to the great dome. It conducts first to a hall over the vault, where is a convenient retreat for the observer who is employed with the instruments in the dome. The dome, which rests upon an iron railway, has a diameter of thirty two feet, and a height of thirty feet on the inside, twelve of which belong to the surrounding wall, and eighteen to the revolving part. On the south is the office of the director, *d*, and then the room, *B*, where is the transit instrument in the prime vertical. East and west from *A*, are the halls, *C* and *C'*, for the meridian instruments. Each hall is fifty two feet by thirty five, and can accommodate two instruments. There are therefore four meridian openings, one of which is however not used at present. The height of the hall is twenty three feet. The halls, *C*, *C'*, and *B*, are constructed entirely of wood, to obtain a more constant equilibrium between the internal and external temperatures. Next to the halls, *C* and *C'*, are

two wings of solid masonry, having revolving domes, each twenty feet diameter and twenty high. Under the vaults supporting these instruments are two rooms, D and D', one of which is used for lectures on practical astronomy, the other for the library. *e, f, g, h*, are four rooms for the accommodation of observers. The observatory cost over a million of rubles,* exclusive of the land given by the emperor, amounting to fifty two acres.

Instruments.—In the summer of 1834, Prof. Struve was sent abroad for the purchase of instruments, which were made chiefly at Munich and Hamburg.

1. Great refractor made by Merz and Mahler, at the Optic Institute, Munich. Erected under the great central dome. Clear aperture of the object glass 14.93 inches, focus 22 feet. The instrument rests upon a block of hewn granite, is mounted equatorially and furnished with clock work, so that when once directed upon a star, the star remains as if stationary in the center of the field of view. The telescope has a variety of micrometers, with magnifying powers from 138 to 1822. The finder has an aperture of three inches, and a focal length of forty five inches. This instrument is employed in measurements of double stars, particularly those in which a proper motion is known or suspected. It is the largest refracting telescope hitherto constructed. Cost seventy six thousand rubles.

2. The heliometer, executed at the Optic Institute, Munich, by Merz and Mahler. Erected in the east dome. Aperture of the object glass 7.5 inches; focus 10 feet. The instrument is constructed mainly like the famous Königsberg heli-

ometer, with some peculiarities. Rests on a block of hewn granite.

3. In the west dome is a comet seeker from Munich, of 3.8 inches aperture, equatorially mounted.

4. Transit instrument in the prime vertical, by the Repsolds of Hamburg. Erected in the south hall, B. Clear aperture of the object glass 6.25 inches; focus 7 feet 7 inches. Magnifying power used in the observations, 262. In the focus of the telescope are stretched fifteen vertical lines and two horizontal ones. The object of the instrument is to determine the meridian zenith distance of such stars as culminate a little south of the zenith. The transit of a star over seven of the vertical lines is observed; the instrument is reversed, and the transit is continued over the same lines in the inverse order. After a time the star approaches the west vertical, when the same observation is repeated. From such observations, the zenith distance of the star when on the meridian is easily computed; and it is considered the most accurate method yet employed for detecting small changes of declination.

5. Meridian circle by the Repsolds, in the east hall, C'. Telescope 6 feet, 11.2 inches focus; 5.8 inches aperture. Magnifying power employed, 246. The object glass and eye glass may be made to change places in the tube to eliminate the effect of flexure. Has two circles, each four feet diameter, graduated to 2'. Each circle is furnished with four microscopes. This instrument is designed to furnish a catalogue of about thirteen thousand stars, down to the seventh magnitude inclusive, comprehended between the north pole and 15° south declination.

6. Meridian transit instrument, by Ertel of Munich; placed in the west hall, C. Aperture of the object glass 5.8 inches; focus 8 feet, 6 inches. Magnifying power in common use, 292.

* A silver ruble is equal to seventy four cents; a paper ruble, which is supposed to be intended here, is worth twenty cents.

7. Vertical circle of Ertel, erected also in the west hall. A cylindrical granite block of 4 feet 4 inches diameter, forms the foundation of this instrument. The circle is supported by a vertical column, through which passes a steel axis, and may be brought into any azimuth, but is only used near the meridian. The telescope has 5.9 inches aperture, with 6 feet 2 inches focus. Magnifying power in common use, 215. Object glass and eye glass may exchange places in the tube. The graduated circle is of 3 feet 7 inches diameter, and is divided to 2'. The readings are made by four microscopes. The four instruments last named, when not in use, are kept under mahogany cases set on rollers, as protection against dust and moisture.

The cost of all the instruments of the observatory amounted to two hundred and thirty one thousand rubles. The whole is under the direction of Prof. Struve, who has already established his reputation as one of the best astronomical observers of the age. The world will look to him for new discoveries in astronomy, worthy of the munificence of the Russian emperor.

Where now is our American observatory? But a few short years ago, the very term was a public by-word of derision. At present we can boast of no capital observatory, but the signs of the times are encouraging. Simultaneous movements have been making in several quarters, not upon a scale of imperial luxury, but upon a scale of liberality hitherto unknown in this republic.

I. We are to have a National Observatory. Congress made an appropriation for a "depot of charts and instruments," under which modest name, an observatory is now building, and the instruments have been ordered from Europe. The main building will be fifty feet square, and two stories high, sur-

mounted by a hemispherical revolving dome of twenty two feet diameter. To the east and west sides of this edifice will be built wings, each twenty six and a half feet long and twenty one wide, with a wing to the south of nearly the same dimensions.

The instruments which have been ordered are,

1. Great achromatic refractor. Clear aperture of object glass 9.56 inches; focus 14 feet 3 inches. The finder is 2.63 inches aperture, 32 inches focus. The hour circle is 15 inches diameter, reading by two verniers to two seconds of time, and the declination circle 21 inches diameter, reading to 4" of arc. It has thirteen eye-pieces with powers from 94 to 1000. Clock work attached to the hour circle keeps the telescope in motion.

2. Comet seeker equatorially mounted. Clear aperture of object glass 3.9 inches, focus 32 inches. Has four eye-pieces, with powers from 12 to 40. Both of these instruments are making by Merz and Mahler of Munich.

3. A meridian transit. The object glass has an aperture of 5.44 inches, and a focal length of 7 feet 5 inches. Seven vertical and two horizontal wires are so illumined, that the observer may have a bright field and dark lines, or a dark field and bright lines, for minute objects. Making by Ertel at Munich.

4. Transit for prime vertical. Object glass 5 inches aperture, and 6 feet 5 inches focus. Making by Pistor and Martius, Berlin.

5. Mural circle. Diameter a little more than five feet. Telescope has an aperture of four inches. Readings by six micrometer microscopes screwed to the pier. Making by Simms of London.

It is expected that the buildings will be completed, and the instruments mounted, ready for use, by July, 1844. This observatory promises to take an honorable stand by

the side of the observatories of Europe. May no untimely frost nip it in the bud.

II. Next comes the Cambridge Observatory. Five thousand dollars have been given for the erection of a building, and twenty thousand dollars for instruments, by the merchants of Boston and its vicinity. The corporation of Harvard University have purchased a site for the observatory well suited to the purpose. A variety of astronomical and magnetic instruments have also been contributed, so that the entire funds invested amount to thirty five or forty thousand dollars.

III. Cincinnati Observatory. A society has been organized in Cincinnati, called the Cincinnati Astronomical Society, the object of which is to furnish the city with an observatory. Eleven thousand dollars have been subscribed in shares of twenty five dollars. A site for the observatory has been given by Nicholas Longworth, Esq. It consists of four acres of ground, on one of the highest hills on the eastern side of the town. It is the intention to make this ground not only the site of an observatory, but a properly ornamented public square. This movement is highly creditable to the people of Cincinnati, and to the tact and zeal of Prof. Mitchell, with whom the plan originated, and by whom chiefly it has been carried on.

IV. Philadelphia High School Observatory. Has two superior instruments. 1. An equatorial, by Utchneider, of 8 feet 6 inches focus, 6.5 inches aperture. Mounted like the celebrated Dorpat instrument; has powers to 480, with variety of micrometers and clock work. The hour circle reads to four seconds of time; the declination circle to 10" of arc.

2. A transit instrument by Ertel, 5 feet focus, 4½ inches aperture, has two meridian circles graduated to read by four verniers to 2". Ob-

ject glass and eye glass may change places. These instruments were received in 1840. The latter has not yet been mounted for use; the former is placed in a high tower attached to the building of the Central High School; and in the hands of Messrs. Walker and Kendall, has become celebrated not in this country only, but also in Europe.

V. West Point Observatory. Attached to a large building recently erected for other purposes, are several towers for astronomical instruments. Among them is an equatorial, having clock movement, and carrying a refractor of 6 inches aperture, and 8 feet focal length. The diameter of the declination circle is 15 inches, and that of the hour circle 12 inches. Some valuable observations on the great comet of February last, were made with this instrument, by Prof. Bartlett.

VI. Western Reserve College Observatory, Hudson, Ohio. Has an equatorial telescope of 5½ feet focus and 4 inches aperture. The two circles are each 12 inches diameter, reading, one to single seconds of time, the other to ten seconds of arc. Also a transit circle having a telescope of 30 inches focus and about three inches aperture. The circle is 18 inches diameter, graduated to five minutes, and has three reading microscopes, each measuring single seconds. These two instruments were made by Simms, of London. The clock was by Molineux, and has a mercurial pendulum. This observatory has been five years in operation. In that time there have been observed, two hundred and thirty four moon culminations, sixty nine culminations of Polaris, sixteen occultations, four comets, with sufficient accuracy to determine their orbits, besides a great variety of other objects for testing the clock, etc.

VII. Alabama Observatory, at Tuscaloosa. The building is fifty four feet in length, by twenty two

in breadth in the center. A transit circle has already been constructed by Simms, having a telescope of 5 feet focus, and 4 inches clear aperture, the diameter of the limb being 3 feet. A clock by Molineux has been provided. It is proposed as soon as possible to complete the apparatus of the observatory, by the purchase of an equatorial telescope of about 8 inches aperture and 14 feet focus.

VIII. Observatory of Williams College, Mass. Has a transit instrument by Troughton, focal distance between 4 and 5 feet. A compensation clock by Molineux, and a Herschelian telescope mounted equatorially.

Is it not time that Connecticut was furnished with an observatory? Yale College has an excellent telescope, (a ten feet refractor, by Dollond,) but we regret to add, that as yet she has no observatory, and this instrument, as well as several others of inferior note belonging to the College, can be used only under the greatest disadvantages. A temporary structure erected a few years since to replace the ancient steeple of the old Chapel, has indeed acquired the name of "observatory," being, for want of a better place, the depository of the Clark telescope. We trust that this venerable institution, will not be slow to rear an edifice more worthy of her fame, as soon as the completion of her noble Library, now in progress, shall permit an appropriation of her resources so imperiously demanded.

The expense of the instruments of

a complete observatory, is not beyond the means even of a republic. Twenty thousand dollars would furnish a better outfit than all the instruments of either Greenwich or Paris Observatory. The observatory at Cambridge, Eng., cost twenty thousand pounds, but a large part of the expense was for stone walls for the accommodation of the astronomer. An observatory seems a natural appendage of every university. In order that a student may feel a well grounded conviction of the truth of the alledged wonderful discoveries in astronomy, he must have a distinct apprehension of the instruments and modes of observation employed. This is acquired most readily and satisfactorily by actual inspection of an observatory. A school of practical astronomers is thus formed, and might we not hope, that the fire would be kindled in the bosom of some youthful Bessel, who should wipe away the reproach which still attaches to the name of American science?

We had intended to connect with this article, a notice of Professor Olmsted's *Letters on Astronomy*, but have only time now to express the high gratification its perusal has afforded us. It is an admirable book, written in a style to interest all classes of readers. We have made no extracts from it, for we doubt not the book has already had an extensive circulation; and if there is any one who has not yet seen it, our advice is, let him read one letter, and he will need no further solicitation to induce him to finish the book.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS MINER, M. D.

DR. THOMAS MINER, of Middletown, Connecticut, became at the early age of forty one a confirmed invalid, unable to attend to the active duties of his profession; to which circumstance may be traced all his eminence. From that time he devoted himself to literary pursuits, and carried on an active correspondence with physicians and scholars, and contributed largely to several medical and literary journals. He was not profoundly learned in any branch of science or literature, but was distinguished rather for that general knowledge which marks the finished scholar. Of the modern languages of Europe, he was a complete master of the French only—his knowledge of the German was superficial, and of the other tongues still less. He always made the Bible his text-book in studying a new language. He was probably almost the only Anglo-American, who has read Luther's version of the Bible. He speaks of himself as a disciple of Kant; but his knowledge did not extend much beyond the distinction between the reason and the understanding. He made no public profession of religion, owing probably to his Quaker notions, for he professed in private a personal interest in the Savior.

Dr. Miner died, April 23d, 1841, in the 64th year of his age, at the residence of his friend, Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, of Worcester, Massachusetts. His disease was the ossification of the semilunar valves of the heart.

The principal incidents of his life are given in the following sketch from his own pen, addressed to his fellow townsman, Joseph Barratt, M. D.; who has obligingly furnished us with a copy for publication.

Middletown, Conn., Feb. 9, 1837.

DR. JOSEPH BARRATT:

Dear Sir—I thank you for the solicitude, which you have been so obliging as, at various times, to express, to obtain a few memoranda of the principal events in my life. If you survive me, it may perhaps be a satisfaction to have a record upon which you may depend for your own information, though it may be so barren as to contain little, if any thing, which will be of interest beyond the limited sphere of a few personal friends.

I am now fifty nine years old, and in one respect, can be considered as having lived but a small part of that time. I was originally a weakly child, so that a considerable part of the time till I was fourteen years old, I was unable to go from home to school. In the years 1798 and 1799, I had the intermittent fever two seasons in succession, and in 1801, I was unable to walk for three months at a time, from rheumatism. Finally, about the year 1819, while fully employed in professional business, I suddenly broke down, from a subacute inflammation of the lungs, attended with hectic fever, and a severe palpitation of the heart, arising probably from an organic lesion of that viscus. From this latter affection, I have never completely recovered, but have remained a val-etudinarian the last eighteen or twenty years, a large portion of the time being unfit for active exertion of body or mind.

On the whole, therefore, there have been but about twenty or twenty five years in my life, which I have been able to employ much for the benefit of myself or others; this is what I mean by saying, that I have lived but a small part of the time since I was born.

I was born in Westfield, the northwest parish of this town, where my father was the Congregational clergyman, October 15, 1777. I received my elementary education principally at home, from my father, till I was fourteen years of age, though about two years of the time I was able to attend a very excellent common school, kept by the late Rev. Joseph Washburn, who afterwards was the minister of Farmington. After having made some progress in Latin and Greek under my father, in the spring of 1792, I went to Chatham to complete fitting for college, under the tuition of the Rev. Cyprian Strong, D. D., and joined Yale College in September of that year. In September, 1796, I took the degree of A. B., and within a month, being then nineteen years of age, I went to Goshen, Orange County, state of New York, to take charge of an academy. After remaining in that county three years, and having my constitution much impaired by the two periods of intermittent, to which I have referred, I returned in December, 1799. In the course of the next year, I entered myself as a law student in Judge Hosmer's office; but within a few weeks, remaining still at my father's, I had a serious attack of rheumatism, which disabled me from doing much during 1801. However, in the autumn of that year I took charge of an academy at Berlin, which I kept about two years, till I was interrupted by loss of health. The school flourished very well, while I was able to attend to it, and Mrs. Emma Willard of Troy, then Emma Hart of Berlin, and Prof. E. A. Andrews, now teacher in Boston, were among my most distinguished pupils. I was thus interrupted by ill health both in my attempt to study law, and as a teacher. However, when I was about twenty five years old, I commenced the study of medicine with the late Dr. Osborn

of this city, engaging a part of the time in instruction. Here William L. Storrs, Esq., was one of my most promising pupils. At that time, Dr. Osborn had probably much the best medical library in the state, and I continued reading under his direction about three years. The winter of 1806 and 1807, I spent with Dr. Smith Clark of Haddam, visiting his patients with him, and seeing his practice. In the spring of 1807, I returned to my father's, and began practice; but in the autumn removed into the city, and remained till the middle of the next summer. After looking about me for a permanent residence, during which time I spent a few weeks at Southington, in August, 1808, I settled at Lyme. There I continued in full practice, till May, 1814, when I returned to this city. While at Lyme, May 8th, 1810, I married Phebe Mather, daughter of Samuel Mather, Esq. She died, February 5, 1811. In this city and vicinity, I soon had as much professional business as I could attend to, and more than my health would bear. In February, 1819, I was seized with an affection of the lungs and heart, which suddenly ended in a great degree my professional career, and left me a confirmed valetudinarian at the premature age of forty one.

Since 1819, the little that I have done has been of a very various and desultory character, my infirm health preventing continued application to any thing of importance. For several years, I practiced some in consultation, and amused myself in reading two or three foreign languages, besides writing occasional medical and literary essays. For two or three years before the Medical Recorder of Philadelphia ceased, I made most of the selections, abridgments, and translations from the French, that appeared in that work. In 1823, in connection with Dr. Tully, I published *Essays on*

Fevers and other Medical Subjects, one volume, octavo; and in 1825, an account of Typhus Syncopalis. The latter has several times been republished entire, or abridged in other works, as in the Medical Recorder, Boston Medical Journal, Potter and Calhoun's edition of Gregory's Practice, and Thatcher's Modern Practice.

As there was no public medical school in Connecticut when I studied physic, of course I began to practice under a license from the Medical Society, and it was not till 1819, that I received the honorary degree of M. D. from Yale College. The following are the principal specimens of the attention with which I have been honored by my professional brethren. Since the organization of the medical school of Yale College, perhaps three tenths of the time I have been one of the censors or members of the examining committee. I was a member of the committee for devising ways and means and forming the plan for the Retreat for the Insane, as a colleague with Dr. Todd, Dr. Woodward, Dr. Tully, Dr. Sumner, Dr. Ives, and others, and with the assistance of Dr. Tully, wrote the committee's address to the public, which preceded our soliciting donations. My name was at the head of the committee, and I was therefore chairman of the body; not from any merit of mine, but from the modesty of Dr. Todd, who did not wish to appear as the official leader of an institution, over which it was expected he would soon preside. In 1832, I was elected vice president of the Medical Society of Connecticut, and in 1834, president. Having held the latter place three years, it is my intention to decline being a candidate at the ensuing meeting of the medical convention, in May next. Many of my fugitive medical essays, besides what I wrote for the Medical Recorder, have been published un-

der the signature either of Senex or Celsus, in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, or the United States Medical and Surgical Journal, though a few others have sometimes appeared in different periodicals. The article on the varioloid and small pox, and on the moral effects of prevalent malignant diseases, in the Christian Spectator, for March, 1830, was written by me; and I have translated a few articles from the French and from the German, for Silliman's Journal.

A few farther particulars may perhaps be worth stating. Like many other young men in early life, I entered pretty ardently into politics, reading not only party productions, but treatises upon the law of nations, history, and various things of the kind. But as early as 1800, I became very heartily disgusted with the subject, and gradually got out of its reach, so that for more than twenty years I have not voted at a single election. In my religious views, I am a Christian, and as far as I understand the subject, I am nearer a Quaker in sentiment than any other sect. I am in favor of defensive war, and consider it as much a duty to arm against a band of robbers or pirates, as against a flock of wolves or tigers; and I do not consider it as a virtue to refuse customary titles of respect, or to use *thee* and *thou*, or to wear a broad-brimmed hat and a drab coat, or to number the months and days of the week instead of naming them. With these exceptions, and perhaps a few others of the kind, I think I must be considered as in sentiment a Quaker. This may perhaps account satisfactorily to you, for some peculiarities in my habits, which you may have noticed. As to mental philosophy, though here my acquirements are rather limited, I am nearer a Kantian than any thing else. In medicine, in general, I coincide with the views of the

school of the Vitalists. My early medical reading was pretty extensive; but of late, I have attended but little to the subject, and in fact, have lost much of my taste for medicine. From the state of my health, being unable to attend closely to any one thing for a long time; a great portion of my information is but little more than smattering, scarcely going deeper than the surface. Perhaps it more nearly resembles the superficial knowledge which we occasionally meet with in an old bookseller, who has picked up here and there a little upon almost every thing about which his customers converse.

My father, in common with most country clergymen of his day, besides a slender salary, had a small farm of his own, upon which he generally labored more or less, every day through the summer. In the winter, he often had a small school, composed of twelve or fifteen young men, who were the sons of farmers, or young mechanics, who had just gone through their apprenticeship. My mother was a woman of uncommonly good management in her domestic affairs. With the small salary, the little farm, and the school, the family (which usually consisted of my father and mother, three children, and a female domestic, who in many particulars performed the offices of a boy and girl) lived very comfortably and decently. My father had not many books, but he had a share in a good public library in the city, and we had access to a small library in the parish. The family frequently spent their winter evenings in listening to some one who was reading a book of travels, the *Spectator*, the history of our country and revolution, foreign history, or some interesting work of the kind. Besides attending daily to the duties common to religious families, Saturday evening was spent principally in reading the Bible,

and learning or repeating the catechism. After going to church twice on Sunday, the rest of the time was spent in reading the Scriptures, or such writers as Watts and Doddridge. In the evening, some of our neighbors generally called in, and the time passed in pleasant conversation upon the events of the past week, and other topics of the day. Except that my father from the difficulty of procuring sufficient assistance in the management of his little farm, had occasionally to labor rather too hard, in addition to his regular, weekly preparation for the pulpit, our family may be considered, during the first fourteen years of my life, while I remained at home, as living very comfortably, rationally, and pleasantly. My parents, in common with most of their day, knew very little of the nature and necessity of a proper physical education; consequently, as I was always a feeble child, I was probably injured greatly, by ill directed kindness. I was unable to go very much to the common school, and never became familiar with the common athletic sports of boys. I well recollect, that when I was a large boy, I had been so much confined within doors, that my countenance was as pale and white as milk, resembling those plants which have vegetated in the cellar without the light of the sun. Some attempts were made to teach me to labor on the farm, but these were rather injudiciously managed. The common tools on the farm were too heavy and clumsy, for one so feeble as I, to use to advantage. My father seems never to have thought, how easy it might have been to furnish me with a light hatchet, hoe, fork, or rake. I believe this is rather a common oversight with farmers, in their first attempts to teach their boys to labor. Those who are sturdy soon overcome the difficulty of using heavy instruments; but they are a great em-

barrament to the slender. As I kept tolerably busy within doors with my books, my deficiency in labor, and other exercises that tend to strengthen and harden the constitution, was not much thought of. The consequence was, that I early contracted a tender and effeminate habit, which continues to this day, and has been the great burden of my life. Every boy in New England, that is born and brought up in the country, ought to be early and habitually taught the use of the axe, the hoe, the spade, and the rake, so that if occasion should require, it would be no great task for him to cut his own wood, and make his own garden, whatever might be his future condition, or profession, or situation in life. Such knowledge is often of great convenience; but its greatest benefit is in giving strength and firmness to the system.

In addition to the great and irremediable mistake which was made in my physical education, as great or greater blunder was made in the literary and scientific department. I was sent to college before I was quite fifteen years old, which was one year at least, and probably two years, too early for me to receive the full benefit of the institution. My miscellaneous information from reading history, travels, essays, and such books as are usually found in social libraries, together with a pretty familiar acquaintance with Salmon's and Guthrie's geographies, as well as with the early editions of Morse, was tolerably extensive for a lad of my age, but I was not very well grounded in Latin and Greek, and had no foundation laid in the mathematics. The consequence was, though I passed regularly through the course, without a single public or private censure from any of the faculty, and with even some small tokens of approbation, yet I made no figure as a scholar. I had some standing from the amount of my former miscel-

laneous and general information; but that was all for which I was in any way distinguished. Except learning the elementary parts of the mathematics, so as to be able to teach surveying and navigation tolerably well for that day, I knew nothing further of that science.

My mind was not so closely disciplined, and my habits of attention were not so accurately formed, as to have enabled me to make much progress in mathematics, during the rapid manner in which the science was studied by the class. I believe the same was the fact with all the younger part of my associates. They made but little progress in a study for which they either were not ripe, or were not previously prepared. My acquirements in the languages were merely decent, and not such as to merit any peculiar notice, either for eminence or defect. On the whole, the four years of my college life, though they were far from being trifled away or lost, were spent under very great and permanent disadvantages, and I did not acquire half the solid learning, that I might have done had I been two years older, and proportionably better prepared. Many with a real or affected modesty, blame themselves for their misimprovement of early advantages. I have very little of this lamentation to make. The error consisted principally in the mistaken judgment of my friends, in estimating my early acquirements greater than they actually were, and supposing me to have a ripeness of mind, to which I had not attained on entering college.

These are the common mistakes of parents, guardians, and teachers. If the memory is capacious and tolerably stored with facts—as was the case with mine—the inquiry too often is not made, to ascertain how far the other faculties of the mind are developed. The judgment may still be in embryo. But if the other

faculties are tolerably developed, they have probably not been disciplined, so that they can be applied with facility and rapidity to the higher branches of education, in the manner in which they are usually studied in a common academical course. This is a statement of facts, rather than an apology.

The principal object in almost all my literary, philosophical, biblical and scientific pursuits, has been my own amusement for the time being, taking but little pains to arrange it so as to be serviceable to others. The Rev. Henry Channing, now of New York, Professor Tully, Dr. J. P. Kirtland of Poland, Ohio, Dr. Comstock of Lebanon, Dr. Hooker of New Haven, Dr. Bronson of Waterbury, and Dr. Woodward of Worcester, have been among my principal correspondents. To these I might add Dr. McGregor of Rochester, Dr. Swann of Tennessee, Dr. Calhoun of Philadelphia, Dr. Cartwright of Natchez, and Dr. Fisk of Salisbury, as occasional correspondents. The venerable Noah Webster, LL. D., is among my most respected correspondents. He possesses letters from me upon criticism, etymology, and other philosophical subjects. He also did me the honor, occasionally to send me his manuscripts, soliciting my remarks upon them previous to publication. Among the physicians with whom I have been most intimate, are the names of Cogswell, Todd, Ives, Tully, Woodward, Hough, Ward, Hooker, Comstock, North, Bronson, and various others. My friend, Chester Whittelsey, Esq., of Southington, possesses more of my letters than any other man. Judge Hosmer, and the late Richard Alsop, Esq., were among my earliest and permanent friends in this city. Asahel H. Strong, Esq., Charles Denison, Esq., President Davies, the Rev. Thomas Robbins, and Prof. Silliman, are among my most distinguished college classmates.

The above is the outline of all that I recollect concerning myself, which you would probably feel much interest in knowing. I am conscious of having omitted several names of gentlemen, to whom I have been under much obligation; others have undoubtedly slipped my memory.

As you are an antiquarian, I intend to give you, by way of postscript, a brief family record.

Thomas Miner, the progenitor of all of the name of Miner in Connecticut, came from England, and landed at Salem, Massachusetts, 1630, bringing with him three sons, who appear to have been men grown. The further history of the father is unknown; but the sons, whose names I believe were Thomas, Clement, and John, came to Connecticut, with the colony that settled Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. Either Clement or Thomas, or both of them, were in the Pequod expedition, when one of them was so badly wounded, that he was taken up for dead. He however recovered. From this early acquaintance with New London county, one of them settled at Groton, and the other at Stonington. John went among the first settlers to Stratford, and upon the division of the inhabitants of that settlement, he was one of the party that removed to Woodbury, where they soon founded a new town. He was the first town clerk of Woodbury, and held the office thirty years. A son of his, Col. Joseph Miner, was frequently a representative of his town to the legislature, and once was a member after he was ninety years old. He lived till my father was twenty five or thirty years old, and died at the advanced age of a hundred and two years. Thomas, a brother of his, who was my father's grandfather, died rather early in life. Thomas, his son, was my grandfather, and died at the age of ninety

four, when I was about twenty years old. His son, the Rev. Thomas Miner, was born June 20, 1736, O. S., and died April 28, 1826. He was the first minister of Westfield, a parish of Middletown, where he was ordained, December, 1773. He retained his pastoral charge to his death. He had three sons: Thomas, the subject of this notice, David Brainerd, and Gilbert. The latter two were never married. David B. is supposed to have died in the service of one of the South American republics, about the year 1817. Gilbert died at home, two or three years before his father. My mother was Dorothy Brainerd, daughter of Hezekiah Brainerd, Esq., of Haddam, and niece of the missionary, David Brainerd. She was born Dec. 20, 1739, and died June 5, 1828. Hezekiah Brainerd was town clerk of Haddam for many years, and frequently a representative to the legislature. He was the son of Hezekiah Brainerd, who was one of the king's council for the colony of Connecticut, and died at Hartford, a middle aged man, during a session of the legislature. His father was Deacon Daniel Brainerd, the ancestor of all of the name of Brainerd in this country. He came from England when a boy, and was brought up in the family of Wads-

worth, at Hartford. He was one of the first settlers of Haddam, and died there about 1717, aged seventy four. David Brainerd, the missionary, was the son of the first Hezekiah, and brother of my grandfather. My grandfather Brainerd's wife was Mary, daughter of the Rev. Phineas Fisk of Haddam. Her father was one of the tutors of Yale College, while it was at Saybrook. He was son of Dr. John Fisk of Milford, who appears to have been a son of a Mr. Fisk of Massachusetts, who was both a clergyman and physician, a sketch of whose life is in Elliott's biography. The Rev. Phineas Fisk was also a physician. The physicians and clergymen were frequently the same man, in the early settlement of New England. It is said the first Thomas Miner and his sons were all surveyors, having, in this respect at least, rather more education than most of the early settlers. This accounts for John's having the place of the first town clerk in Woodbury. I once saw a record of my family, extending back to an ancestor who died in 1359; but as it was only a barren list of names, it had not much interest, and I did not take a copy.

Yours, with sentiments of respect and friendship,

THOMAS MINER.

CARLYLE'S PAST AND PRESENT.*

DIFFER as we may from Thomas Carlyle in some of his religious views, we have more than a feeling of respect for the man who has spread for us so many rich intellectual repasts; and who, in his

writings upon most practical subjects, has manifested a strong regard for the rights and happiness of the human race. In this opinion we are not alone. He is becoming popular. We do not mean that the great mass of readers are greedily devouring his writings, as they do those of many light authors. Thousands run laughingly over the comic stories of Boz, who

* Past and Present. By Thomas Carlyle. Harper & Brothers. 1843.

The French Revolution: A History. In three volumes. By Thomas Carlyle. 1841.

would come to a stand at the first paragraph in Carlyle ; and be disposed to ask, as we have heard asked—"Is the man serious? What does he mean? As well undertake to read Greek." Nor is his quaint diction, as has been often asserted, the chief obstacle to his universal popularity. Carlyle taxes the mind beyond any other living writer in the English language ; and the mass of readers are either unable or unwilling, to meet this demand upon their mental powers. He is pre-eminently figurative in his expressions ; and his figures, or illustrations as they may be more properly termed, are for the most part drawn from sources with which the common reader is not familiar. The force and beauty of whole pages may be lost, if the reader happens to be ignorant of some classical allusion, some character in ancient mythology, or the technical phrase of some art or science. Every subject he touches—and it would be difficult to name the subject he has not touched—he views from a position which nobody else ever took ; and right or wrong, the view he gives is new. Dictionaries will not always help the reader to the meaning of his words ; and nothing short of their etymology will lead him to see the significance of many which constantly occur. Though there are few sentences which can not be parsed on the Lindley Murray system, yet the rules of grammar will be of little avail in understanding our author. He defies all rules, and takes licenses in the use of language, which the rigid critic would not allow the poet. For these reasons Carlyle can never have, nor does he wish to have, the popularity which the mere storyteller so often acquires. He does not write for such fame, nor for the profit of writing ; nor does he write to amuse intellectual men in their seasons of relaxation from severe study : few studies will be found

to demand more intense application, than the reading of some pieces which he has written. And yet the readers of Carlyle have greatly multiplied. Notwithstanding the difficulties they meet with, many can understand him sufficiently to compensate them for their labor.

The Past and Present, from the subject upon which it treats—though it is perhaps the most idiomatic of all Carlyle's works—will be more extensively circulated than any other. We wish it might ; for a louder note of warning, since the Hebrew prophets, has not been sounded in the ears of a guilty nation. And while it can have but quite a general application to any circumstances among ourselves, it contains much that ought to interest and profit us.

We have placed the titles of two of Mr. Carlyle's works at the head of this article, not so much with the design of reviewing them, as to *ascertain his views of the social and civil relation man holds to his fellow man, particularly that of governors to the governed.*

It is not difficult to know Mr. Carlyle's political position in his own country ; but there is no ground for assigning him a fixed place in the politics of our own. He does not class well in any thing. The withs of sects and parties he snapped sometime since, and in vain will any party Philistines attempt to bind him. He has written so much upon so many subjects, and expressed himself in so bold and independent a manner, that any one may find sentences which may seem to favor any opinion in philosophy, politics, or religion. He is not careful to define or to guard his position ; yet he has a position of his own upon every important subject, and he is generally consistent with himself. Upon many subjects he agrees with many individuals ; but with no individual sect or party. In respect to the natural

goodness of the heart, he may, in general terms, be called a Unitarian; in philosophy, a transcendentalist, but not properly of any phase of this philosophy found in New England. At home, it is quite evident from the book before us, he is "in the opposition"—to many things,—but to call him whig or democrat, in relation to ourselves, is placing him out of his true position. Much less should he be quoted as giving countenance to sentiments hostile to civil government, or designedly disruptive of the strictest bonds of law. There is we apprehend, no anarchic or revolutionary element in his character. And while he heartily wishes us success in our republican institutions, and believes that we shall, all circumstances considered, live more comfortably in democratic than in any other political garments, he is far from desiring to transfer our attire to European society. Neither has Carlyle the least faith in the absolute equality of mankind. Yet no voice is louder in the condemnation of oppression, injustice, and wrong. None louder in favor of changes for relieving suffering, enlightening ignorance, soothing the wretched, and in all wise ways for meliorating the condition of man. To use his own language, in speaking of others, Carlyle is not for demolishing, but for upbuilding. But how build without first *tearing down*? This is a question that must be fairly answered; for if we can give our author's answer to this, we shall have made some progress in our main inquiry.

Generally, when there have been grievous wrongs to be redressed, foul blots upon the body politic to be removed, reformers have aimed to destroy the whole frame of the state, deeming this an indispensable preliminary step to the erection of a new edifice. 'For how, say they, can we build upon a sandy foundation, or with rotten materials?

New cloth in old garments will neither look nor wear well.' Now this kind of reasoning in the mind of Carlyle contains a fallacy. Very rarely will it apply; never, till measures of reform long and faithfully tried, utterly fail, and death is to be preferred to life in the existing state of things. Here is the fallacy—a structure of wood and mortar is not, in the sense the above illustration implies, like the edifice of civil society. The materials of the two are not subjected to the same laws; and the *risk* in total demolition in the two cases is far from being the same. The new political edifice, after the old is destroyed, must be built of *human* materials, by no means as pliant to the hand of the builder as wood and stone. When the carpenter has scored his timber, and put it together, it will stay without first having to acquire the *habit* of staying. In the other case, from the ridge to the cellar—from the king to the lowest subject—there is no such inertia in the materials of the building; not the least part of it, from any necessity of nature, continues where it is placed; and most likely, not a single part will be willing to continue there, but, wriggling itself out, will let the whole building down. And the crash will be greater at every new attempt at reconstruction. The history of the constitutions which the Abbé Sieyès framed for the French people during their revolution, 'under which nobody would live,' is an example.

Yet the work of reconstruction must go on: forms both civil and social, owing to the progress in all directions which every thing is constantly making, become dead, or useless, or worse, and must be thrown off. Every thing is in the process of change; nothing remains what it has been; not even the matter of our own bodies. But nature in all her changes is gradual and silent. Carlyle would have us

learn wisdom from her. 'There is for certain animals what is called their moulting season; and though at the identical moment of parting with the old horn or skin, there may be a momentary twinge, yet nature has already provided them with a new covering, fitting, easy and comely.' This illustration, often met with in his writings, will aid us in ascertaining the manner he would have the necessary changes in civil society brought to pass. Let time do the work of destruction; and when laws and institutions become oppressive and unjust; or when the circumstances of the people demand new laws, let those whose business it is, see to it, that the work is timely and righteously done. If those who are anointed to govern, and who swear to govern equitably, will attend in season to this their chief duty, fearful convulsions will be avoided. All parts of the social body may not be ready for the change at the same time; the old garments may stick fast in some spots, and considerable pain be experienced in throwing them off, yet the general health of the system demands that the change should take place.

The great mass of people in European countries have remained quiet, till cruelly galled by those parts of their old civil suits, that had ceased to fit the body. They have readily yielded the fleece to the shearer, in return for even tolerable pasturage. Rulers, shepherds, have only to see that the government does not become too oppressive, the pasture too barren, in order to continue governing and fleecing. But neglect, too long neglect, such that every one feels sore and hungry, and begins talking with his galled and hungry neighbor about the *cause* of all this suffering—is like the letting out of water; dams, dykes, all barriers, religious, social, constitutional, may be swept away.

A revolution in the old European societies is extremely difficult. Every thing is against it. The general ignorance and inertia of the mass of the people, the difficulty of efficient combination, the risk of gaining any valuable end, the extreme danger of losing what they already possess, and above all, the strength of old habits, and the comparative ease of remaining as they are—all seem to forbid any attempt at change. Yet let their condition become "insupportable"—let old habits be broken up by *necessity*, and the general brain once set fermenting with inquiries into the 'reason of things,' and these masses assume a fearful strength and energy. The question then becomes one of *mights*, and all rights and reasons must be merged in this—which is the strongest? The guilt of reducing the relations between the governing and the governed to this extremity, Carlyle lays to the charge of the governors. They should have prevented it. They are placed over the people as heaven's viceregents, wisely, justly, and benevolently to govern them, and in all ways to care for them. Their task, though not an easy one, when heroically performed, is noble and godlike; and within the bosom of every son of Adam, the lowest, the meanest, God has placed the principle of loyalty, of reverence, which will always show itself in the presence of such nobleness. People most passionately love their righteous rulers; and often, so strong is this passion, they will reverently bow before the faintest similitude, the most distant approximation to a righteous ruler. They are willing to pay for being governed; they always have paid the roundest price—often all they could get by the severest toil. They will live, and most cheerfully die, if need be, for their rulers and country. While they believe their rulers care for them, respect them,

and see that they have work, and some kind of wages for their work, sufficient at least to keep them from suffering, they will prove loyal subjects. They will even take pride in the splendor and sumptuousness of their nobility. But there is a pitch beyond which human endurance ceases. No mortal, with whatever noble qualities nature has endowed him of loyalty, or any form of "hero-worship," however low he may be sunk in ignorance, can be patient and docile with an empty stomach. When it comes to this want, or nearly approximates to this; when man's condition is one of positive suffering, he will begin to look into the matter. He then takes quite different views of his governors. He begins to contrast their sumptuous living, their ease, their pleasures, with his own nakedness and starvation, with his toil and wretchedness. He begins to inquire into *first principles*—for to a certain extent, the veriest slave can inquire for the reason of things—he asks, "Why is this? Is there not enough for all? And if I obey the law and work hard, have I not a right to live? This earth was given to man, and honesty and industry have a right to a comfortable place in it. Something is wrong somewhere." All men, when their condition becomes insupportable, can go thus far in reasoning upon first principles. Most Europeans can push their inquiries much farther. But how can they obtain redress? They have not money, nor knowledge, nor constitutional authority. One resource is open to them. They have *strength*. And most fearful will it be for the upper, earthly powers, when the millions of a nation betake themselves to this resource. Fearful also for the nation, for these millions can do nothing but destroy. They know not what they want; but only what they are determined they will not bear.

For reasons already stated, Carlyle believes no people will come to this extremity, till driven by long and grievous oppression on the part of their rulers. Then they will! The laws of gravitation are not surer to bring an unsupported body to the earth, than nature's laws in man to bring down every throne and altar which are not supported by at least some approximation to right and justice.

This truth is continually brought to view in vivid lightning flashes throughout these two books. Carlyle believes the time for change and for reconstruction in many things, has come in England. Some of the laws and forms of social and civil life are too grievous to be borne much longer. Wrong, unjust, they weigh so heavily upon the governed millions, that they should not, can not, will not, be endured. Already from workshop, cotton mill, and the dark coal mine, the toil-worn and starving English worker is forced to *think* upon the cause of his suffering, and instinctively to look to his *natural* source of help.

The Past and Present is to notify his brethren of the upper governing class of this fact, and to warn and entreat them to set themselves seasonably to rectifying the evil. They, and they only, must do it; awful will it be for them and for England, if the work is left to other hands.

Before considering Carlyle's opinions upon the state of England, we wish to glance with him at the French Revolution. His history of that revolution, is a series of the most vivid pictures of events in that frightful catastrophe. What scenes for France, for the world, for the universe, were crowded into those few years of time! And *men* the actors; beings like ourselves! Human nature in all its aspects can here be seen; all the most hidden strata of it turned up to the full gaze of the world. And this too,

not among Carib or Snake Indians, Hottentots or Tartars ; but in one of the most refined, polite, and educated nations of Christendom ! But these were the death-throes of an old, the birth-pangs of a new era ; the viaticum and the christening committed to strange hands. The pit, the twenty five millions from the pit of France, had jumped upon the stage ; all bands were burst asunder ; tragedy and comedy enact themselves in the strangest alternations.

The special inquiry before us now is, Why was this ? What in the civil and social relations of this people led to this frightful event ? Historians are pretty well agreed in their views of the remote and proximate causes. Some lay more stress upon one thing, some upon another. Carlyle, looking through the unequal taxation, the clashings between the new and the old nobilities, the state of the clergy, the dearth of grain, the Encyclopedists, the harlotry of the Court, the weakness of Lewis XVI, sees, as including all these, a whole nation habited in forms which she had outgrown ; which exceedingly galled every limb and spot of the entire body. The reason why the nation was so *susceptible* to this or the other influence, was her universally diseased state. There was no soundness in her. Every political, moral, and social nerve had become morbidly sensitive. Or to return to the significant figure of our author, France had lived for centuries in her feudal garments, which now in no way fitted her. For a long time she had been outgrowing them, and now at the slightest touch they burst open and fall off. And, alas ! there were no new, well formed, and fitting garments in readiness. Her rulers, (*tailors*, he sometimes calls them,) temporal and spiritual guides of all descriptions, had neglected their work. France was governed and guided only by the

momentum received from past ages. This force had now expended itself ; gradually indeed, yet at its entire cessation, the change is felt through the whole nation. France looks up to her constitutional authorities for direction. There are her king and nobility, and soon her Notables. She looks to them inquiringly—“ How ? Whither ? ” The answer comes, “ Go on as you have done ! ” Like beasts of burden too heavy laden, all France begins rearing and flouncing. All this came of neglect ; of the sheerest injustice and oppression on the part of those whose duty it was rightly and righteously to govern and guide the people. Nearly all the land of France was owned by the church and state aristocracy ; the hard laboring and half starving millions of the nation paid all they possibly could pay, for the support of their governors ; and yet all this was inadequate to satisfy their demands. Battening in the *œil de bœuf*, or in their one hundred thousand chateaux scattered through the kingdom ; intriguing, idling, or hunting, but never governing, or in any sense caring for the people, except that they punctually pay the rents, the nobility of France had lost not only the reverence, but the respect of the nation. The hereditary representatives of the old feudal lords, they possessed neither the chivalry, ability, justice, nor benevolence of their ancestors. They inherited only their wealth and privileges ; and these they used as the ancient barons would have scorned to use them. Their position was the more offensive and despicable in the eyes of the nation, from the fact, that the *nation itself* had so changed. France had become densely peopled ; commerce had enriched thousands of the middling classes, and quickened the springs of industry throughout the land ; the printing press had done its wonderful works, enlightening myriads, and by some faint

rays of light making the darkness less dense in the deepest vales of ignorance. All questions of church and state, religion and politics, were publicly discussed. Increased freedom and toleration were to be seen all around them. Compared with the English people, the French saw themselves the most pitiable slaves; the actual cultivator of the soil paying, according to Alison, nine times as much as the English laborer, or eleven twelfths of all he could produce. Multitudes could not have land to cultivate even upon such terms. Game must not be disturbed, for how could the seigneur have his hunting grounds curtailed! Long miles of fertile land must lie fallow, lest the partridges should be disturbed. Better that French people should starve, than that the French lord should be restricted in his pleasures. Many a French father and mother, sallow and emaciated, hope driven from their hearts, despair seated on their countenances, must see their children lie unclad and unfed upon their bed of weeds, while around the manor-house of their lord spiritual, the multitude of hunting dogs were well kenneled and in the best condition. Here was enough and to spare, but the crumbs were denied the starving tenant. The horse and the hound were sleek and fat, but the human worker was naked and destitute. Contrasts like these were to be seen all over France. Industry dying of hunger—idleness reveling in plenty; and this luxurious idleness maintained by this starving industry—the price of being governed! There was a necessity that the hands should strike work, when the stomach was denied nourishment.

There were those in the nation among the higher orders who saw with alarm the injustice and the guilt of this state of things. A few among the noblesse and clergy were for lightening the taxes of the la-

borer by taxing their own class. But no proposition of this kind was favorably received. When stern necessity drove them to this course, every other expedient having been tried in vain, and the whole machinery of government come to a dead stand for the want of money, it proved the torch which lighted all the combustible materials of the nation.

But the suffering from actual want among the lowest of the French people was not the only cause of revolutionary acts. Not a class in France was satisfied with its condition. The supercilious bearing of the old nobility could not be borne by the new peers. Men of ability and worth were indignant that every avenue to advancement was closed against them because their ancestors centuries before were not lords of the land. Birth took the precedence of talent, learning, enterprise and wealth. The king and the court were chagrined that the horn of plenty should not still shower its blessings upon them. The seigneurs were indignant at the very idea that they should help defray the expenses of the government. Unprivileged capitalists determined they would no longer be burdened with the expense of supporting so much useless dignity. Philosophers barely endured the present, sustained by the hope of a millennium of equality and benevolence. All were dissatisfied with the existing state of things. The times had changed. France had changed. But still in no particular had her civil, religious, or political garments been altered. So rotten that they were ready to fall off at the first breeze, those whose business it was had made no provision for new and better apparel. Sansculottic in every sense, when the breeze did come, as come it must unless nature suspended her laws, 'the whole French nation went spinning into night and orcus.'

Over the scenes which followed

upon the manifestation of revolutionary principles, Carlyle remarks there has been shrieking enough; and he classes them among the most frightful our planet has witnessed. Not only during the 'Reign of Terror' was wretchedness and agony found in France, but "history, looking back over this France through long times, back to Turgot's time for instance, when dumb drudgery staggered up to its king's palace, and in wide expanse of fallow faces, squalor and winged raggedness, presented hieroglyphically its petition of grievances; and for answer got hanged on a 'new gallows forty feet high'—confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with, in which the general twenty five millions of France suffered *less* than in this period which they name the 'Reign of Terror!' But it was not the dumb millions that suffered here; it was the speaking thousands, and hundreds, and units; who shrieked, and published, and made the world ring with their wail, as they could and should: that is the grand peculiarity. The frightfullest births of time are never the loud-speaking ones, for these soon die; they are the silent ones, which can live from century to century! Anarchy, hateful as death, is abhorrent to the whole nature of man; and so must itself soon die."—"Wherefore let all men know what of depth and of height is still revealed in man; and, with fear and wonder, with just sympathy and just antipathy, with clear eye and open heart, contemplate it and appropriate it; and draw innumerable inferences from it. This inference, for example, among the first: that if 'the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering thrones, indolent as Epicurus's gods, with the living chaos of ignorance and hunger weltering uncared for at their feet, and smooth parasites preaching peace, peace, when there is no peace,' then the dark chaos, it would

seem, will rise, has risen, and, O heavens! has it not tanned their skins into breeches for itself? That there be no second Sansculottism in our earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was; and let rich and poor of us go and do *otherwise*.'"*

The ideas expressed in these two paragraphs are continually kept in view throughout this history. The millions of France had for centuries been among the most loyal of European men. They would have continued so had not the objects of their devotion changed. It had become impossible for France to live any longer as she had lived. Changes which should have been gradually and wisely going forward in the laws and institutions of the nation, must now be made suddenly. The upper powers had neglected their duties; they still refused relief when a whole suffering nation instinctively cried for help; their indolence and sumptuousness made them hateful in the eyes of the people; and—for nature's laws must be obeyed—the people, broken loose from all the ties which for centuries had bound them, blindly, foolishly and wickedly, as they ever will and must, undertook the work of revolution. But at bottom the guilt of the whole lies at the door of those who occupied the stations of authority. It was a long and most difficult thing for the millions of France to work themselves into a revolutionary state. It never could have taken place, it never would have been thought of, had there been any perceptible approximation to right and justice in the spiritual and temporal guides of the nation.

The *Past and Present*, as we have said, is a warning to England to avoid the doom of France. Mr. Alison, in the forty first chapter of his *History of Europe*, has strongly

* Vol. III, book x, chap. 6.

predicted the destruction of England. His prediction seems to be founded upon the undue ascendancy of popular power in connection with the enormous debt of the nation. Yet, (consistently or not with his general reasoning, we will not stop to inquire,) he rejoices that in this 'western democratic world, there will survive one hundred and fifty millions of men who will speak the English language, read English authors, and glory in English descent.' Mr. Carlyle does not thus despair of England. Hope predominates that she will be saved, 'though as by fire.' If we rightly understand these two distinguished authors, they do not materially differ about the abstract principles upon which England should be governed, although they would differ widely respecting the particular measures which should be adopted.

But our business is with the Past and Present.

What are called the popular tendencies in Europe, or England in particular, are no cause for alarm in the mind of Mr. Carlyle, though he has no sympathy with those who cry so loud for an extension of the elective franchise and measures of that kind. His faith is in the native loyalty of the human heart. No pitch to which the mass of a nation can be elevated will necessarily extinguish this loyalty. Were every man to be instructed not only to the extent of reading, but to a capacity of forming some intelligible opinion upon moral and political questions, it would endanger no laws and institutions founded in justice and equity. No *righteous* ruler, lawgiver, judge, or spiritual guide whatever, need fear the scrutiny of such a nation of free, intelligent men. Ignorance is a protection only to injustice and wrong. Let the governors spiritual and temporal be wiser and better than the governed, and the more elevated the people, the more safety and glory to the governors.

Nor does Mr. Carlyle lament the passing away of the old feudal forms in which England was once comfortably habited. He admires the spirit of many of the ancient barons, and finds much to applaud in the faith and institutions of the past. He brings up a scene of the twelfth century, not for any paradisiacal aspect of it, but to show how, the *right man* holding the helm, the ship of state (or monastery) can be steered safely through a troubled sea. Abbot Sampson placed at the head of affairs at St. Edmundsbury, finds difficulties, sol-ecisms, wrongs, and injustice enough to encounter and to remedy; in doing which he becomes prematurely gray, so laborious and perplexing was the task. That there were difficulties to be met, and that Sampson valiantly met them and triumphed is the very reason why Carlyle takes this period to illustrate his own. From the toll-gate up to the crown every thing was out of joint. The rich refused to pay the lawful tax for cutting convent grains. The collector entered the houses of the poor, and for want of the tax, he snatched a stool, kettle, even the house-door, and the old woman gave him chase with shrieks and brandished distaffs. Royal authority demanded yearly a certain amount of eels, when no eels could be caught, — worse than making bricks without straw. Sampson found a sad deficit in St. Edmund's exchequer, comparable, almost, considering their circumstances, to the present debt of England.

The monks of the monastery were lazy and vicious; they would not keep their accounts straight, nor do any of their temporal or spiritual work as they should. They actually rose in rebellion and threatened to murder their abbot. The feudal knights tributary to St. Edmundsbury "were of unjust and greedy temper," and cheated him out of his fees. Kings, earls, barons and Jews

continually vex him with unjust demands. But the heroic Sampson, as far as his rule extended, reduced every thing to order. He triumphed because he was *just*. From the meanest monk up to the king, he was respected and feared.

Carlyle commends many things which pertained to those feudal times.* If there was fighting to be done, the earls and barons joined in it with their vassals, for whom they had a kind regard, and for whom they provided bread and protection. In return they were loved and loyally obeyed. Rather than see a laborer starve they would have shared with him the last morsel in their castles. Without doubt we can find periods in the days of feudalism when there was less physical suffering in England than at present; periods when the relation between governors and governed was happier than at present. But the connection between them was after all, as Carlyle declares, of the "brass-collar kind," and few in England, wretched as they may be, would wish to return to this condition.

What, according to our author, is the disease of England, and what the remedy?

It is the peculiar view Carlyle takes of the subject, rather than any new facts which he produces, which makes us see England tottering upon the verge of a fearful precipice. There she is, sitting upon her sea-girt island, her arms encircling the globe; the strongest, the most magnificent, the richest nation on the face of the earth. Behold her navy, her army, her possessions in every clime, her cities, her iron roads, temples, palaces, her edifices of every kind—her science, art, literature, and living intellect and wis-

dom; what a spectacle of splendor and greatness! Hear the puffing of her engines, the noise of her hammers, the buzz of her spindles, the rattling of her carriages! Surely England is in sound working order. Behold her queen, her court, her nobility, her clergy, her capitalists! She is the sovereign, or the protector, or the creditor, of almost all the nations of the earth. Her canvas whitens every sea; the roar of her cannon resounds on every shore. Talk of England's disease?—of her approaching death? Does not every pulse beat with vigor and health? England sinking under a load of debt? To whom? She is indebted only to her own citizens. Will they destroy her whose wealth is all bound up in her existence? Is Ireland about to take her life? All that the Irish ask, is, the privilege of making laws and administering justice among themselves; on which condition they will remain loyal to the English crown. Has England so dense a population that food can not be found for all? She can transport her surplus millions to her fertile colonies, or to the rich and unpeopled lands of our western country. Do her corn-laws threaten to undermine her prosperity, or to unsettle the loyalty of her people? Can she not repeal them? Her taxes! But she can diminish them so that they shall not bear with crushing weight on the laboring classes. No symptom of fatal disease can be detected in this way. Philosophically speaking, the danger does not lie in her want of *natural* ability. Her disease is of a *moral* nature. What *will*, not what *can* England do? Carlyle looks at the moral state of the nation, and only suggests quite incidentally any specific remedial measures of an outward character; for which some reviewers have censured him. Yet he every where proposes the only remedy for the evil of which he complains. He has little confi-

* In a late number of Blackwood's Magazine, it is stated that a greater proportion of the higher than of the lower classes of England perished in the wars with Napoleon.

dence in any party measure to relieve the evil from which the greatest danger is to be apprehended. He repeatedly says he has no Morrison's pill (referring to parliamentary acts and the like) for curing the maladies of society. "Unluckily the heavens themselves, in their rich pharmacopœia, contain none such. There will no 'thing' be done that will cure you. There will a radical, universal alteration of your regimen and way of life take place; there will a most agonizing divorce between you and your chimeras, luxuries, and falsities, take place; a most toilsome, all but impossible return to nature, and her veracities, and her integrities, take place; that so the inner fountains of life may again begin, like eternal light-fountains, to irradiate and purify your bloated, swollen, foul existence, drawing nigh, as at present, to nameless death. Either death or else all this will take place. Judge, if with such diagnosis, any Morrison's pill is like to be discoverable." This perhaps is as specific a statement of the case as is given in the book; as delicate also, for more uncourtly epithets and comparisons were rarely ever used. As a preacher, John Knox was politeness itself compared with Carlyle. The Scotch generally, we believe, never select soft words when they can find others; but Carlyle in the work before us is almost outlandish. He sometimes quotes, yet every reader knows the quotation consists of the commas only. What the lords spiritual and the lords temporal, 'the working and unworking aristocracies' in England will say to see themselves symbolized in the fables of golden Midas with his long ears, and of the Dead Sea apes chattering upon the trees, we are a little curious to know. Other feelings than those of disgust will be likely to attend the perusal of the *Past and Present*; for Carlyle knows how to say *such*

things, blunt as he is in the use of single epithets. He deals much in fables, and gives them a depth of meaning of which the authors never dreamed.

Yet the above quotation, to one who has not read the book, will give no definite idea of the threatening evils of England and their remedy, as they lie in the mind of the author. Nor will any amount of quotations short of several entire chapters. Though England looks so fair and vigorous outwardly, Carlyle, who seems to know her inner, spiritual life, sees a moral gangrene upon every function of her system. To say that the aristocracy are unjust, unmerciful, implacable, abominable, damnable, out and out in league with the devil, in all their management of England, sounds tame and insipid after reading some of these chapters. He does not seem to have the feeling which came over him on one occasion in speaking of similar characters in France—"that God would think twice before he damned such men." He sees nothing right or just, much less heroic and godlike, in any of the social, moral, or political relations of the various classes of the realm. One thing he honors in England—the labor which has made her physically great. This in itself he thinks noble—"England's true epic." But this compared with some other things, he deems honorable in quite a secondary degree. The nobles of England present to his mind a most despicable spectacle. Resting secure upon their yellow parchments, they claim the land as theirs; they made it, or at least their fathers fought or gambled for it, and gave it to them to be used as seemeth them good. They are also England's law-makers and governors. The government they inherited with the land from their fathers, back to the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. With this, in itself considered, Car-

lyle has no fault to find; a landed aristocracy is the only true one, and should be truly venerable. The feudal progenitor of the present lord (*law-ward*) took a portion of the realm of the king, together with the population, to take care of—to see that the land was well tilled, the people well guided and provided for. His business was to see that good laws were faithfully obeyed; that justice was equitably administered. This was his business, and he *did* it; the people loyally obeyed him, and cheerfully paid him for the use of the land, and for doing so noble a work for their good. But how do the lords of England now discharge those *duties* which they as really inherit as they do the land? Not at all! They have retired from business altogether, and are intent only upon ‘preserving the game;’ idling, hunting, and clamoring for higher rents, when by their corn-laws and similar legislation they have rendered it impossible for the millions to pay any rent. They have ceased to care for the people; they can see them actually starve and their tough leather bowels not move. By their legislation they strangle the working capitalist, forbid him to buy and sell where he can do it to the best advantage, and thereby millions of operatives are thrown out of work, and out of wages and victuals, except they find them in poor-house bastiles. They no longer look upon the poorer classes as their brethren, to govern and provide for whom in a righteous manner is their *noble* work. “Is not,” they ask, “this England *ours*? and have not we a right to do what we will with our own? Can we not sell its grain at what price we please, or even burn it? Are we your keepers?” The lank, starving populace, in the streets of Manchester, in a state of insurrection, ask—“What are you going to do with us?” They are answered with grape shot, and retire to their dens.

Carlyle sets no bounds to his indignation against those whom he represents as reasoning and acting in this manner. He tells them the land of England is not *theirs* in any such sense; that every born subject of the kingdom has a *right*, founded on Heaven’s parchment, to a living in it if he is willing to be industrious and frugal; and by way of warning he repeatedly points them to the pikes of Paris and the tanneries of Mendon.* This question of *rights* will soon be a question of *nights*, (words most significant with him;) it seems even now only waiting for a standard, some rallying sign which, as nature is true, some Oliver will be sent to raise. Things have come well nigh to the insupportable pitch; old garments galling to a degree which *can not* be borne; the universal brain of the nation set to agitating first principles; and let the thin rind of habit be once broken and seen to be *thin*, and then—look to France now gone fifty years! What will all parchments, laws, constitutions, royalty, manors and manor-houses avail you then? *You*, first of all, will rue the day. But for all England it will be woful work, for what know chartism and radicalism about governing! Let the example of France suffice. Repent! Instantly repeal those hated and hateful corn-laws, that the agitation about first principles may be allayed. Let them not continue for a hundred thousand pounds an hour!

When Carlyle comes to the church, and with one eye on the gospel of Christ, which it pretends to follow, and the other upon the whole life and preaching of those whom he calls soul-overseers, he thinks it best to keep silence. But

* “At Mendon,” says Montgaillard, as quoted by Carlyle, (*French Revolution*, p. 399,) “there was a tannery of human skins—such of the guillotined as seemed worth flaying; of which perfectly good wash-leather was made, for breeches and other uses.”

silence is the last thing he can keep upon this subject, as almost every chapter of his book testifies. He is the last man, he tells us, who will complain of the thirty nine articles of the church; it is of the eternal round of forms which have become forms only; mere semblances, which, if the fruit of the life be any test of the real belief of the heart, those who go over them do not believe. The spiritual lord, moist with the sweat of Melton Mowbry, claiming connection with Peter and Paul by a continuous spiritual chain, into whose head the idea of doing the real *work* of Peter and Paul never entered, is what he calls a spectacle for God and man. Their Sabbath worship always reminds him of that scene of the apes by the Dead Sea.

"But the remedy?" "A return to reality and fact; to truth, justice, right. Loose at once the strangling band of the corn-laws from the throats of some five millions: England has ability of property and of every other kind. Let the people see that she is determined to use this ability at whatever sacrifice of personal ease, pleasure, or profit, to remedy the actual suffering of the land. Once determine to *do*, actually begin doing, and right 'things' enough will be found practicable. It is a question of life and death. Better die in attempting, than die, as you surely must, by neglecting. Abbot Sampson, and every other hero will die, if need be, in doing their work, but they will not sit still and see injustice triumph."

"Let England generally cease the base struggle to undersell all the world in her manufactures. Where is the honor or real greatness, in becoming drawers of water and hewers of wood, mere drudges and gnomes, your lungs filled with cotton-fuzz, your hearts with copperas-fumes, that you may sell cotton a farthing cheaper per yard

than other men? Does England's glory consist in *working* harder than any other nation? Give the poor workers healthy, ceiled rooms; a spot of green earth where they may daily take a breath of fresh air; and some little instruction, and knowledge, to the extent at least of the alphabet; and in numerous such ways, strive to attach them to you by cords of affection, and not as you in vain have tried to do, by paying them the stipulated amount of wages—the scantiest possible, and then telling them to depart. Cease to calculate so closely the greatest amount of work that can be done upon the fewest ounces of food and the fewest hours of rest. You disgrace English humanity worse than the Americans do African humanity. Quashee over the water has victuals and clothing; while your Lancashire weavers, in whom there is more thought and heart, a greater amount of misery, than in a whole gang of Quashees, are dying of hunger. If you can not live by selling cotton equally with other nations, you can do something else; your genius is not a beaver's or an ant's, that you must eternally do the same thing in the same way. Let the captains of industry become, what the age, what England now demands them to be, the chivalry of labor, leading on cheerily and with good heart the working-men to noble conquests, not of 'arms' but of work.* Give them,

* "Prudence keeps one thousand workmen; has striven in all ways to attach them to him; has provided conversational soirees; play grounds, bands of music for the young ones; went even 'the length of buying them a drum:' all which turned out to be an excellent investment. For a certain person whom we shall name Blank, living over the way—he also keeps somewhere about one thousand men; but has done none of these things for them, nor any other thing, except due payment of the wages by supply-and-demand. Blank's workers are

where you can, some personal stake in the contest for their encouragement. A dynasty of labor has commenced its reign, and you may make it more glorious than all former dynasties. Let the governing powers understand this, and direct their politics accordingly.

Ye voters of England too have a reformation to work in yourselves. Your representatives declare in open Parliament, that bribery in elections can not be stopped; that you are so *bribable*, that any scoundrel can get himself elected, if he will give you more money than another scoundrel. This is too shocking to be told. And has it come to this, that you will leave the *man*, the clear-sighted, true-hearted man at home, and send some mere sham of a man to govern you and this great and suffering nation? And can you there in the "National Palaver" proclaim it to the universe, that the collective wisdom and authority of this kingdom will not interfere to prevent bribery? Then go to Beelzebub, electors and elected, for you are verily his beyond all rescue! An armed Cromwell will not long be wanting to apprise such Parliament: "Ye are no Parliament. In the name of God—go!" Brother franchiser, let *us* have no hand any longer in electing such men to govern this nation! "Come out of her, O my people!"

And you, blaring hatter, and all others of like craft, stop trundling that seven feet lath-and-plaster hat

in these streets! Be content to make good hats at fair price, and let your brother craftsmen do the same, and all of you can live comfortably and happily together. Of how much in our day is this mammoth hat emblematic? Did puffery ever reach such height in any European, Mohammedan, Pagan, or devil's kingdom whatever? At this rate you will soon reach the—*end!*

Ye landed aristocracy, gird up your loins for the hard, almost impossible work of saving this England you call yours. Your idleness will prove the death of you and of us. How inexpressibly happy might we be were you the true godlike aristocracy of this realm. Dukes, earls, lords all, see in the example of a late duke of Weimar, what *can* be done, and in right earnest set about the doing of it, and this and other generations shall call you blessed.* Let the partridges and foxes go, and attend to these millions of English men. Let them go, or you can not stay. Nature's patience is near exhausted, laws of gravitation have *not* ceased, there is huge strength in those bare backs and empty stomachs! God gave this land to nourish this people; you, if you would continue its stewards, must let it be cultivated for this purpose, and no longer keep it for your pleasures.

Clergy! Do you know a book

* "A modern duke of Weimar, not a god he either, but a human duke, levied, as I reckon, in rents and taxes and all incomings whatsoever, less than several of our English dukes do in rent alone. The duke of Weimar, with these incomings, had to govern, judge, defend, every way administer *his* dukedom. He does all this as few others did; and he improves lands besides all this, makes river embankments, maintains not soldiers only but universities and institutions:— * * * I reckon that this one duke of Weimar did more for the culture of his nation, than all the English dukes and *duces* now extant, or that were extant since Henry the eighth gave them the church lands to eat, have done for theirs!" Book IV, Chap. VI.

perpetually getting into mutiny, into broils and coils; every six months, we suppose, Blank has a strike; every one month, every day and every hour, they are frating and obstructing the short-sighted Blank; pilfering from him. 'I would not, says Friend Prudence, exchange my workers for his, *with seven thousand pounds to boot.*'" Book IV, Chap. V. This is a real case, and helps us to the meaning of our author, when from the nature of the case he can speak only in general terms.

called the *New Testament*? Did you ever read that book? And is it the God-man, with a crown of thorns there whom you preach, worship, and profess to follow? Is it as under His eye that you would be about the greatest work ever given to man to do? How, where, O tell me where! you are leading this nation? To what heaven, or to what hell, shall we go if we follow *you*? It has become evident to men of other nations as well as to some of us, that the greatest terror, the only hell of the English, is—"not making money!" And "making money," or *succeeding*, is our corresponding heaven. Has your preaching, has your *example* led to such a doctrine? How with thy mass-chantings, litanyings, Calmuck praying by machinery, rubrics, webs of lawn, has the Holiest become hidden into all but invisibility! Pause, I beseech thee,

and preach and *act* the gospel of Christ and no other, or take thyself and thy trumpery from our sight! You have well nigh quenched the empyrean fire, and lighted mere magic lanterns to guide this people on their blind way to eternity. Lift up your voice like a trumpet, sound aloud once more the true Gospel—man's duties and destinies, nature's eternal *facts*—and your calling shall be glorious.

"Stars silent rest o'er us,
Graves under us silent.

But heard are the voices,
Voice of the Sages,
The World's and the Ages:
Choose well, your choice is
Brief and yet endless;

Here eyes do regard you,
In Eternity's stillness;
Here is all fullness,
Ye brave, to reward you;
Work and despair not."

POLITY OF THE BAPTIST CHURCHES IN AMERICA.

THE Baptists are perhaps the most numerous class of Christian professors in this country, numbering nearly a million of communicants. It has always been a favorite theory with this denomination, that the Savior is the only legislator of the churches, and his will, as revealed in the New Testament, is their sole and supreme law. They have regarded the principle of church independency as one of the safeguards of their religious liberty, their bulwark against the encroachments of civil and ecclesiastical power. In this respect they differ but slightly from the Congregational churches of New England, and the Independents of Europe. Indeed, the only material difference between Baptists and Congregationalists, relates to the design, subjects, and mode of baptism.

The Baptists reject all claims of the civil magistrate to any but a civil jurisdiction; but they are well known to be willing and peaceable subjects to civil authority, where the rights of conscience are not involved. "Hence, in every age, their strong attachment to liberty; especially to religious liberty, whose principles they have always proclaimed, and consistently exemplified."

"That wretched doctrine of the union of church and state, by which Christianity has been made the minister of every wrong, that boasted alliance on which so many encomiums have been lavished, they have ever regarded as a foul conception, inconsistent with the very nature of *that kingdom which is not of this world*, destructive of the very purpose of the Christian

church, and in effect, 'little more than a compact between the priest and the magistrate to betray the liberties of mankind, both civil and religious.'"

They have no authoritative "creed," "confession of faith," or "book of discipline." Each church agrees upon its own summary of Bible doctrines, and adopts its own covenant. The New Testament is regarded as being the best "confession of faith," which any church can adopt; and this is made the supreme arbiter in all cases of disputation or doubt. But still there is a general agreement of opinion among the churches, as to the doctrines which the Bible inculcates, especially in relation to cardinal tenets, and a departure from the known views of the denomination on any of these points, would render a church liable to a withdrawal of the fellowship of neighboring churches.

This outline of the general features of the ecclesiastical polity of this branch of the Christian church, prepares us to examine more in detail, the views which the Baptists entertain respecting the *origin* of the Christian church; the *character of its members*; the *object* for which it is founded; the principle of its *independence*; its *officers*; its *sacraments*; its *discipline*; the method of receiving and dismissing ministers; the relation of churches to each other; the holding of associations; the powers and duties of ecclesiastical *councils*; the method of *licensing* and *ordaining* ministers; the method of transacting

church business; and the forms of public worship.

1. The *origin* of the Christian church. The Baptists maintain, that the Christian church derives its *origin* directly and solely from Jesus Christ, its supreme Head and Legislator; and that the nature, design, order, government, and discipline of the church, can only, with sufficient accuracy, and with any degree of certainty, be ascertained by a careful and candid study of the instructions and practice of Christ and his apostles. "In regard to the constitution of the Christian church, while they believe in the existence of a universal or catholic church, composed of the whole body of believers in Christ in all nations and ages, they think that the Christian church, properly so called, was not visibly organized in the family of Abraham, nor in the wilderness of Sinai; but by the ministry of Christ himself and of his apostles." Hence the method of gathering and organizing a church, according to apostolic order, is, in their view: *first*, to preach the gospel to sinners, and call upon them to repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ their only Savior. *Secondly*, to baptize as many as gladly receive the word, and bring forth fruit meet for repentance. *Thirdly*, to recognize such penitent baptized believers, voluntarily united in covenant relation, as a church of Christ, capable of enjoying all the rights, powers, and immunities invested in them by the Sovereign Head.

2. The *character of its members*. The Baptists hold that the church, organized according to the instructions of the New Testament, is a community composed of persons capable of acting for themselves, and of one specific character, namely, *penitent believers*, who are able to give a reason of the hope that is in them with meekness and fear; and who, on becoming connected

* A confession of faith was adopted in England, in 1689, by a convention of one hundred and fifty Baptist ministers and lay delegates, representing more than one hundred churches in "London and the country." This confession does not differ essentially from that of the Westminster Assembly, except on the subject of baptism. See also a summary of the doctrinal views of the Baptists in the *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*.

with the church, have voluntarily submitted to the ordinance of Christian baptism, on profession of their *individual* faith, according to what they consider the precepts of Christ, and the uniform example of primitive saints. No others can, in their opinion, be lawfully admitted to membership. Hence they reject the baptism of infants, and receive into the church those only who give them satisfactory evidence of personal piety.

3. The *object* for which a church is founded. The Baptists hold that the object for which a church is founded on earth, is not for secular and worldly purposes, but for ends strictly religious—to call out and associate the people of God in conducting and maintaining divine worship, in observing the ordinances of Christ, and practicing the duties which he has enjoined; and also for the purpose of advancing the church in holiness, and extending the glory of God, and the blessings of Christianity among all people.

4. The principle of its *independence*. It has already been stated, that a firm adherence to the principle of church independency, has always distinguished those who have embraced the essential views of the Baptists, in reference to church organization. Their views of this matter then may be thus stated: that a local church regularly constituted is an independent republic, responsible indeed for its faith and practice to Christ, but amenable herein to no civil tribunal, or ecclesiastical body on earth; and that such a church has a scriptural warrant to govern itself, choose its own officers, discipline its members, and to transact any business pertaining to its Christian calling. Of this principle of church independency, one of their writers observes: "Our fathers guarded it as the apple of the eye, and having removed the rust and the rubbish of ages, they bequeathed, as a legacy to us, this

priceless treasure, with the solemn charge, that we transmit it untarnished and unencumbered to our posterity."

By this independency of the churches, they mean that a church is a voluntary association of professed believers in Christ, taking the Scriptures as the only, the infallible, and the sufficient guide in church organization and discipline; choosing its own officers, and executing, according to the best of its united judgment, the laws and institutions of Christ. It is the appointed interpreter and executor of the will of Christ in receiving and expelling its own members. For the manner in which it executes this high trust, the church is accountable to Christ himself, and is not amenable to any civil or ecclesiastical tribunal. A church is a complete system in itself, containing all the elements necessary to its own existence, and to the exercise of the highest ecclesiastical power. The multiplication of churches does not affect this principle, since each church is as independent and entire, in respect to all which concerns its existence and prerogatives as a church, as if it were the only one in existence. Whatever affiliations or associations may be formed by a number of churches for mutual assistance, or for carrying into effect plans of benevolence, they can never add to, nor take from, the powers and duties of each separate church. A thousand churches have no more power to add to, or take from, the laws of Christ, than a single church.

These views of church independency sufficiently explain the reason why Baptists have always adhered to the voluntary system in the support of religious institutions. They believe that there is spiritual power in the gospel sufficient to accomplish all its purposes. They ask no help from the secular arm. The power which Christ has given them is for edification, and not for

destruction. If one who is called a brother be unwilling to bear his part in the common burdens, he is a subject of admonition and discipline, perhaps of excision, but not of civil litigation. Here, too, each church is bound to understand the will of Christ respecting order, fellowship, and discipline for itself. It can not, if it would, throw this work off upon others. It is not obliged to accept and adopt the opinion of a council, or convention, in matters which relate to its fellowship and discipline. Christ has invested each church with the duty and responsibility of interpreting and executing his laws.

The Baptists have uniformly declared it to be a violation of the spirit of Christianity for any human power to assume the right to *tolerate* the free exercise of religion. They refer a great part of the evils which have afflicted the church since the days of Constantine to the present time, to a denial of the right of conscience—the right of every man to worship God in his own way, if he does not thereby infringe the rights of others. And one ground of their inflexible adherence to the principle of church independency, is the protection which it affords against the encroachments of civil government and national church establishments on the rights of conscience.

5. Its *officers*. Of these the Baptists hold that the Scriptures recognize but two kinds—that is, but two kinds of *permanent* officers, viz. **ELDERS**—sometimes called pastors, teachers, overseers, bishops—and **DEACONS**. They maintain that the apostolic office, and all the *extraordinary* gifts which characterized the first disciples, expired with the apostolic age. We have therefore remaining, as constituted and permanent officers in the church of Christ:

(1.) *Elders*.—These are regularly ordained persons, called to take the pastoral charge of particular

churches, and have no ecclesiastical authority whatever in any other church than that “over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers.”

The Baptists are firm in the belief that there is no distinction of rank in the ministry, and discard the notion of three grades of ministers—bishops, priests, and deacons—as totally destitute of foundation in the word of God. They believe it never was intended that some ministers should be set up as lords and governors over their brethren. They hold that the duties and powers of the bishops, or overseers of the church, as explained in various parts of the New Testament, are as follows. They are to preside in the church; “to do the work of a shepherd over the flock, who guides, oversees, and supplies; who feeds the lambs and the sheep; to superintend the devotions of the church, its ordinances, its discipline, its instruction, all its interests and concerns.” They are to teach and preach the gospel; and this is their principal business, their most important duty. It does not follow that a preacher is necessarily a pastor or bishop, or even a church officer at all; but a pastor or bishop is, by virtue of his office, an authorized preacher of the gospel. “To them, therefore, may be applied, not only such apostolic exhortations as we find addressed specifically to elders and bishops, but all the instructions and counsels which were given to any other preachers in that particular capacity. It is their duty to ‘take heed to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers, to feed the church of God.’ It is no less the duty of such an officer in the church to ‘be an example of the believers;’ to ‘give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine;’ to ‘meditate on these things, to give himself wholly to them, that his profiting may appear to all;’ he is ‘rightly

to divide the word of truth,' to 'be instant in season and out of season,' to 'reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine.'"

(2.) The other kind of permanent church officers are *deacons*. They are understood to have been originally appointed in the church at Jerusalem, to take charge of the temporal affairs of the church, and thus relieve the care and responsibility of those whose duty it was to devote themselves entirely to the ministry of the word. They were especially to see that the widows were not neglected in the daily ministration; to administer aid in behalf of the church to its afflicted and needy members. This is believed still to be their appropriate duty. The description given by the apostle of the requisite qualifications of this class of church officers, seems to justify this belief. The views which Baptists entertain of the duties of *deacons*, are very forcibly expressed by Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, in the following language: "It is theirs to go—and as God often chooses the poor of this world to be rich in faith, it is often theirs to go—into the dwellings of poverty, and sickness, and distress, where the saints are found—to go there as the messengers of the church, bearing relief, and kind counsel, and hope and consolation. It is theirs, too, obviously, and as a matter of course, to be not only the almoners of the church to the poor, but, if need be, the advocates of the poor with the church. This entire interest and care is taken from the bishops and given to their guardianship. Such is their office,—no unhonored, insignificant, or trifling work;—an office which involves a standing and influence in the church, and a degree of confidence on the part of the brethren, so considerable, that those who occupy such an office are of course in many other respects, the natural helpers and counselors of those who labor in word

and doctrine. It is not without reason then that Paul requires these officers of the church to be 'grave, not double tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience,' and to be furthermore men who have been 'proved' in the church and have been 'found blameless.' It is not without reason that he adds: 'They that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree,'—attain a high standing as Christians—'and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'"

6. The *sacraments* of the church. The Baptists recognize but two sacraments, namely, *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper*.

(1.) *Baptism*.—They hold that the immersion of a believer in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit, is essential to Christian baptism; and that those only who have been thus baptized are entitled to the privileges of a church relation, and may be scripturally invited to partake of the Lord's Supper. The principal and most comprehensive design of *baptism*, they believe to be, a SOLEMN PUBLIC AND PRACTICAL PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY. But this general design of baptism is understood to comprehend many particulars, among which is the EXPRESSION OF THE BELIEVER'S HOPE OF A FUTURE AND GLORIOUS RESURRECTION. Hence they maintain that baptism is very far from being an unimportant ordinance; that it is highly significant, and not merely an act of obedience to a divine command. They believe it sets forth the crucifixion of Christ; his death, burial, and resurrection; and represents to the believer the duty of dying unto sin, and rising to a new life of righteousness.

(2.) The other sacrament in the church is the *Lord's Supper*. This sacrament Baptists regard as designed principally, if not solely, to commemorate the love and condescension

ascension, the sufferings and death, of the adorable Redeemer. It is strictly a *remembrance*—a *living* and *impressive* remembrance of Christ. All the members of the church in regular standing are to be admitted to this ordinance. No others have any *right* there, except invited by the courtesy of the church, even though they may be members of another church of the same faith and order. This courtesy is, however, commonly extended to all those present who have a regular standing in what they consider a baptized church of Christ. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Baptists have always strenuously resisted the popish notion respecting “*the real presence*” of Christ in the Eucharist. They regard the elements used as symbols merely of his body broken and blood shed; and in this way, they endeavor so to eat and drink, as by faith to “discern the Lord’s body.”

7. The *discipline* of the church. The Baptists have always laid great stress upon the exercise of a wholesome, scriptural discipline in the church. The ends to be gained by it are—the *reformation of offenders*; the *purification, improvement, and edification of the church*; and the *vindication of the honor of religion*. The general rule respecting disciplinary proceedings, is to exercise discipline only in such cases as seem to imply a want of Christian character, and to preclude the idea that the offender may be saved, if he persists in his offensive course to the last. To take any case out of this rule, is regarded as tending to endanger, if not entirely to defeat, the very object of all sound discipline. The following may be stated as a list of offenses demanding the censure of the church.

(1.) *Scandalous sins and gross immoralities*. Of these Paul has spoken in 1 Cor. v, 11.

(2.) *Radical heresy*. Gal. i, 8; 2 John, 10.

(3.) *Neglect of dependent relations*. 1 Tim. v, 4, 8.

(4.) *Habitual idleness*. Living without any active or useful employment, is regarded as an offense demanding the exercise of discipline. 2 Thessa. iii, 6–11.

(5.) *Creating disturbances and causing divisions in the church*.

(6.) *Irreconcilable enmity with any of the brethren*.

In all ordinary cases the rule laid down in Matt. xviii, 15–17, is to be strictly followed. We say in all *ordinary* cases; because there are believed to be some offenses so aggravated in their character, that no confession of the offender, no promise of future amendment, and indeed no evidence of contrition, at the time, should screen him from the highest censure of the church. Such, for instance, are the crimes of murder, adultery, fornication, and perhaps drunkenness, and some others. The honor of religion requires the utmost decision of the church in such cases, though subsequent circumstances may make it plain that a full restoration of the excluded member is both safe and proper. In all cases of personal injury, and indeed in all ordinary cases of public offense, the rule is clearly imperative. This rule is understood to require—

(1.) *Private expostulation with the offender*.

(2.) If the first step fails to reclaim the offender, the next thing to be done is to call in the assistance of one or two brethren who will be most likely to exert a favorable influence over the offender.

(3.) If he still remains incorrigible, one thing more is to be done. “If he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church.” Here the peculiar responsibility of the injured brother ceases, and the church as a body are bound to interpose.

(4.) But if all fails to reclaim the offender, then he is to be excluded. “If he neglect to hear the church,

let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

8. The method of *receiving* and *dismissing* members. In receiving persons by baptism into the church, the candidates are required to state publicly to the church their reasons for believing that God has forgiven their sins, and for wishing to unite with a church of Christ. If their statement proves satisfactory to the *entire* church, they are then baptized and received into full fellowship. But if a member in good standing objects to the reception of any candidate, the case is deferred, or dismissed, as circumstances seem to require. No one is received to the grief of any member. But if the objector refuses his assent without adequate cause, he himself is liable to censure. Many of the churches have a committee associated with the pastor, to whom all applications for admission must be made, and by whom the successful applicants are recommended to the favorable regards of the church. No preliminary step of this kind, however, is allowed to supersede the necessity of a public statement of the candidate's religious exercises to the church. In receiving a person by certificate, it is deemed sufficient to know that the church from which the applicant comes, is maintaining a gospel walk, and that the certificate is authentic. In dismissing members, they are commended to the fellowship and care of the church to which they go; and when official information is communicated of their reception, their membership is considered as regularly transferred.

9. The *relation* of churches to each other. Notwithstanding what has been said of the principle of church independency, it is a generally received opinion among the Baptists, that this independency of the several churches does not free them from accountability to each other. They maintain with much

earnestness, that a properly constituted church is complete in itself, "and is dependent for its existence, its privileges, its ordinances, its officers, and its discipline, on no other church or combination of churches, and on no authority other than that of Scripture and reason." But still they admit that neighboring churches sustain a relation to each other, which involves important mutual duties, and which should lead them to maintain a friendly correspondence and union. Thus if a sister church should be thrown into circumstances of embarrassment or distress, it would be the duty of neighboring churches to tender their sympathies and their assistance, as the case might require. So, if a church is believed to have swerved from the truth, a sister church may interpose its advice and admonition, and after having taken suitable measures to win it back, may, if necessary, withdraw fellowship from the erring and obstinate church. When such exigencies arise, the regular steps enjoined in the 18th of Matthew are to be taken. The aggrieved party having made suitable effort to reclaim the offending church, and finding itself unsuccessful, invites one or more of the neighboring churches to unite with it in these efforts, and then, if still unsuccessful, either withdraws fellowship immediately, or calls a council of neighboring churches, to consult and advise in the premises. So, too, it is due to sister churches that they be consulted in cases of peculiar importance, or of general interest. "The ordination of a pastor, or his solemn induction into office, is one of these occasions." The dismissal of a pastor from his official relation to the church is another. In these cases, a public interest is involved which seems to dictate that some consultation should be had with neighboring churches. And there is yet another case in which consultation with sister churches ap-

pears desirable and proper, and that is, "when controversy arises in the church which can not be easily adjusted; or when some peculiar difficulty occurs, in the administration of discipline." And finally, on this point, churches are bound to co-operate in promoting, as far as practicable, the general interests of religion, and especially in endeavoring to elevate the standard of piety among themselves, and exciting greater zeal and efficiency in the entire community.

10. *The holding of associations.* It is customary for Baptist churches to form associations of convenient size, for the purpose of mutual improvement, consultation, and encouragement. The associations are composed of the pastors, and such lay brethren as are delegated by the respective churches to represent them on the occasion. These associations claim no authority to dictate to the churches, what they shall do, or what they shall believe. But still they have a right to express an opinion respecting the character of any church belonging to the body, and even to withdraw fellowship, when their confidence in the purity of such church is destroyed. They think they claim in this particular, only a right common to all voluntary associations, of deciding who shall be admitted to the privileges and confidence of the compact. But they never interfere in cases of discipline, or other matters of individual church concernment in the slightest degree. Indeed, it is held to be incompetent for them to express an opinion of any kind, on the merits of such a question. All such matters are referred to the sovereignty of the respective churches. These associations hold their meetings annually at such place as may have been previously determined; and the several churches of which they are composed, are expected to send up to them, an account of their

changes during the year, together with a statement of their present condition and prospects. These religious convocations are found to be productive of much spiritual benefit to the churches, and greatly to strengthen the bonds of union and fellowship among the respective pastors.

11. The powers, and duties of ecclesiastical *councils*. It is a settled principle with the Baptists, that ecclesiastical councils have no *authoritative*, or *compulsory* power over the churches. These councils derive all their authority from the churches by which they are constituted. And as no church has any authority over a sister church, or power to act for another, it can not communicate to its delegates any such power or authority. Instead therefore of being *authoritative*, these councils are merely *advisory*. Their power is neither *legislative*, nor *executive*, but strictly and exclusively *moral*. They proceed upon the principle, that "in the multitude of counselors there is safety." When they have patiently heard and carefully examined any case submitted to their consideration, and communicated to the church at whose instance they are convened, the views which they entertain of the matter in hand, their work is done. They may *recommend* measures, but they can not *enforce* them.

It is also worthy of remark, that these councils always originate in the peculiar exigency of the occasion, and disband immediately when the case, on which their advice is sought, is disposed of. There are among Baptists no *standing* councils or committees, to adjust church difficulties. In the manner of calling these councils there is nothing peculiar. The usual method is for the church, as a body, to unite in requesting several sister churches to meet with it by their pastor and one or two lay brethren, to delibe-

rate on the cause of their difficulty or embarrassment. But it sometimes happens that an *ex parte* council becomes necessary. In that case, the person or persons aggrieved, after having made suitable efforts to induce the church to agree upon the calling of a *mutual* council, and failed to effect their wishes, may proceed to call an *ex parte* council, to whom the whole case may be submitted. But even then the church is to be notified of the meeting of the *ex parte* council, and be requested to represent itself by delegates on the occasion. If the church is thought to have erred, the council so express their belief, and give such advice in the premises as may be deemed necessary. Most generally a settlement of the difficulty here ensues; or at least, a *mutual* council is agreed upon, whose advice is commonly conclusive.

12. The method of *licensing*, and *ordaining* ministers. This whole matter is confided to the respective churches. It is held that no church, or body of churches, has any right to dictate to the individual churches on this subject. With each church is vested the supreme right of choosing its own officers, and calling into exercise its own gifts. Still, while this right is conceded to each church, it is claimed as a ground of greater security against imposition, and as a matter of courtesy, that neighboring ministers and churches should be consulted as to the expediency of licensing, or calling to ordination any one of its members. Little more, however, is expected on this point, than that the candidate be requested to exercise his gifts in the pulpits of several of the sister churches, and their general approbation be obtained, before the full license is granted. Ordinarily, considerable time elapses between the licensing of a candidate to preach, and his induction into the duties of a pastor by ordination;

so that sufficient opportunities of understanding the capacities and qualifications of the candidate, are afforded to the several pastors and brethren who may be called upon to take part in the exercises of his ordination. Although the Baptists have perhaps suffered somewhat from the precipitation of some of their churches on this point, they are tenacious of their system of induction into the office of the ministry. They have such a dread and abhorrence of clerical usurpations, and priestly domination, that they look with suspicion upon the slightest deviation from the principle of church independency, in regard to the election of *all* church officers.

As to the method of ordination, it is sufficient to say, that, when a church has called a man to this work, and his acceptance has been duly signified, it then proceeds to invite a council, in the usual manner, to deliberate on the propriety of carrying out its wishes by a public recognition of the candidate with appropriate solemnities. If the council concur in the propriety of proceeding to the ordination, a time is set apart for the public exercises, and persons are chosen of their number to preach a sermon on the occasion, to offer the ordaining prayer and lay on hands, to deliver a solemn charge to the candidate, to extend to him the hand of fellowship, and to address the church and congregation.

13. The method of transacting church business. The pastor is by virtue of his office the moderator of the meeting, and presides during the transaction of all the business of the church, except what may relate to himself. In such a case, or in case of his absence, it is proper for the senior deacon present, or some one who may be chosen, *pro tempore*, to preside. All questions are decided by a *major* vote of the brethren, except such as relate to the reception of members. Here

the vote is required to be *unanimous*. The rules commonly adopted by deliberative bodies, govern the churches in their business meetings. The assent of the sisters is expected in the reception of members; but in all ordinary business they usually take no part whatever.

14. *Public worship*.—Public worship is usually conducted by the

pastor or officiating minister, much in the same manner as in Presbyterian and Congregational churches. Formerly, laymen were called upon, after the sermon, to take part in the exercises, and this practice still continues to some extent. Written discourses are more common than they were in former times.

BANKING.

THE term "bank" is derived from the Italian "*banco*," a bench. In early ages the Jews of Italy used to assemble in the market-places, and seat themselves on benches for the purpose of loaning money; and whenever any one failed, his bench was broken, hence the term "bankrupt." Thus among the modern Europeans, as well as among the ancients, bankers were originally simple money lenders. The first corporate bank was that of Venice. It originated about the middle of the twelfth century, from the necessity of a forced loan on the part of the duke Michael II.; it was therefore the offspring of tyranny. A similar bank commenced in Genoa in 1607; another in Amsterdam in 1609, and another in Rotterdam, 1635. These, together with the bank of Hamburgh, incorporated 1688, were all essentially banks of deposit and exchange, *without the power of expansion*; and they appear to have transacted the principal exchanges of Europe with great utility and safety, until the incorporation of the bank of England in 1694, which first ushered a new, and as we believe, a ruinous principle into the world, viz. *the principle of expansion*—or the principle of giving out more bills than the amount of currency they retained on hand; thus expanding at will the currency of the globe.

With this principle commenced a new career of disaster, before unknown in the history of the world. As its benefits are at first view, specious, plausible, and seemingly almost incalculable, it rapidly spread throughout almost all the commercial nations of the globe. Its needlessness to trace it in all its endless ramifications, through all its tortuous windings, its frauds, its delusions, and its impostures; its frequent and protracted suspensions in the bank of England, its ruinous profligacy under the guidance of Mr. Law, while engendering the far-famed Mississippi scheme in France, by which a whole nation was rendered bankrupt; and through its subsequent developments in our own country.

In all these cases the principle is substantially the same, though its *modes of operation* are in general twofold: first, the bills are emitted and the currency expanded on the bare faith of the government, without any specie in reserve: second, the bills are emitted and the expansion ensues on the basis of a smaller amount of currency held in deposit; varying from three to fifteen dollars emitted to one retained. Law's Mississippi scheme, the old continental scheme, and many others, have proceeded by the first mode; while the majority of existing banks proceed upon the

latter. It is readily admitted, that in many respects there is much choice between these two modes of expansion: while so far as the fact of the expansion is concerned, and all the untold evils that flow from it, it is all one and the same thing; and its results have been as uniform, thus far in the history of the world, as the results of the law of gravitation—though unfortunately not as uniformly good. Law's bank in France, in the short space of four years, swallowed up two thousand two hundred and thirty five millions of livres. The repudiated issues of the continental Congress, recalled at one time, amounted to three hundred and seventy five millions of dollars, to say nothing of other issues and loans, probably amounting in all to thousands of millions. All these losses accrued upon the first mode of expansion, viz. upon the faith of the government. Since 1789, the United States have proceeded upon the other mode, of expanding upon smaller amounts of currency held in deposit, and the direct losses to the nation since that period, aside from all contingent and incidental losses, have been computed only at one thousand one hundred and ninety seven millions of dollars. The incidental losses, though incalculable, would doubtless far exceed this sum; and though the evils of expansion by the first named mode are more rapid and terrific in their development, it may well be doubted whether they are either as deceptive or as fatal in the end, as the expansions on the second mode have thus far proved themselves to be, in this country.

But we design to dwell upon these various modes of banking only sufficiently to indicate a radical defect in most of the treatises and discussions on the subject we have ever had the pleasure of reading, viz. the entire want of this indispensable discrimination. True, they sometimes barely advert to it; they

speak of various kinds of banks, as banks of exchange, of deposit, of circulation, &c.; but it seems not to occur to most writers and speakers, that any bank might perform any one or all of these general functions, either with or without resting its foundations upon this smouldering volcano of expansion. Hence a sort of indiscriminate war on the one hand against all that bears the name of bank, repulsed by puerile eulogies of the same potent and engrossing word by those who have arrayed themselves in the opposite ranks. This is much as though half the nation should declare a war of extermination against all drinks, and the other half turn in to shout their praises, while neither party made any other discrimination in drinks further than to notice that some were red, some white, and some colorless, though all were aware that there was a lurking mischief somewhere about drinks, fraught with the most potent evils. Expansion is the intoxicating alcohol of banks, and no man can intelligently discuss or consider their operation, in past or present times, without at once putting his finger upon this principle, and separating it from all else that pertains to the subject. We must detect the alcohol before we either praise or decry the beverage. There have been then two different kinds of banks in the world, banks of mere ACCOMMODATION, (if we may coin a term,) which have conducted all the business of deposit, circulation, and exchange, either in whole or in part, without the legal power of expanding the currency; and second, banks of EXPANSION, conducting the same operations with the power of legal expansion, more or less indefinite or restricted, and proceeding upon two modes; first, upon the faith of the government; second, upon reserved coin, which latter mode now prevails in the United States. To discuss at length

the relative differences and advantages of these two modes of expansion, or to go into a detailed history of the past and present operation of banks of expansion as contrasted with banks of mere accommodation, such as were those earlier banks of Europe and some of a later date, would be foreign from the compass and design of this paper. All that can be done, is to state certain general facts and results which the intelligence of our readers can easily verify or refute, from the history of the past and the present.

All men in modern times are sufficiently familiar with the meaning of the terms, "reaction," "revulsion," "hard times," &c., in pecuniary interests. All who are to any considerable extent familiar with business, either in theory or practice, are also well apprised that these revulsions in commerce have become a sort of periodical epidemics in our times, whose periods and returns can be safely affirmed by all, while the shrewd financier is tolerably aware of their precise times. High prices in times of plenty and peace, are the constant forerunners of these epidemic revulsions; and at such junctures we hear shrewd practical men remarking, that "these times can not last long," and while all others are eagerly and giddily extending their business and their credits, these sagacious few are as busily contracting and securing their own. To be able to know at what precise moment to do this, constitutes almost the entire art of amassing wealth by large commercial adventures; or it is at least one indispensable item in the business. The course of these periodical expansions and consequent convulsions have, to our knowledge, never been more truly and graphically described, than by Mr. Biddle, in his letter to President Adams. They run somewhat in this form: starting at

the lowest point in the scale, where we now are, (or at least were a short time since,) price begins to rise, business and confidence to increase, at first healthfully and propitiously; but price still goes on rising; profit is piled on profit, bargain on bargain, credit on credit, debt upon debt, and enterprise upon enterprise; and all for most part successful in appearance, until the whole world seems one immense madhouse of traffickers, jobbers, and schemers, all ready to buy, flooded with wealth, and intoxicated with hope. The price of all things, lands, houses, ships, goods, produce, labor, and all else has risen so much, and is still rising so fast, that the silly multitude seem almost to believe, that the very stones are soon to be changed into gold, and that they have little to do but to buy, eat, drink, and enjoy themselves. Hark! there has a bank or a commercial house of great liabilities failed some thousand miles off. "And what of that?" What of that? why, at such times, it rings like a death-knell in the ear of every reflecting man in Christendom—the voice of war, or famine, or plague, could scarcely sound more terrific. He knows what is to come: he anticipates the era of mortgages, writs, suits, failures, sales, sheriffs, bankruptcies, broken fortunes, and broken hearts; sinking or annihilated prices; penniless princes; beggared fathers, weeping mothers, and starving children: he hears already the great wail of the millions, shrieking under the tortures of "a revulsion." He soon learns of another failure, and another, and soon sees all around him, who are engaged in the hazards of commerce, trembling, pale, and palsied with dismay, not knowing whom to trust or what to do. Such is a revulsion: a scourge of Omnipotence for torturing the avarice of the nations, scarcely less terrific than the wars, plagues, and famines, that

formerly trod upon the heels of their more bloody and ferocious crimes. *What is the cause of these modern periodical revulsions?* We say *modern*, for we challenge the production of a single intimation of their existence in the whole history of the world, until after the introduction of the principle of expansion by the bank of England in 1694. The first notices of them commence within less than twenty years from that memorable era, and they have continued their periodical return in all countries affected by this principle of expansion, ever since that time; and still they have not appeared in any country removed from such influence. Doubtless prices have always varied from year to year on particular articles, according to the variation of supply and demand, in all countries and in all ages. But this alternate running up and down of all prices, on all commodities, and these attendant terrific convulsions which the nations have experienced under the system of banking expansion, is, and ever has been, utterly unknown to all the rest of the world. And if history is true, such revulsions follow such expansions of the currency, as naturally and as necessarily as a shadow follows the substance. There are but four things in nature that could have produced the distress experienced in the United States during the last seven years: war, famine, plague, and expansion of the currency. We might perhaps add tyranny; but it must have been a more terrific tyranny than that of Turkey or of Egypt. We once heard an intelligent man somewhat conversant with political affairs, assert in a public lecture, that there was one case of extravagant speculation and consequent revulsion on record, not connected with this principle of expansion, viz. the case of the "South Sea bubble" in 1722: if that gentleman had however looked a little

closer to the matter, he would have found that the bank of England increased its stock (and of course its expansion) more than fifteen millions of dollars to meet that very exigency; and this is the only case of the kind we ever heard cited for such a purpose: if there are others, the world ought to know it. True, it is easy to resolve all evils of the sort into general depravity, and that insatiate love of money which is "the root of all evil:" this may be morally the most profound view, but surely it has not become a new one. Since the days of Solomon, avarice has ever been a constant force in society; and the question still returns, how does it happen that avarice, that old god, is in these modern days armed with this new instrument of incitement and self-torture, with which he lashes the nations through these intoxicating cycles of trade, onward, to the hideous, yawning gulf of a modern revulsion? If avarice is under no new delusions, whence come these new results? Tyre and Carthage, Venice, Genoa, Holland, Spain, and England, all loved gold; and all were engaged in commerce, before the year 1694, and yet we hear not a breath of these revulsions.

In former days, merchants and others rightly supposed, that if they could escape fire, shipwreck, plague, famine, tyranny, and war, by an honest and prudential economy, their fortunes were secure; but in these days, in times of profound peace and plenty, under a freedom matchless and unbounded, the man of millions, careful, prudent, and clear-sighted as he may be, begins each year without even a comfortable assurance, that he will not end it a beggar. And if he keeps all his resources actively employed, at all times, he will be sure of that end at last. General Dearborn of Massachusetts, in his address before the farmers of Massachusetts legis-

lature, declared, as the result of a careful and laborious investigation of the subject, that "ninety seven out of every one hundred persons who obtained their livelihood by buying and selling in our great cities, either failed or died insolvent!" Whence this result? Was it so in Tyre? in Venice? in Holland? Or is it so in any other country now on the globe where the currency is not expanded and contracted? If it is, let the advocates of expansion cite a single case and we will admit it. The fact is, this principle of bank expansion has placed the whole money business of the globe upon the verge of a sleeping volcano, which warms and nurtures into unnatural luxuriance and verdure for a time, only to heave the fiery fragments of its products to the skies, or whelm them in the sweltering depths below. The process is this. Price can be enhanced (all else being stationary) only by either increasing the *amount* or the *velocity* of the currency. The natural and healthful laws of trade, increase price only by increasing the rapidity with which the currency circulates from man to man; that is, the same dollar is made to exchange more products or to pay more debts in the same time. Expansion on the contrary, increases price by increasing the amount of the *apparent* currency, while the *real* currency may be either in fact stationary, or even secretly diminishing. Price rises to a certain maximum, while the real currency sinks by a withdrawal to a certain minimum, and then comes the explosive revulsion, and fortunes are scattered like the rainbow mists before the blast of the tornado. To state by what inevitable laws these cycles of inflation and collapse are, and ever have been controlled, would require a volume rather than a few pages. It is a subject that can not be fully embraced or elucidated by single aphorisms. The

fact of such a rise in price contemporaneously with the last expansion, we can however exhibit in short space, by quoting the price current of the leading staple commodities of the several years, along side of the amount of bank expansion for the same year, through the last cycle of expansion and collapse.

Years.	Price of Wheat.	Price of Flour.	Price of Pork.	Circulation of banks in millions.
1832	\$0.62	\$4.00	\$2.00 to 2.50	60
1833	60	3.50	2.50 " 3.00	88
1834	50	3.00	2.50 " 3.00	94
1835	1.12	6.00	6.00 " 6.50	103
1836	1.00	6.00	5.00 " 5.50	140
1837	1.00	7.00	5.00 " 5.50	149
1838	1.20	9.00	5.50 " 6.00	116
1839	50	3.25	3.00 " 3.50	135
1840	44	3.00	3.00 " 3.50	106
1841	1.00	5.50	2.50 " 3.00	
1842	40	2.75	1.95 " 2.00	

The three central columns show the price of wheat, flour, and pork, by the bushel, barrel, and hundred, as quoted for the latitude of Ohio in the month of November of each year. The last column shows the total circulation, or the ratio of expansion of all the banks in the United States for the same years. Local causes may have affected the price of some particular article, as of wheat in 1841. But still the general swell of price follows the swell of expansion with sufficient accuracy to illustrate our principle. The bank circulation the last two years is left blank, the reports not being at hand: all know however that the contraction continued to increase. All the other years are taken from the official returns. We wish to say as little as possible about all the figures presented in this paper, being well aware that figures and the Scriptures, when left to speak for themselves, never lie; but when forced to speak for other people, they become oftentimes the most mischievous, because the most credible liars in the universe. We

offer the above not as the basis of our conclusions, but merely as a sample of the class of facts to which we allude when we speak of the effects of expansion and contraction on price. Nor do we assert that other causes in this particular case did not affect prices; we only affirm that *expansion* and *contraction* of the currency was a *cause*, and a leading cause. From this case it will be seen at once, that a debt contracted in 1832, could be paid in 1838, with less than half the products: while a debt contracted in the latter period, would swallow up three times the amount of products if paid in 1842. If this periodical halving and trebling the value of all debts is not the result of a fluctuating currency, why has the world never experienced such results in any age or in any country, where the currency remained fixed and stable upon a metallic basis? Yet so it is; our recent expansion and consequent contraction, shook the whole globe so far as a fluctuating currency existed: while those countries and marts in which the currency is stable, passed quietly and tranquilly through the storm; and if we may believe consuls and merchants resident at such ports, such calamities are there even at this day wholly unknown. The fact is, the power of indefinitely expanding the currency renders it as unfit for a measure or standard of value, as wheat, or corn, or any other article which may be worth a given price this year, but one half, one fourth, or four times as much the next. That is, it absolutely annihilates one of the most essential requisites of all currency, viz. *stability of value*, and renders it as impossible to judge of its real value in other products, at any future day, as it is to judge of the future value of wheat, or pork, or corn, or any other article which may be trebled one year, and halved the next.

We know there are many who at-

tributed the last revulsion to the course pursued by the government, and some may pretend to even yet. Well, suppose we grant it. What sort of a currency then is that, which the touch of a single man can dissipate and scatter like the mists before the whirlwind? Where, under the most absolute tyranny, had any man, or any number of men, this surprising power before? Nowhere: unless aided by a currency based on wind. The feeble and factious government of these United States, could no more shake a solid currency in this way, than it could shake down the everlasting hills, even if they should all unite to do their best at it. But it was the alarm: true, but what had power to create the alarm? Men are wont to be more easily alarmed, when bitter experience has once taught them that their dwellings stand over a magazine, which a single spark may inflame, than when they know there is nothing but rock beneath. True, all did not know this; but there were enough who did know it, to feel and to give the alarm, long before the vulgar eye could discern the lurid signs that were flashing up in the commercial horizon. It is not denied however, that the government had power somewhat to modify both the time, and mode of the disaster. But to stop the revolutions of this fatal and sorcerous wheel of expansion, no government on earth has yet had power: those who shout on its top, must soon wail beneath its bottom, in despite of all that men or angels can do to the contrary, until the laws of Omnipotence are reversed.

And what are the advantages of this system of expansion? They are generally referred to under three heads. 1. It stimulates industry and enterprise. 2. It enables the banks to effect exchanges at less charge. 3. It enables the country to export a part of their specie. We admit

that expansion does stimulate a sort of enterprise. The activity of England in the day of the "South Sea bubble," of France in that of the "Mississippi scheme," and of the United States during the last expansion were unparalleled. But what did that unnatural activity end in but in bankruptcy, desolation, and despair? What but in the delirium tremens of intoxicated enterprise? We deny that it enables banks to effect exchanges cheaper than they could without any such principle, and if space were allowed, could easily prove it, both from the laws of exchange, and from the facts of history. The third point, the export of specie, is also all a delusion; because the expansion necessarily goes to swell price at home before it begins to move abroad. But as this is the only advantage insisted on by Mr. Gallatin and many other of the most able writers in favor of expansion, we are disposed for argument's sake to admit it, and to balance accounts with them and see how we stand on the admission.

Mr. Gallatin estimates the advantage to the United States from this source at two millions of dollars annually; this in five years would of course amount to ten millions. But the direct losses by banks, as reported in the American Almanac, from 1837 to 1842, in this country amounted to the following sums—omitting all account of the *indirect* losses from frauds, bankruptcies, general distrust, and paralysis, in all branches of industry, which were at once beyond all calculation, if not beyond all conception—

Losses in bank circulation and deposits,	\$44,000,000
Bank capital failed and depreciated,	294,000,000
Bank stock failed and depreciated,	100,000,000
Company stock failed and depreciated,	80,000,000
Real estate depreciated,	300,000,000
Total loss in five years,	\$818,000,000

Thus it appears that the country actually lost more in one term of five years by the principle than it would gain according to Mr. Gallatin's own estimate in four hundred

years. This would indeed seem to be a somewhat uncertain road to national wealth. But it will be said in this case the principle was not well managed. We know this is the fact. But when or where was it ever well managed in a free country? We admit that under a strong monarchical government, which engrosses to itself and controls all the moneyed interests of the state, and which can at one moment with an iron hand check excessive issues, and at the next throw its giant shoulders beneath the falling ruin, and sustain credit in defiance of alarm, the most direful results of this principle may be averted; though even here some may think that facts are against our concession.

But how it can ever be controlled in twenty six or more democratic states, intimately connected in commerce but totally distinct in sovereignty, all inflamed with the mutual rivalries of wealth from without, incited by faction, intrigue, and corruption within; all eager for the immediate profits of expansion, while few are aware of its dangers, with no power to resist the current of popular impulse, drift which way it may; how such a principle—a principle at once so delicate, so delusive and so fearful, can ever be safely managed or controlled by such a confederation, is surely not so clear. Some have proposed to charter a Union bank of the United States strong enough to hold the issues of all others in check. This is plausible: it may be well to set the lion to hold the bear, provided you are sure you can trust the lion. But considering the nature of the beast, might it not be as well to keep out of the way of both. So far as such schemes tend toward the annihilation of the principle, that is, so far as they actually prevent expansion, they are doubtless good. The Boston banks have thus operated upon the New England currency, and contributed greatly

to its stability and safety. The old United States Bank doubtless had some such effect for a time. But the difficulty lies here: self-interest alone regulates the issues of all expansive banks; and this impels all alike, both strong and weak, to expand in times of excited prosperity, and thus add fuel to the flame, while all alike are forced to contract in those revulsions when money is most needed. Hence both the Bank of England and the old United States Bank were each several times forced upon the very verge of an explosion, which would have sent disaster through the land had they not escaped by the merest chances, on the one hand, or been sustained by the power of monarchy on the other. In both cases the credulous multitude walked over the yielding crust of the volcano, and because they did not actually fall in, they still fancy that there was no danger. Others propose to rid themselves of the dangers of expansion by surrendering all the known and obvious advantages of a paper circulation. But this scheme, even if not unwise, is at least utterly impracticable. Not because there is not specie enough in the Union to effect all needful exchanges on a specie basis; for there is at this moment more specie in the Union than there is currency of all sorts in active circulation; and if every bill in the Union was annihilated at this moment, and the specie set in motion in their place, present prices might not only be sustained, but greatly increased by the increased activity of our coin, without any addition to the amount of the currency. But the economy and convenience of a paper circulation is so great, that people will endure the evils of expansion, though that expansion forms no part of the economy, sooner than forego the use of bank notes in some form. Besides, how we can with our nine hundred chartered banks and branches already in operation re-

turn at once to an exclusive metallic currency, without the most gross violation of chartered rights, it is not easy to see. Others have proposed to make the United States government the great stock-jobber for the nation and the world, by giving it the power of an unlimited issue of treasury notes: while others still propose to throw the whole arena of expansion wide open to every man who chooses on his own responsibility to issue his notes. Both these remedies would probably terminate in a metallic currency by an utter destruction of all confidence in any other. But our experience under them would be terrible, though brief. Again; we have adopted into our medley of democratic expansion, the absurd principle of diminished liability; or the principle of allowing a man by law to contract liabilities with one hand, and refuse to meet them with the other. What he holds in one pocket he keeps to gamble with; if he has good luck he will pay you; but at all events you can not touch what he holds in the other. So here we are: some dozens of independent democratic states, with almost a thousand bladders of exchange already in being, and ready to swell the first moment there is a call for wind, and to scorch, contract, crack, and burst, beneath the first hour of a dog day's sun, with every body in general, and nobody in particular, responsible for their motions or their fate: and on this raft of bladders is embarked the commerce of the nation, and to a great extent that of the globe! What wonder we find hard times periodically returning? If all the imps of pandemonium should exhaust their wits in the effort, they could not devise a system of currency more utterly unmanageable, ruinous, and absurd.

What then is the remedy? We confess we do not believe there is any legislative remedy possible, short of an amendment of the Constitution,

making an entire recommitment of the control of the currency to the general government; and even this is a doubtful measure. Meantime whatever palliatives may be applied should aim at one single point—the prevention of temporary and fitful expansions. We do not insist that as things are, all expansion should be at once annihilated throughout the globe; but we do insist that unless there is some definite, absolute limitation to it, as regards the country at large, as well as regards single banks, there can be no safety in any form of credit whatever; for a stable currency is the only basis of a safe credit. And this suggests the only practical remedy that the case at present admits; which is so long as the currency is as it now is, and must be for some time to come, *let no man accept a long credit.* Let all retail business be absolutely a *cash business*, and all wholesale business, either a cash business or on very short credits. A man who is fully aware of the present condition of our currency, and who will still lay himself liable for some remote day, or suffer incidental details to accumulate against him, is next thing to a madman. He knows not how much *real value* in products he will be compelled to pay if he promises so many dollars at a future day, no more than if he had promised so many coons. The real value of dollars may become one quarter, or one half, or four, or ten times their present value, before the pay-day comes. **KEEP OUT OF DEBT.** This is the only practical remedy at present. This will itself prevent the exorbitant expansion of the currency, or if others will plunge into debt and draw upon the banks and thus expand the currency; the man who is out of debt, at least escapes from the greatest evils of the impending catastrophe. This remedy is for the mass of the people to apply, and for all small retail dealers: if these regarded the rule, those who con-

duct a larger business might safely incur the hazards of short liabilities. This course has after all done more to hold the New England banks safe and steadfast than their system of supervisory control, which we admit to be good. Were the people of New England as improvident, and as reckless of their credit, and as eager for hazardous speculations, as the people of some of the other states, the control of a thousand Suffolk banks could never hold their system as steady and safe as it has been for past years. Doubtless their system has done somewhat to save them, but their position and their character have done far more; and any man who imagines that the same system would operate equally well for the Union at large, has but ill considered all the causes that are and must still be at work to produce a different result. When the people of other states shall become as shrewd and industrious, as careful of being trusted, and of trusting others, as are the people of New England, their banking system, bad as it now is, will lose half its power for mischief without any further control; and if New England was more provident and keen-sighted still in these respects, she would be still better off. It would give her more security against the evils of the most absurd currency in the world than ten United States banks or fifty more Suffolk banks.

But if the evils and hazards of expansion are so great, why has not the world discovered them before? They have; but they have ascribed the evil to the mode and not the principle. Adam South seems to have seen some of the dangers. More recent developments have disclosed more of them; and such has been the awful experience of the last ten years, that many a heated partisan of 1837 is quite content to regard the whole topic of banking as an "obsolete idea" in 1843. Amid much to be regretted, it can

scarce be doubted that the minds of our principal statesmen have made great progress on this subject under our recent experience; their general silence is ominous of this; all are beginning to see that a legal remedy is more difficult than they supposed, and that the extremes of no party were quite right. They have at least found that business could be transacted, prices rise, debts be paid, exchanges equalized, and credit confirmed, both without any United States bank, and without any expansion of the currency; for such has been the actual condition of things the past year, while the currency needed in active circulation is still less than the amount of specie now in the country. We *can* live, therefore, upon the specie basis. But we believe it impossible for any course of governmental policy whatever, to prevent a speedy return into the syren whirlpool of expansion and consequent revulsion? No power of a United States bank can secure us from the evil, whatever good it might do in other respects. During the forty years such an institution existed, the country experienced these same periodical paroxysms, occurring at intervals and with a severity just in proportion to the previous expansion; and in those forty years there were no less than sixteen years of bank suspensions and depreciations, either total or partial, throughout the Union; and we had in fact, then as now, the worst currency on the face of the globe. The report of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester in 1839, shows that the same disastrous effects have occurred periodically under the Bank of England, in spite of its unparalleled sagacity and power. The same report estimates the losses in consequence of the *operations of the Bank of England on the currency*, in a few months of the summer of 1837, in six great staples of the empire, at over two hundred mill-

ions of dollars, to say nothing of the terrible individual and incidental results of this disaster. The terrible effects of expansion in France, as depicted by Mr. Irving, and the commercial stability and power which the virtual annihilation of the system under Napoleon gave to the empire, is well known to all. We have no Bonaparte here; and in any thing less than a Bonaparte, we can see no hope of relief from our present system, however much we may deplore its existence, save in these five short words—"Do NOT GO IN DEBT." Let the pulpit and the press both unite in resounding these words in the ears of the people, turning their minds from all hope of relief from any other quarter, and impressing upon them the true reasons, and the unutterable necessity of this advice in our present circumstances, until they shall see, and feel, and act upon it, to the needful extent; and they will be saved from the danger and the possibility of such expansions and revulsions. And we believe it the only possible security. We believe that God has suffered this scourge of expansion to arise in the world mainly for two reasons—to chastise the avarice of the age, and to force men to regard the injunction, "Owe no man any thing;" in other words, to compel them to live on their earnings, instead of on their imaginations and their hopes.

This is the only source of relief and safety. Politicians, office-seekers, and demagogues, may and will talk long and loud of their various political remedies. It is all a noisy, clamorous, and oftentimes heartless brawl for party, place, and power. It is impossible for a democratic state essentially to relieve these, or any other kindred evils. They have followed, and they will follow us, through all modes of policy that can be devised short of a despotism. •In all such matters the people of a free country will ever prove too

strong for the state as such ; and in all save crime from within, and assault from without, they do, and they must hold their own destiny, for weal or for woe, in their own hands. The state can never banish the intoxication of either drinks, or commerce, or money, or credit; the people alone can. Sound the alarm there; give the people *knowledge*, *honesty*, and *prudence*, and this as well as all other evils will prove powerless; for these are in all cases, except war and crime, the only available saving influences in a democracy. True, bad policy may enhance such evils; but the best policy can never relieve them without the enlightened, virtuous, *social* coöperation of the people in their individual capacity. For such action of the people is the only *supreme power* in every democratic state.

We have said that the pulpit as well as the press should raise its voice. If there is a moral subject under heaven which the pulpit ought fully and faithfully to discuss, it is this; and that too in despite of those pulling demagogues who always attempt to muzzle it when they augur danger to their own schemes of deception and ambition. In the single year of 1840, the direct frauds and robberies committed on banks in the United States, mostly by their presidents, officers, and clerks, amounted to over forty two millions of dollars!! Add to this the bankruptcies, failures, suspensions, and secret shifts and frauds of our moneyed institutions, diffused by example through all ranks and classes, and the only wonder is, that what little pecuniary honesty is still left should have so long survived.

WESTERN COLLEGES AND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

THE period of five or six years that preceded the late extraordinary depression of business in our country, was rendered remarkable by the distinguished liberality with which the friends of Protestant Christianity in the eastern states responded to the calls of the west in behalf of her collegiate and theological institutions. Alarm had taken possession of the public mind not without cause. A formidable foe had appeared in the new settlements of the west in the persons of numerous Roman priests. They had already occupied the most commanding points in the country; and were heard to boast, prematurely indeed, but confidently, that in ten years the west would be theirs, and that when the west should fall into their hands, they could easily take care of New England. In addition to this, large bodies of foreign Pa-

our shores, having as their place of destination, the regions beyond the Alleghany Mountains. It seemed as though the dragon had, as in the apocalyptic vision, *cast out of his mouth water as a flood*. The spirit of propagandism awakened in Europe, and a system of measures set at work in the United States sustained by powerful societies in Italy, France, and Austria; the well known jealousy of transatlantic legitimatists; the then recent declaration of the governor of Canada, who professed to know the fact from personal conversation with most of the sovereigns of Europe, that they looked upon, and were promoting the rapid emigration of their most worthless subjects, and their settlement in the new world, as the certain means of destroying our free institutions; and various other evidences then spread out before the public eye, of a 'foreign conspiracy'

against the liberties of the United States;—all these causes combined, produced a deep and general sensation in the community. In addition to this, the current of emigration from the old to the new settlements began to be broader and more rapid. Glowing descriptions of the extraordinary fertility of the soil, of the rapid growth of the population, and of the certain prospect of increasing wealth, induced multitudes of that class of persons who constitute the majority of every community—persons of moderate means—to turn their faces toward the land of promise with the hope of bettering their fortunes. Speculation also was turned into the same channel. The prospect of making money by the ready sale of lands increasing in value at the rate of fifty or a hundred per cent. a year, created an eager desire for western investments. Thus things were moving on. Every thing betokened a change at hand—the rapid rise of an empire, as it were, in a part of our territory, which, up to that period had been but little known and valued. “Westward the star of empire takes its way,” was the leading idea of the day, and the one that more than any other thing gave direction to men’s plans and enterprises.

It was under these peculiar circumstances that funds were liberally bestowed by eastern Christians for the establishment of colleges and theological institutions at the west, which under the guidance of Christian men, should continually send out a powerful influence in favor of the great principles of Protestant Christianity, upon the maintenance of which the hope of the world reposes.

But the scene soon changed. The results of those vigorous efforts to which the whole body of evangelical Christians were aroused at the time now referred to, began to be seen. A well educated ministry was planted in the west; far, far

indeed below an adequate supply, yet faithful, pious, and laborious. The seminaries of learning also, both collegiate and theological, began to send forth their healthful influences, and the interests of Protestantism were seen to rise up and to make rapid headway in the face of the enemy. The danger that had threatened the country was in part averted, and the current of events was fast rolling on a better state of things. What else was to be anticipated as the result of the general waking up of the Christian public to the dangers and necessities of the times? Such mighty energies as were thus put forth in behalf of evangelical truth, could not fail to make an impression, and in a greater or less degree to change the moral aspect of society. They never have been known to fail in other cases, and why should they in this? In the present case the results in some respects followed the means more speedily than was to be expected. The work that was wrought by the action of Christian minds upon the community, took place so rapidly, that the *ploughman* seemed in reality to *overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that sowed the seed*. The west was saved; not indeed beyond the danger of relapse; but the practicability of planting evangelical churches and of raising an army of evangelical men to fight for the principles of Protestantism, which are the same as genuine Christianity, with the love of those principles in their hearts, was practically and successfully tested, and the certainty established that those principles would grow, and yield an increase no less abundant than in any other period of time or portion of the globe. The experiment was a successful one, and called for a continued and still more vigorous prosecution of the enterprise, until the partial good already achieved, should result in the perfect triumph of

truth and purity, over error and corruption.

But to many Christian minds, the subject presented itself in a different aspect, and the conclusion to which they were led was both painful and discouraging. They felt that imposition had been practiced, undesignedly indeed, but through mistaken views; that their fears had been unnecessarily excited, and that money drawn from them under a state of excited apprehension, had been partly squandered, and was in a great measure lost to the cause of benevolence. The fear that an impression, so unjust, and so unwarranted by the facts in the case, and so disastrous in its influence, would cut off the feeble institutions of the west from the sympathies of the east, at the very time when their infant powers began to expand, and when foreign support was exceedingly necessary to enable them to bear up manfully against the adversities of the times; the fear of such a state of things spread a deep gloom over the minds of those persons at the west, who, seeing what had already been accomplished in the incipency of the enterprise, and that the abandonment of it in the present stage, would be a loss that ages could not repair, felt that Providence had called them to trials and discouragements which nothing but faith could enable them to endure.

Let it even be granted, if it be required, that there never was a period when popery threatened to become the overshadowing influence of the west; that the alarm felt on this subject was altogether unnecessary—the concession is not so important as it may at the first view, appear to be. Let it be proved, that the growth of the Catholic population is not, and never was rapid, and that the education of the youth was not, to any alarming extent, in the hands of the papists. All this, though contrary to

fact, may be granted. But what then? Are the colleges and other seminaries therefore to be prostrated? Is the field to be abandoned, as some would infer, or at least have practically inferred, by refusing to extend further pecuniary aid? The practical inference is a wrong one. It seems to say, the west is in no danger, if not from the pope and his emissaries. It overlooks the important fact, that, in the most favorable view that can be taken of the case, evil influences will outrun the progress of evangelical religion, without strenuous efforts to resist and counteract them; that there are a thousand different forms in which depravity will break out, unless restrained directly by that system of truth by which alone man can be made wise unto salvation; and that the ruin which must inevitably befall the great west, if it should be abandoned to itself, will involve among its numerous disastrous results, the downfall of the republic. Viewed therefore from either position, the west has claims for aid, from which neither the Christian nor the patriot can escape.

What then must have been the feelings of those who were personally engaged in the labors and trials necessarily connected with an effort to found literary and theological institutions, under all the disadvantages incident to their situation, when the hope of receiving the aid necessary to the further prosecution of the enterprise was about to be cut off. They were devoted to a high and solemn calling. To resign it would be unfaithfulness to the cause of the church. Yet how were they to stand up under the crushing weight of poverty and debt, with the prospect of absolute want staring them full in the face. Those persons only who have been in similar circumstances, are able to appreciate their trials and discouragements. But they were not to be diverted from their underta-

king, until compelled to do so by absolute necessity. Like men laboring at the pump to save a sinking ship, and refusing to abandon it in a storm until shipwreck is inevitable, they have stood at their posts with steadfast purpose, sustained by the confidence that a brighter day will dawn.

In their view the dangers of the west were real, no less imminent than they were represented to be. The tale of woe was not an exaggeration. But if the same dangers are not at the present time quite so threatening, if they have been in part averted, and genuine Christianity begins to have a preponderating influence in the minds of the people, it surely is not fair to conclude that those dangers never did exist, and would not have existed, if nothing had been done to counteract them; nor would it be grateful to undervalue the means by which so much has been wrought, and to conclude that the work can go on, and must go on, without the prosecution of the same means which the great Head of the church has thus far been pleased to bless. On the contrary, it should be regarded by every person, and we are persuaded that it is so regarded by most, as a gratifying evidence of the power of the great principles of true Christianity, as maintained by the Protestant churches, that under the influence of these principles, society steadily advances in all that is necessary to its perfection, in spite of depravity, and in the face of the devices of ignorant and corrupt men. We speak of an advance as actually taking place; for it is a reality. It is too apparent to all that are acquainted with the history of the west for the last ten or fifteen years, to be called in question. We might specify particular instances of improvement if it were required, but it will be sufficient to say, that the general aspects of society indicate

a decided tendency toward a better state, both intellectual and moral. The fact itself is important, and must be interesting to every friend of his country and of his species; but the connection of this fact with the agency of the eastern churches, is the point to which public attention needs to be more particularly directed. We see the influence of knowledge and religion, diffusing itself in the western community, affecting greatly the character of individuals, and giving a right direction to public opinion in matters that concern the common welfare. We can not be blind to the fact, that such an influence is at work, nor can we be ignorant of the source from which it is derived. That source is the pulpit. An educated ministry is the engine that keeps society in an upward motion, propelling it onward with resistless force, directly in the face of winds and storms, which avail only to retard its progress for a season. Progress however is inevitable, when the power of evangelical truth is brought to bear immediately upon the mass of minds by Christian preachers, well furnished with intellectual weapons, and with the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left. With such the west is furnished, so far as it is furnished at all. Hundreds more, it is true, are needed; the field whitens to the harvest, and the laborers are few; but few as they are, they are such men as the emergency requires. Devoted to a missionary life, with labors no less abundant, anxieties no less wearing, and burdens no less heavy, and it may be added, with trials no less discouraging than those that attend the missionary work in a foreign country, they stand erect in the strength of Him whose cause they have espoused; they go to their work with a courage that seems to gather fresh energy from every disappointment, and labor with unremitting diligence

to drive the wedge that shall forever sunder the west from all alliance with the kingdom of darkness. But what agency has the east had in furnishing the west with such a ministry? Much every way. It has sent out its men, and contributed money for their support. It has founded colleges and theological seminaries, that the west might not always be dependent on foreign supply, but bring forward its own native youth and educate them for the sacred office. By the former means, it has carried the reforming and converting influences of true Christianity, directly to the hearts of the people: it has gathered religious congregations, and laid a good foundation for the edifice of the Christian church. By the latter, it has provided for a permanent supply of ministers, and made sure of a great amount of educated mind for the service of Christ. Nor are the good results of these two methods of influence, altogether prospective. If any suppose that such results have not appeared in immediate connection with the means, they are greatly mistaken. Equally mistaken are those, if there are those, who suppose that the present good is not commensurate with the means, not so great as might have been anticipated. In no other part of the globe have the same means been attended with more marked and encouraging effects. The lever was placed precisely where it ought to be, directly underneath the foundations of society, and the power that has been applied to the longer arm, has sensibly lifted the mighty mass that lies upon the other.

We have now stated the circumstances under which the friends of Protestant education were aroused to the perils that so recently threatened the west. We have expressed the conviction that the peril was real and imminent, and that the marks of improvement so visible in the present aspect of society do not au-

thorize the conclusion that the public were unnecessarily alarmed, but are just what were to be looked for as the result of the influences that have been set in operation by benevolent minds at the west, sustained by the sympathies and the pecuniary contributions of the east. We deem it important to have it understood, that the fruits of past labors have begun to ripen, and that some have already been gathered. It has also been intimated, that there was a time when the permanent withdrawal of aid from the feeble institutions of the west, was seriously apprehended; that the consequence of this withdrawal would inevitably be the abandonment of these institutions, at the very time when they were greatly needed, and when their influence began to be felt; and that such an event would be disastrous in the extreme to the cause of evangelical religion at the west. A different state of things could hardly be expected to exist under the extraordinary embarrassments of the times, the depression of business, and the prospect of general bankruptcy. These unusual circumstances would naturally reduce the amount of contributions; and if that had been all, it would have been regarded only as a temporary evil, an inconvenience to be submitted to for a season, an unavoidable calamity. But there was some reason for believing, not only that the interest of the Protestant public in the infant institutions of the great valley was abating, but that these institutions were to be prematurely abandoned and left to their fate. For three or four years previous to the last, the prospect became daily more and more discouraging. The friends of western colleges and theological seminaries saw that a momentous crisis was approaching. They felt that their condition was truly helpless—that the arm of human dependence was broken, and that a question of the greatest importance to

the states of the west, and to the nation, was soon to be decided. They saw no human prospect of relief, and some were ready to faint and to give up the case as lost. The last hope was about to expire, when necessity aroused the leading minds of the west to make a strong and vigorous effort to save the seminaries of learning from the ruin that then seemed to be just at hand. Under these trying circumstances a convention was held in Cincinnati in the early part of the spring of 1843, for the purpose of consultation and the adoption of some method of simultaneous and united action with reference to the approaching crisis. They met as men who in the providence of God had been called together for high and solemn purposes. It was no ordinary occasion. Never before were they engaged in more important transactions. Interests of incalculable magnitude were at stake, and were dependent upon the wisdom of their action. They felt that it was so indeed. Oppressed with the weight of personal responsibilities, with anxieties for the institutions which they had so carefully watched over and nurtured, and above all with the prospect of the utter disappointment of those fond hopes that had clustered around them, human nature could not sustain the load. It would have been crushed had it not rested upon the arm of Him whose wisdom and power were adequate to the emergency. His providence had called them to trials of extreme severity, and they trusted that that same providence would lead them through this "great fight of afflictions," and crown them with triumphant success. Thus encouraged they formed themselves into a Western Society, and resolved to spread out the cause of western education once more before the Christian public. Their appeal was not disregarded, and in the progress of events it became more and more apparent that

God would provide help for them in their extremity. The result of much negotiation with various individuals and ecclesiastical bodies, was the proposal to form an association at the east for the relief of western colleges and theological seminaries. This association was organized in New York late in the spring of 1843, by the appointment of officers and a board of directors. At the first meeting of the board in New York on the third Tuesday of September last, a plan of operations was agreed upon, a general agent elected, and several gentlemen connected with the western colleges were authorized to enter immediately upon the work, without expense to the association, for such time as they could be spared from their respective professional engagements. The effort is now in progress, and meets a favorable reception wherever the scheme is spread out in its details before the minds of the people. The desire of the originators of the scheme is that the association should rank with the permanent objects of benevolent enterprise, and receive its share of the annual contributions of the churches, standing side by side with the Home Missionary and other benevolent societies, not as a rival in its claims, but as a partner with them in the labors incident to the work of spreading the influence of the gospel, and of converting our own country and the world to Christ. The importance of the west, considered with reference to its extent, its fertility, and its resources of wealth and influence, entitles it to a prominent place among the objects of Christian enterprise. If neglected, its population must far outrun the means of intellectual and moral improvement, and an immense advantage be thrown into the hands of those men, who, leagued with the Pope and the Catholic sovereigns of Europe, are laboring indefatigably to extend and to establish the influence of a church, whose spirit and

principles are irreconcilably at variance with the three grand elements of good government, universal education, popular freedom, and religious toleration. Such will be the inevitable result of present neglect. But with proper effort, with labors and sacrifices commensurate with the greatness of the object and the difficulties that oppose its accomplishment, the west will in a period of fifteen or twenty years, become one of the bulwarks of Protestant Christianity, and will be looked to as we now look to the New England and other eastern states, to furnish men and money for the promotion of Christian missions, both domestic and foreign, on a greatly extended scale. An object of such magnitude, presenting such certainty of success, most unquestionably deserves to be placed in the first class of religious enterprises.

To furnish a common channel through which the benefactions of the east may flow to the west, *with the certainty* that they will be applied to those institutions which are really deserving of support, is one of the leading objects of the association of which we are speaking. A want of accountability, where objects and calls are numerous, involves some serious evils.

It evidently furnishes an opportunity for gross impositions. Advantage might easily be taken of the prevailing feeling in behalf of the west, to promote private and selfish ends. We do not know that this has been done to any considerable extent, but the possibility of such an abuse of the confidence of a generous public should be fully guarded against.

Besides this, good men, deceived themselves, may honestly set on foot schemes of a visionary nature, which, by their failure, may not only disappoint individual contributors, but endanger the permanency of those objects which are really deserving of support. The public can not al-

ways discriminate between claims that are presented to them, and rightly estimate their comparative merits, with nothing to guide them in their judgment but the representations of interested persons; and if they are misled in one case, they will naturally become suspicious of all, and turn a deaf ear to every call. Any body can undertake to establish a college, and a college unquestionably, if suitably located and judiciously managed, is a very good thing; but the fancy and the zeal of every schemer, however honest in his intentions, are not to be taken as the rule by which the contributions of the public shall be directed, nor the measure by which their munificence shall be regulated.

These reasons are sufficient to show that a certainty should in all cases be required that the money called for and contributed shall not be misapplied or squandered.

Besides this, for many years past calls have been made upon the community in aid of numerous western objects without system, and without mutual understanding between the several applicants. Application has therefore followed application, till the patience of the liberal portion of the people was well nigh exhausted. This difficulty is proposed to be remedied by a very simple and practicable method, consisting in a selection of institutions to be patronized, and a systematic course of operation in the collection of funds.

The association represents the combined interests of all the institutions whose application for aid is approved, and makes its appropriations according to their respective necessities.

The associated institutions proposed to be aided are the following:—Marietta College, Western Reserve College and Theological Seminary, Lane Theological Seminary, all in Ohio; Wabash College, at Crawfordsville, Indiana; and Illinois College, at Jacksonville, Illinois,—to

which others may in time be added. With these institutions the cause of Protestantism in the three states mentioned is intimately connected. They hold the same relation to these states, that the colleges here, in which the principles of the Puritans are preserved uncontaminated, do to New England. In them the young men of those states, who choose to avail themselves of the advantages there afforded, not only receive a highly respectable collegiate education, but are brought immediately into contact with that kind of moral influence with which it is indispensably necessary that the whole of society should be leavened. In them their teachers, ministers and other professional men are educated, and prepared, not for usefulness in the ordinary sense of the term only, but for usefulness in its best sense, as applied to rational and moral beings—for that high order of usefulness which results from minds truly and thoroughly imbued with the spirit and the principles of enlightened Protestant Christianity. Viewed in this light their value can not be too highly estimated, in a community where every thing is to be done without delay, from the foundation upwards, and where the loss of a single day may produce injury that will be felt for ages.

This enterprise is now submitted to the public for their decision on its merits. The experiment will test their views. Great interests hang upon the result. Whether the growth of the west is to be kept pace with in our efforts for its education under proper moral influences; whether

the church there is to rise up and to lead forth into the field a mighty army in the conflict with the "powers of darkness," are questions which are involved in this movement, and which rest upon the issue. We see no way in which the west can be saved but by the united and vigorous exertions of Christian people on both sides of the Alleghanies, in support of its literary and religious institutions. If saved to the church, it will be an invaluable possession. It will not only enlarge her boundaries greatly, but add to her strength, and augment her resources. If lost, all the incalculable advantages that are now placed within our reach, will fall into the hands of the enemy of truth, and be equally valuable to him in waging war against the kingdom of Christ. Mormonism, infidelity and Romanism will share between them the spoils of our defeat, and range in triumph over the fair inheritance of the church. The voice of God speaks audibly to his people, Go in and possess the land. It is made audible by the successes of the past, by the prospects of the present, and by the manifest necessity of prosecuting with vigor a system of literary and theological education in western seminaries, as a means of diffusing intelligence and evangelical views through the mass of society. By these means the west must be saved, or it will be lost. There is no other alternative. Shall it be lost? The reply is waited for with intense interest by every benevolent person who is conversant with the wants and the prospects of our western country.

THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE.

The Bible is authority, and the only authority in religion, the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice. This is the fundamental principle of Protestantism. For this principle the battle of the Reformation was fought. This principle the victory of the Reformation established. This principle Luther wielded as a thunderbolt against the church of Rome and all her advocates. "As to me," says he, "I do not cease my cry of 'The gospel! the gospel! Christ! Christ!'"—and my enemies are as ready with their answer, 'Custom! custom! ordinances! ordinances! fathers! fathers!' To all the decisions of Fathers, of men, of angels, of devils, I oppose, not the antiquity of custom, not the habits of the many, but the word of the eternal God." This principle the fathers of New England cherished. It finds a congenial air on these hills and plains where they placed the foundations of these free institutions, and a home in the free minds and hearts of their sons and daughters. This principle, ours by inheritance from ancestors whom we revere, we would defend with all the earnestness which its great importance demands. We hardly need say that it calls for defense at the present time in this country, being frequently and variously assailed. It is assailed of course by the Papists.* It is assailed in the writings

of the Oxford Tractarians, which are widely scattered on this as well as on the other side of the Atlantic. "The true creed," they say, "is the catholic interpretation of Scripture.....Scripture and tradition are the joint rule of faith." It is assailed in the writings of the High Church party in the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States. One of their "diocesans"* says: The pastor should "guide himself by the Holy Scriptures, not as he understands them, but as catholic antiquity has revealed, and catholic consent has kept their meaning." Another of their "diocesans"—one born and bred under Puritan teaching, and exercising his office on New England soil—puts down the Protestant principle as one of "the errors of the times," against which "his clergy" are to be solemnly warned. He affirms that the Bible is not to be interpreted by each man with what aid he can obtain and under his individual responsibility to God, but that he must take the interpretation given by the church during the first two centuries after the death of Christ.† He must read

* Bishop Doane of New Jersey.

† Bishop Brownell of Connecticut. His language is, "The Holy Scriptures as they were interpreted by the church during the first two centuries after the ascension of the Savior, not as they may chance to be interpreted by the wayward fancies of individuals, constitute the only sure basis for us to rest upon." This amounts to the addition of human opinion or tradition to the Bible. For, says Archbishop Whately, "if any or every part of the Scripture is to be interpreted according to a supposed authoritative tradition from which there is no appeal, it is plain that to all practical purposes, this comes to the same thing as an independent tradition, (a tradition independent of the Bible.) For, on this system, any thing can be made out of any thing. The Jews may resort, whenever it suits their purpose, (and they often do,) to an

* "I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I also admit the Holy Scriptures, according to that sense in which our Holy Mother the Church has held and does hold; to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures: neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."—*Creed of Pius IV.*

the Scriptures not with his own eyes, but with the eyes of the Fathers. He must look for the meaning of God's word through the glass of "church interpretation." "The church" must be placed between him and the Scriptures. The opinion of human authors as to the import of the Bible is the authoritative rule, and not the Bible itself which he has in his hands. Scripture and tradition, the Oxford Tractators tell us, are the joint rule of faith. Scripture and tradition during the first two centuries, this New England "diocesan" declares, are the joint rule of faith. There is no difference worth caring for between the two on this point. Both deny the right of private interpretation—the right of each man, on his personal responsibility to God, to interpret God's word. Both send us, not to the Bible, but to human interpretations of the Bible. Both reject and condemn the great Protestant principle, the sufficient and sole authority of the Holy Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice; and both adopt in its stead the principle which Wilson, the learned and evangelical Bishop of Calcutta, justly calls "the fundamental position of Popery."

We behold these attacks in this country on the Protestant principle with surprise. It is indeed to be expected that papists will assail it wherever they are. But we had not expected, that *they would be here*, to assail it. Who of our fathers supposed that their sons would have to contend for Protestantism? Who, forty years since, had any apprehension that the great struggle of the nineteenth century in this land, would be against the doctrines and influence of the papists? But lo! they come hither, by thousands every month, swarming from the

papal hives of the old world, and, spreading themselves in all quarters of our land, even on New England soil, among the graves of the Pilgrims and hard by Plymouth rock, they are becoming one of its most numerous and powerful denominations, and an object of fear and hope, adulation and intrigue, to political parties. Still less did we expect, that a "diocesan" of the Protestant Episcopal church in New England, with the approbation of "his clergy," expressed "almost by acclamation," would, in the face of the thirty nine articles, reassert "the fundamental position of Popery," and, amid our free institutions, so favorable to spiritual freedom and to individual responsibility before God, would deny to the individual, the right to interpret the Bible for himself, or to believe otherwise than the Fathers have believed.

And the surprise with which we witness these attacks on the fundamental principle of Protestantism, is a *painful* surprise. They startle us like the reappearance of enemies long since vanquished, slain and buried. They tell us that the moral world is not moving forward as fast and as surely as we had hoped. They speak to us of work to be done, which we had supposed already finished. They warn us of a second battle of Reformation at hand, and summon us from our pleasant contemplation and application of the blessed truths of the gospel, to the sterner work of its defense. They seem like one of the black clouds of the dark ages rising in our bright horizon. They call up before us the ghastly train of evils which have resulted from the denial of the Protestant principle—the disfranchisement, incarceration and degradation of the human mind—the contempt of God's ordinance of marriage, forced celibacy and its results of pollution—the cell, the cave, the vigil, the bloody girdle, the

appeal to the Scriptures, interpreted according to their tradition, in behalf of every thing they are disposed to maintain."

scourge, the brand—the dungeon, the pillory, the thumbscrew, the iron boot, the wheel, the rack, the axe, the stake, the massacre—the whole horrid history of religious fanaticism, crime and misery.

We regard this question as to the “rule of faith,” altogether the most important question now before the public mind. It is a question between Protestantism and Popery; between a religion of faith and a religion of forms; between a religion founded on divine inspiration, and a religion founded on human tradition—a religion with the Bible, and a religion without the Bible; between personal responsibility to God alone, and personal responsibility to men alone; between spiritual freedom and spiritual despotism; between spiritual vitality and purity, and spiritual death and corruption; between general intellectual enterprise, energy and eminence, and general intellectual sloth, stupidity, and degradation—a question intimately related to the eternal life and eternal death of the soul; in a word, a question involving all that is of chief value to man in this world or the world to come. We therefore consider the denial of the Protestant principle, as altogether the most dangerous feature of the Tractarian movement, and the cognate movement of the high church party in this country. There are other features more offensive, but none so alarming. Their exclusive claim to all the privileges of the Christian church, and all the covenants and promises of the gospel, their declaration, that all non-Episcopalians are “dissenters,” “without a ministry, without sacraments, and without a church,”* and their consignment of them to uncovenanted and unknown mercy,†

their reception of Romish priests to their ministry on a simple declaration of conformity, while they rebaptize and reordain Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, in order to fit them for their “apostolic priesthood”—these features are more insolent, more in violation of Christian charity, but they are by no means so alarming as this setting up of a *false rule of faith*. Take away the Bible from the people, displace it by human tradition, and you take away Christianity from them—you make them heathen. The name of Christianity may remain, but not its power. The ordinances of Christianity may be observed, but they will be only the ceremonies of superstition. There may be temples nominally Christian, but they will be temples of idolatry falsely dedicated to Christ. There may be imposing modes of worship, but they will be only baptized heathen rites. And, that the Bible will be taken away from the people, by this principle of church-interpretation, who can doubt? This is its inevitable tendency. By denying that individuals may interpret the Bible for themselves, and making it their duty to receive implicitly the interpretations of the Fathers, you take from them the Bible as a book to be studied. For why should they study it? They are not to interpret it. If their idea of its meaning differs from that of the Fathers, they must be mistaken. They have no object in reading the Bible on this principle. *God's* revelation is to be learned from the *Fathers*! And just so far as this principle affects men, they will neglect the Bible. Their practical connection with the sacred word, it wholly severs. This is not mere theory. It is the voice of history. This principle—the subjection of individual judgment to the

* See Watson's missionary sermon, preached in Trinity Church, New Haven.

† See the writings of Bishop Hobart, the charge of Bishop Brownell, and the works of other high churchmen, *passim*.

* See last annual address of Bishop Onderdonk.

opinion of the church—is the very principle, which, in the hands of the papal power, *has* taken away the Bible from the people. When the Bible Society commenced its operations in Paris, a few years since, not a copy of the Scriptures was found in the hands of the laity. Go to Spain,* to Portugal, to Italy, to any papal country, you find that the word of God is to the people an unknown and forbidden book. And who is ignorant that the Roman hierarchy has imprisoned, tortured, mutilated, and burned, thousands of human beings, because they interpreted the Bible for themselves, and would not in the matter of their eternal salvation, yield their judgment and personal responsibility to the Fathers. Yet this principle, the source of so much evil, is published and approved in this nineteenth century, and in one of the commonwealths of New England! The operation of this principle is indeed gradual, because the minds even of its advocates, still more the mind of the community, can not bear at once its full development. Yet it operates surely. The learned and liberal minded Whately says: "Tradition and church-interpretation are made, according to this system, subordinate to and dependent on Scripture, much in the same way that some *parasite plants* are dependent on the trees that support them. The parasite at first clings to and rests on the tree, which it gradually overspreads with its own foliage, till by little and little it weakens and completely smothers it."

Not less certain is this principle to produce general intellectual imbecility. It takes away from man the most important source not only of moral but of intellectual elevation and strength. Religion is the subject which concerns the most important interests of men, appeals

to their strongest feelings, and more than any other, is fitted to call out the energies of their minds. And the Bible, by presenting this great subject in just the proportions in which God in his wisdom has unfolded it—by summoning every man to study and interpret it for himself, and to subject all human opinions to its test—the Bible, tasking the powers of their minds to grasp its ennobling truths, has done more to strengthen and elevate the intellect of individuals and communities than all other causes. But this principle of church-interpretation, requiring a pusillanimous surrender of individual judgment on these invigorating themes, and turning the public mind from the Bible, that word, whose entrance giveth light, and giveth understanding to the simple, to a mixture of truth and error, sophistry, absurdity, and puerility, takes away almost wholly this source of intellectual life and power. It is this ennobling principle of individual interpretation on the one hand, and the incubus of church-interpretation on the other, which have made such a striking difference in the intellectual development of Papal and Protestant countries.

The inestimable importance of the Protestant principle, and the fact, to which we have alluded, that it is frequently placed among "the errors of the times," in this home of spiritual freedom, not only by Papists, but by nominal Protestants, distinguished by official station and the respect of the community, render its defense a duty "of the times."

The great reason why the Bible should be made the only authoritative rule of faith—the reason which is good against all the forms in which this truth is or can be assailed—is, that *the Bible alone is inspired by God*. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," and nothing else is. In the Bible alone is truth

* See Borrow's Bible in Spain.

revealed by God. The signet of the Omniscient is on that book, and on no other. They who spake its words, spake as they were moved and infallibly directed by the Holy Spirit. No other men in any age have been thus moved and directed. There have been wise men since, but no inspired men. And human wisdom, what is it compared with the divine? Just what *man* is compared with *God*. To place the decisions, the interpretations of men, even the holiest and wisest, as authority by the side of divine revelation, in other words, to "blend Scripture and tradition," is to place man in wisdom by the side of the Omniscient God.

The rule of faith—the Bible—is man's guide to heaven. On the adoption of that rule, and its right interpretation, depend the everlasting welfare of his soul. He should receive nothing as authoritative in religion but the word of God that "shall stand forever." Man's word, man's opinions or interpretations, must not be added to it or blended with it. For to err is human. The wisdom of the wisest men, even their combined wisdom, is fallible, and hence a very insecure basis on which to rest our faith and hope of salvation. We need an inspired rule of faith. No other can be an infallible guide to a better world. Accordingly, God directs us to go to his word as our rule. "Search the Scriptures," is his command. And so far from permitting us to blend tradition with his word, he bids us try, by that infallible standard, all human opinions—whether they are opinions of fathers or contemporaries, whether they are opinions of the church in the first or the nineteenth century—saying, "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." He even rebukes men for "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," saying, that

they "make the word of God of none effect through their tradition." So strong is his feeling on this subject, that he in effect pronounces his curse on all those who blend tradition with Scripture, in these fearful words: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book!"

But the form in which the old error of church-interpretation, raised from the grave in which the reformers buried it, has of late been presented, requires our more particular attention; because it is new and somewhat plausible, and because, being set forth by nominal Protestants, it is a foe to Protestantism within her own pale.

The *rule* is church-interpretation during the first few centuries. During the *first few* centuries. We state it thus indefinitely, because it is thus indefinite in the writings of those to whom we refer. There is no agreement among them as to the length of the authoritative period. Some extend it so as to embrace the first six general councils, i. e. the first seven centuries. Others insist that it goes no farther than the end of the fifth. Others claim that it extends to the time when the unity of the church was broken by the great schism between the east and the west—the Greeks and the Latins, which some authors decide to have taken place in the seventh and some in the ninth century. Others say the first two. While others still, like Bishop Doane, Mr. Newman, and Dr. Pusey, declare that it embraces the whole eighteen centuries—"the Holy Scriptures, as Catholic antiquity has revealed, and Catholic consent has kept, their meaning." So that the authoritative period is rather indefinite—either two centuries, or eighteen, or an intermediate number! The period however most frequently spoken of, as nearly as we can ascertain from these writers, is that pre-

vious to, and for some time after, the meeting of the Council of Nice, which was in A. D. 325.*

The Bible as interpreted by the church during these centuries is the rule. But the church consisted of the whole body of professed believers, scattered here and there, in separate communities—in Europe, Asia, and Africa. How is the interpretation of this "church," thus scattered, to be obtained? By general councils? But there were none until after the twenty fifth year of the fourth century; and they were far from being really general—a representation of the whole church. Previous to that time, the church as such, never made any attempt, even the most partial, to express her interpretation of God's word. Where then can we find church-interpreta-

tion previous to that time? The nearest approach to an answer must be in the *writings of the fathers* during that previous period. So that the so-called church-interpretation is to be found in the opinions of *individual writers* of the early church, as expressed in their works previous to the second quarter of the fourth century, and after that time both in their works and in the records of their action in councils; which is mere "individual opinion," mere "private interpretation," after all, or as the author of "the Errors of the Times" would say, "the wayward fancies of individuals." Now would it not be better for us to go at once to the Bible, even though we should interpret it according to our "wayward fancies," than to go to the Bible through the "wayward

* They are the most consistent and most able advocates of church-interpretation, who contend for the authority of Catholic teaching in *all* ages of the church. Some of that class offer the following argument in support of their doctrine. Christ promised to be with his church in all ages to the end of the world, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. These promises insure her permanence, and the purity of her faith in all the essential or vital doctrines of Christianity. For the church, however perfect her organization, must cease to be the church of Christ, when she discards the true faith. In every age, therefore, the church has held the essential doctrines of the gospel; and we have only to learn what her faith has been in all ages, or rather what it was, or is, in any particular age, in order to know what the true sense of the Scriptures is respecting these doctrines.

The fallacy of this argument lies in the assumption, that the promise of Christ, to be with his servants and preserve them from fatal error, is made to an organized body of professed Christians, and not merely to individual believers, and the invisible community composed of them. Christ has not promised to perpetuate in essential purity any visible body of professed Christians; but his promise is to all that truly believe in him, "and do the will of God," that he will be with them, and that they "shall know of the doctrine," whether it be of God or of man. His church, which is to live and maintain the truth in the world, embraces all real believers and no others—regenerate per-

sons alone—who of course agree in holding all the *vital* principles of Christianity. But these may have been few and obscure in some periods since the apostolic times, and have had little or no influence in shaping the prevailing doctrinal belief of those periods.

Moreover, suppose we admit this fallacious argument, premise, conclusion and all, what then? It only proves that church-interpretation will give us correctly the few doctrines of Christianity which are strictly essential to salvation. And these the interpretation of *any individual Christian* will give us; and for the same reason—viz. being a Christian, he holds the vital doctrines of Christianity. Nay, these, any man—"the wayfaring man though a fool"—may learn himself from the Bible. But what mender instruction would this be—a modicum of Christian doctrine sufficient barely for salvation—compared with that full and varied teaching—"all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge"—which we find in the Bible. It would not enable us to comply with the apostolic exhortation, "therefore leaving the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on to perfection." It would be but a small part of what man needs to give him symmetry and perfection of religious character. It would be but a small part of "*all Scripture*," which "is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

fancies" of other "individuals," which "wayward fancies" we must interpret by our "wayward fancies." Is it well to have "wayward fancies" in geometrical progression?

The *ground or reason* of this rule is indicated by this clause: "in the earliest and *purest* ages of Christianity." The interpretation of the Bible found in the opinions of individual Fathers during these early ages, expressed in one way or another, are to govern the interpretation of the sacred volume by the whole Israel of God down to the final consummation, *because the church during those ages was purest*—most free from error in doctrine and practice. This phase of the doctrine of tradition, is somewhat plausible, as we have said, because it accords with a natural prejudice. "Distance lends enchantment to the view." Men are prone to think that which is early and distant, better and purer, than that which is late and near. It derives plausibility also from its accordance with a superficial idea, not uncommon, that the ages nearest to the life of Christ, must have had most of the light and purity of Christ. But it has no solid foundation. It will not bear examination for a moment, either in the light of reason, Scripture, or history. What! Is it true, that Christianity as it advanced for several centuries amid heathen corruption, gathering its converts out of that corruption, and incorporating the falsities of heathen philosophy with the gospel, was in its highest state of doctrinal purity, and is to pass down through ages of increasing light, admitting more and more of darkness and corruption! Is this what we should expect from the nature of Christianity, as a system formed by Omniscient Wisdom to purify and subdue the world? Is this what we should expect from the benevolence and wisdom of the Superintendent and Director of Christianity? Is this

what we are to expect from the approach of the predicted millennial day? Does this accord either with the prophecies, or historical statements, of the Scriptures? Does this accord with the history of the church?

"The earliest and *purest* ages of Christianity!" The writers of the ancient church qualified to give an authoritative interpretation to all future ages! Have they who speak thus, never read that there were great corruptions in the church, even before the canon of Scripture was closed? Could they have read the history of the early church, and formed so favorable an opinion of its purity. Do they not know, that the system of oriental philosophy, of asceticism and penance, very early and vitally corrupted the Christian doctrine? Are they ignorant of the absurdities, puerilities, conceits, "wayward fancies," legends, superstitions, and monstrous errors and extravagancies, of the Fathers, whom they thus exalt as exclusive interpreters of God's revelation? Do they not know that these "earliest and purest ages of Christianity," abound in examples of almost all the possible forms of fanaticism and religious error? Do they not know that the striking contrast, the immense disparity in every thing that constitutes excellence, between the very best of the Fathers and the Bible, has been considered one of the most convincing proofs of its inspiration, so incredible is it that the Bible should have been written by uninspired men, the immediate predecessors of writers, who though learned and eloquent, were so puerile and extravagant in many of their notions? Are they ignorant, that within a few centuries of the apostolic age, some of the worst abuses recorded in ecclesiastical history are found, not only in their elements, but far advanced in their rank and rotten growth? Do they not know that celibacy and virgin-

ity, from the first warmly recommended, and at length enforced as the very highest style of earthly purity, indeed a kind of heavenly purity, to the great dishonor and contempt and breach even of God's ordinance of marriage, engendered the same horrible licentiousness which has so abounded at some periods, in the monasteries and nunneries of the papacy? Do they not know, that a learned author of their own communion, has boldly asserted and clearly proved, "that Popery foul as it is, and ever has been, in the mass, might yet fairly represent itself as a reform on ancient Christianity?"

Let us look at some of the lessons which the New Testament teaches on this subject.

From some parts of Paul's epistles to the members of the Corinthian church, it is evident, that they had turned the Lord's supper into a feast, and even into a drunken revel. This is indeed what we might expect from a church of converted heathen, in the absence of their spiritual instructor, accustomed, as they had been, to hold such feasts in honor of their idols. But it is *not* what we might expect, that men in their senses, should send us in this age to such a church for pre-eminent purity and infallible interpretations of Scripture. As well send us to one of the Sandwich Island churches. In his second epistle to the Thessalonians, the same apostle prophesies a fearful "falling away," and says respecting it, that "*the mystery of iniquity doth already work.*" In his first epistle to Timothy, he says, "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that, in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God

hath created to be received with thanksgiving," &c. This prophecy had and still has a fulfillment in the asceticism of the papal church, its fastings and other bodily austerities, its celibacy, and prohibitions of the marriage of priests, and *also* had its fulfillment in *these same practices in the church during the first centuries*. For, very early, long before the papacy, the church was widely given to asceticism—the practice of austerities and bodily mortifications—and it recommended virginity and celibacy, accounting the married state one of inferior holiness and honor. And in its Nicene period, which the Oxford writers consider the model age, the church *forbade* its priests and bishops to marry, and ordained that whenever a man already married, should become a priest or bishop, *he should put away his wife, and if he did not, should be excommunicated*: thus fulfilling the Apostle's prediction of "forbidding to marry," and impiously repealing the law of Christ, "what God hath joined together let not man put asunder!"

The epistles of John to the seven churches in Asia, evince, that even in his lifetime, great corruptions had begun in some of those churches. "And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write; these things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges. . . . But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication. So thou hast them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate. . . . And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write. . . . Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to

seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols." The Nicolaitans, history informs us, allowed a *community of wives*, and ate things sacrificed to idols. It is supposed moreover, that the Apostle also refers to the heresy of Cerinthus, who, by the introduction of the Gnostic philosophy respecting the malignity of matter and the creation of the world by *Æons*, corrupted the true doctrine respecting Christ. (To these heresies and corruptions, it is also supposed by able commentators, that the apostle Peter refers in his second epistle, second chapter, 10—18.) "And unto the angel of the church in Sardis write. . . . I know that thou hast a name, that thou livest and art dead. Be watchful and strengthen the things that remain that are ready to die. . . . Thou hast a *few names even in Sardis* which have not defiled their garments. . . . And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write, I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would that thou wert either cold or hot. So then because thou art neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich and increased in goods, and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked," &c.

What a commentary is this from God's word on the doctrine of the purity of the pristine church! This state of things, be it remembered, was in the *apostolic age*, before the apostle John had gone to his rest. Surely, if such corruptions in doctrine and practice came into the church during the apostolic age, no nearness to that age could insure its purity.

Let us now see what light *ecclesiastical history* sheds on the competency of these early Fathers, to be the exclusive and perpetual interpreters of the Bible.

From the nature of the case, we

might anticipate what history would say. These Fathers—who were they? Most of them were converted heathen; many of them converted heathen philosophers. To bring them, with the thousand false philosophical and ethical notions, which their conversion did not correct, to interpret the Bible for us, is very much like taking converted Brahmins from the hands of modern missionaries, and introducing them to New England to teach our divines and people the theology of the Bible. For in what respect is a converted heathen philosopher, of the second or third century, better fitted for an interpreter of Scripture, than a converted heathen philosopher of the nineteenth century? It was not to be expected, that these early Fathers, though pious, and eloquent, and learned, in their way, as many of them unquestionably were, and though their *testimony* is very valuable for certain purposes, would rise entirely above the influence of the systems of false philosophy and degrading polytheism in which they had been educated. Common sense teaches us, that nothing short of inspiration would keep them from gross errors. It was to be expected, that, while Christianity would do much to improve their character, they would do much to corrupt Christianity, by reading the Bible through the refracting medium of a false philosophy. It was to be expected, indeed it was inevitable, that they would bring their erroneous ideas of the nature and relations of things, which ideas had become a part of their intellectual being, and which they did not see to be unscriptural, to the interpretation of the Bible, and thus mingle the turbid waters of a false philosophy with the pure stream of Christian truth.

And so indeed it was. Two systems of religious philosophy prevailed in the oriental world—the *ascetic*, and the *penitential* or *propiti-*

tatory. The former had for its fundamental principle the malignity and corrupting influence of matter, regarding moral evil or sin as only an incident of matter. It taught therefore that man, in order to rise to virtue and purity, must abstract himself as far as possible from the influence of what is material, by denying, as much as is compatible with existence, his bodily appetites and social instincts, by fasting, by vigils, by solitude, by silence, by celibacy, in a word, by abstraction from all the affections of humanity springing from his animal and social nature. The other system of religious philosophy—the propitiatory—based itself on conscience, admitted human guilt, and proposed to make expiation by penance, by self-torture, and self-immolation. These systems we see illustrated, the one in a Simeon Stylite, living or rather vegetating for forty years on the top of a pillar, lost to sense and natural affection; the other in the poor Hindoo, driven by a blinded and inexorable conscience to self-torture and self-martyrdom, now walking with his bare feet on iron spikes, now swinging by hooks piercing his back, and now casting himself to be crushed under the car of his idol. These two systems, the parents of the monastic institute, by their blended influence, very early affected and corrupted Christianity. They corrupted the idea of virtue or holiness, making it to consist, not in affections and conduct regulated by the divine law, not in love towards God and men acted out in the various circumstances and relations in which God has placed us, but in the vain endeavor to escape the influence of the body and of matter, by fasting, by watching, by solitude, and especially by abstinence from matrimony. They corrupted the plan of salvation, mixing with justification by faith in Christ, justification by works, especially by penance, retirement from the world, celibacy

and virginity, and making the latter element far exceed the former. They corrupted the simplicity and life of the Christian system by introducing extravagant and false ideas of the efficacy of rites, forms and sacraments. These assertions we might sustain by copious extracts from the writings of the early Fathers. Our limits allow us to give but a few specimens, and those only in a note.*

* Tertullian, one of the ablest and earliest of the Fathers, born A. D. 161, a contemporary of men who had conversed with the immediate successors of the Apostles, refers to the custom, established even in his time, of vowing perpetual virginity, and says that they who took on them these vows, "in not marrying are reckoned while on earth as belonging to the angelic household." "The command, Increase and multiply," he says, "is abolished." "May it not suffice thee," he says, "to have fallen from that high rank of immaculate virginity by *ones* marrying, and so descending to a second stage of honor? Must thou yet fall farther, even to a third, to a fourth, and perhaps yet lower?" And, "Shall one who has contracted a second marriage baptize? or shall such offer the eucharistic oblation?" In these degrading terms speaks he of marriage—an institution which God established, which Christ honored as the chief of the social relations, and which inspired apostles approved. And Clemens Alexandrinus, who was earlier by some years than Tertullian, contends against the fanaticism which exalted ascetic practices and celibacy, and dishonors matrimony, and which as is evident from what he says was quite prevalent in his day. Thus early in the history of ancient Christianity, appears the doctrine and practice of religious celibacy.

Tertullian was one of the followers of Montanus, and held that Montanus and others after him were the Comforter, whom Christ promised to his disciples, and that they added to the divine revelation; that in the Old Testament instruction was in its infancy; that Christ and his apostles advanced it to its youthful stature, and that Montanus and his coadjutors brought it to its perfect manhood.

Isidore, who flourished as early as A. D. 368, was distinguished among his contemporaries for *sober judgment*, as well as learning and piety. He says, "The warfare of virginity is indeed great, glorious and divine.....As high as the heaven is above the earth, and as far as the

Now these are specimens of patristic interpretation in the earliest and purest ages of Christianity! What purity of doctrine! What purity of practice! These specimens are taken from the best of the Fathers in the purest ages! And are we with the Bible in our hands to be shut up to such teaching—teaching which substitutes the heathen principle of asceticism for Christian virtue and purity, which

subverts the scriptural standard of good and evil, which despises and condemns what God honors and approves, which makes void his commandments by the “fancies” of ascetic enthusiasts, and, subverting the gospel scheme of salvation, leads men to rely on the invocation of saints, on remedial sacraments, on alms-giving, celibacy, virginity, fasting, vigils, solitude and penance, more, far more than on faith in the

soul excels the body, so does the state of virginity surpass the state of matrimony!” Says Basil, surnamed the Great on account of his excellence, born A. D. 329, “A great virtue truly is virginity, which, to say all in a word, renders man like to the incorruptible God.” Says Gregory Nazianzen, born A. D. 325, “Happy the course of those—the unmarried blessed—who in this world having shaken off the flesh, are nearer allied to the divine purity.” Says Chrysostom, the most eloquent of the Fathers, born A. D. 354, “And truly if you will visit the Egyptian deserts, you will find there what is better than any paradise: there you will find in human form innumerable choirs of angels, tribes of martyrs, assemblages of nuns, in a word the tyrannous empire of Satan brought to nothing, and the kingdom of Christ shining forth.” “What,” says Athanasius, “doth Christ require of thee, but only a pure heart, and a body unsoiled and made black and blue with fasting?..... Fasting,” says he, “will place a man near the throne of God.”

To the horrible effect of this veneration of celibacy and virginity, and contempt of matrimony, we have already alluded. We wish not to dwell on such a subject. We will only say that within the Nicene period, priests were forbidden even by the decrees of councils to marry, and married men if they received orders were directed to separate themselves from their wives; that hundreds did put away their wives, desert their children, and hide themselves in monasteries; that many were excommunicated for returning to their wives after ordination; that thousands shunning marriage, entered the monastic life; and that frequently, and quite early too, in the ancient church, this dishonor of God's ordinance of marriage and outrage on nature produced the result which it has produced in the nunneries and monasteries of the Papacy—the result which it ever must produce—the most shameful and general licentiousness, many of their so-called religious houses being little better than Turkish harems.

(For a full exposition of this subject in all its connections, see Taylor's *Ancient Christianity*.)

One of these Fathers in a sentence too long to quote, says, that Christ has granted *remedial sacraments* for the salvation of men. The efficacy of these sacraments, in their view, may be learned from these sentences of Chrysostom:—“Although a man should be foul with every vice, the blackest that can be named, yet should he fall into the *baptismal pool*, he ascends from the divine waters purer than the beams of noon.” “As a spark thrown into the ocean is instantly extinguished, so is sin, be it what it may, when the man is thrown into the laver of regeneration,” i. e. the “*baptismal pool*.” With the reverence which the aforementioned “diocesan” has for “the Scriptures as interpreted by the church in the earliest and purest ages of Christianity,” we can easily see whence he derives the doctrine of “*baptismal regeneration*,” which he so zealously advocates.

Gregory Nazianzen, commending the conduct of a certain beautiful nun, whom Cyprian before his conversion pursued importunately, being desperately enamored of her, says, “She supplicated the Virgin Mary, beseeching her to afford aid to a virgin in peril; and by the medicine of fasting and prostrations on the bare earth, she furthered her purpose, partly that by these means she might tarnish those charms which were the cause of her trouble, and so remove fuel from the flame; and partly that by her sufferings and humiliations she might propitiate God, for indeed by nothing is God so well pleased as by the sufferings of the body, and it is to tears that he is wont to render his compassion.” The same Father, in a funeral oration over the dead body of a departed saint, thus addresses him in devout prayer: “And thou from thy seat look down upon us propitiously, aiding us in the government of the flock.”

The parable of the ten virgins is interpreted by Chrysostom, as teaching the mode of obtaining the divine favor, viz.

atonement of Christ? The Scriptures as interpreted by the church during the first few centuries after the ascension of the Savior! Wayward fancies of individuals! Where among all the extravagancies of the wildest of modern enthusiasts, can you find any thing that equals the waywardness of the fancies of these fathers—even those of them who flourished in the two first centuries?

Enough has been said, we think, to show that the church during the

first few centuries after the death of Christ, does not deserve to be relied upon as an authoritative interpreter of the Bible.

But this rule of which we have spoken, not only sends us to those who are utterly unfit to be our authoritative guides, but it is self-contradictory, uncertain, and impracticable.

It is self-contradictory. Long since it became a proverb among those acquainted with the writings

by *virginity and alms-giving*, of which virtues the former is the greater; and the foolish virgins, though possessing the greater, were excluded from heaven because they lacked the less. Hear him. "What! hast thou not understood from the instance of the ten virgins in the gospel, how that those who, although they were proficient in virginity, yet not possessing the virtue of alms-giving, were excluded from the nuptial banquet? Truly I am ashamed, and blush and weep, when I hear of the foolish virgin. When I hear the very name, I blush to think of one who, after reaching such a point of virtue, after she had gone through the training of virginity, after she had thus winged the body aloft toward heaven, after she had contended for the prize with the powers on high, after she had undergone the toil, and had trodden under foot the fires of pleasure, to hear such an one named and justly named a fool, because that after having achieved the greater labors of virtue, she should be wanting in the less. . . . Now the fire of the lamps is *virginity*, and the oil is *alms-giving*. . . . Alms are the redemption of the soul. . . . My brethren alms-giving is a great matter. Let us embrace it, to which nothing is equal, for it is sufficient to the wiping out of whatever sins, and for warding off condemnation. . . . Wherefore it was, that these foolish virgins entered not in, because they had not, along with virginity, alms-giving. . . . Think of them, . . . after reaching, in the body, the perfections of the disembodied state, after having won, and held, the vast and unconquerable possession of virginity—a possession so great and difficult, that none of the ancients (he instances Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Joseph) were able to hold it; after all this then they hear—'Depart from me, I know you not!'"

The following are a few examples also taken from a multitude of like character, of the interpretations of the Holy Scriptures by the writers of the early centuries of the church.

Gen. xiv, 14. "He (Abraham) armed his trained servants born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen." These words, three hundred and eighteen, according to the interpretation of Barnabas, signify Jesus and his cross! The mode of interpretation is this. The letters, *iota* signifying ten, and *eta* signifying eight, (eighteen,) are the beginning of *Iesus* (Jesus); and the letter T, which designates three hundred, is in the form of a cross!

Irenæus, Origen, Theodoret, Chrysostom, and many others, in explaining Gen. xix, 36, justify entirely the incest of Lot's daughters. Gen. xlix, 11: "Binding his foal to the vine, . . . he washed his garments in wine," &c. Theodoret says that these words refer to Christ and his passion, and the nations to be converted by his disciples. Origen says that they refer to Christ, and that the garment washed in wine, is the church which Christ has cleansed with his blood. Much the same is the interpretation of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine. The rod of Moses, which, cast to the earth became a serpent, (Ex. iv, 3,) according to Irenæus and most of the ancient writers, prefigured the incarnation of Christ. Origen, interpreting the account of Pharaoh's direction to the midwives to destroy the male and preserve the female children of the Israelites, and also the account of the saving of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter, says that Pharaoh is the devil, Pharaoh's daughter is the church, the midwives are the Old and New Testaments, the male and female children are the animal and rational faculties of the soul, and Moses is the law. Speaking of the directions given in Leviticus for sacrificing, Origen says, that the fat is to be offered, because it signifies the life of Christ, and (*tota cauda*) the tail, or rump, because, as the end of the body, it is the symbol of perseverance and completeness in good works! Numb. xv, 32: "Found a man that gathered sticks on the Sabbath day." Irenæus remarks on these words, "He who brought dry sticks into the

of the Fathers, that any thing can be proved by the Fathers, any opinions however opposite, so contradictory are their writings. We have the testimony of Chillingworth in these words: "I, for my part, after a long and as I verily believe impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly, that I can not find any rest for the sole of my foot, but on this rock only, (the Bible.) I see plainly and with my own eyes, that there are Popes against Popes, and councils against councils, some Fathers against other Fathers, the same Fathers against themselves, and a consent of the Fathers of one age against a consent of Fathers of another age." Surely the Christian in these days, distrusting his own

"wayward fancy," and looking to "the church during the earliest ages" for the only true interpretation of the Bible—"the only sure basis to rest upon"—must be distressingly perplexed to find it, amid such a confused mass of contradiction.

This rule for finding "the only sure basis" is also very *uncertain*. A very large portion of the works of the Fathers are lost, and only some fragments of others remain. Then, in respect to those that have come down to us, we find that there is less agreement in the interpretation of them, than in the interpretation of the Bible. In ascertaining the opinion of these authors, numerous and difficult questions are to be settled about forgeries, mu-

camp of the Lord, was justly stoned; for, 'every tree that beareth not good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire!'" Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus, in remarking on Deut. iv, 19, say, that God gave the celestial bodies to be worshipped by the heathen, lest they should be complete atheists. Irenæus says, that the two spies sent by Joshua and lodged by Rahab, represent the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Ambrose says that the designation of Rahab's house by a scarlet thread, which figures the blood of Christ, and her escape from the destruction that came on the city, are a type of the church, which, saved by the blood of Christ, fears not the ruin of the world. Judges xv, 4: "Samson caught three hundred foxes;" these foxes, says Origen, are the teachers of heresy. 1 Kings iii, 16: "Then came two women that were harlots to the king," &c. These, says Jerome, represent the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church, contending concerning the child Jesus; Augustine, that they represent the Catholic church, and the Arian, Nestorian, and other heresies, which divide Christ in twain. Ps. cxliii, 1: "Who teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight," means, according to Theodoret, teaches our hands to do justice, and our fingers to make the sign of the cross on our foreheads. Matt. xxii, 39: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Hilary says, by neighbor is meant Christ. Mark iv, 90: "Some thirty fold, some sixty, some an hundred." Athanasius says, that the thirty fold refers to the virtue of the married, and the hundred fold to the virtue

of virgins; and Jerome adds, that the sixty fold refers to the virtue of widows. Luke xii, 58: "When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate," &c. Most, says Jerome, think this to be spoken respecting body and soul, or soul and spirit. 1 Cor. iii, 15: "Shall be saved, yet so as by fire." Origen and many others, think this passage teaches, that all the saints after the resurrection from the dead, will be purified by flames, and have the dross of sin burnt off by fire. Papias, bishop of Hieropolis, an auditor of the apostle John, says that John declared that he himself heard Jesus, when speaking of his future and visible kingdom on earth, and of its abundance and fruitfulness, make the following declarations. "A grain of wheat will then produce ten thousand heads, and each head will yield ten thousand grains, and each grain will yield ten pounds of clear, fine flour, and other fruits will yield seeds and herbage in the same proportion. The days shall come in which there shall be vines, which severally shall have ten thousand branches, and every one of these branches shall have ten thousand lesser branches, and every one of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs, and every one of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes, and every one of these grapes being pressed shall give twenty five metretres (that is, according to the lowest calculation, two hundred and seventy five gallons) of wine; and when one shall take hold of one of these sacred bunches, another shall cry out—I am a better bunch, take me and by me bless the Lord."

tifications, erasures, and interpolations, rhetorical exaggerations and controversial excitement, different readings and opposite renderings. Now what is the humble inquirer after "the only sure basis to rest upon," to do, amid all this confusion? Can he find any rest for the sole of his foot? He might as well seek for lingual concord in Babel.

And this is the rule of faith for us, and for Christians, in all ages of the church on earth! What position could be better adapted to make sensible men turn away in disgust from Christianity?

This rule for finding "the only sure basis" is also *impracticable*. We are to have the *unanimous* opinion of *the church* during the purest ages of Christianity. We have no decisions of general councils to guide us, but must take the consent of the Fathers of the church, who have written their own and others' opinions. But here is the uncertainty. There is no consent among them. They contradict themselves and each other. And whoever undertakes to find whether they are agreed on any point, has to encounter the uncertainty resulting from their traditionary and legendary character, and wade through a multitude of folio volumes, all written in a dead language, and many of them in an obscure and barbarous style. For the mass of Christians this is utterly impossible. And for the very few learned men, who could accomplish it, to undertake it for the small amount of uncontradicted truth which they would obtain, would be, as another has said, about as rational as to make "a voyage to the Indies to bring home a cargo of one peppercorn, and two grains of rice." ●

But while this rule of faith is utterly useless for any good purpose, it is powerful for evil. Denying to individuals the right, and withdrawing them from the intellectual labor,

of studying and interpreting the Bible for themselves, its tendency, as illustrated in the history of the past, is to deprive the people of the Bible—to degrade them intellectually and morally—and finally to destroy them.

We can not refrain from asking, in conclusion, what is the *real design* of these "diocesans," in thus recommending as the rule of faith and practice—the only sure basis—the Scriptures as interpreted by the church during the early ages of Christianity? Do they understand all that their words import, and really mean what they say? Do they seriously intend that "the inferior clergy" shall interpret the Scriptures to their parishes as they were interpreted by the early Fathers? Do they intend that they shall preach the gloomy and morose austerities of Tertullian, or the absurd spiritualizing of Origen—his hidden sense of Scripture, divided into the moral and the mystical, and the mystical divided into the terrene or allegorical and the celestial or anagogical; and also his doctrine of the restoration of the damned? If "the inferior clergy" are to preach thus, we would suggest that their "reverend fathers in God" should give them a special charge, informing them how to make such preaching accord with the thirty nine articles, even "for substance of doctrine." Do they intend that their clergy, like the Fathers of the first two centuries, shall teach that Christ has prescribed a twofold rule of holiness and virtue, the one ordinary, the other extraordinary, the one lower, the other higher, the one for men of business, the other for persons of leisure devoted to religion?—that they shall teach that matrimony is a state of inferior holiness and even of moral degradation?* Do they

* "Conjugale stuprum," as some of them termed it.

intend to rebuke all their clergy who have so disregarded the two-fold rule as to contract a second marriage, in the language of Tertullian, "Shall one who has contracted a second marriage baptize? or shall such a one offer the eucharistic oblation?" Do they intend to revive the ascetic system of these early centuries, its fastings, vigils, solitude, penance, celibacy, virginity, and all its insane attempts to escape the influence of what is material? Do they wish their people to commit to memory the patristic rhapsodies concerning "angelic households" of virgins, "tribes of martyrs," "assemblages of nuns, superior to any paradise?" Are we to expect all this in a Protestant land and in a Protestant denomination? This, the rule, as laid down by these "diocesans," clearly requires. We can not but ask, do they intend that "their clergy" shall obey it? And will these "diocesans" set an example to "their clergy" in these ascetic habits, especially in abstinence from matrimony? Or is this rule rather theoretical than practical?*

We can not but ask further of all real Protestants, and especially of those within the pale of the Episcopal denomination, whither these signs of the times (we should call

them "errors of the times") point? Whither tend this denial of the right of private judgment—of the great Protestant principle? this right-handed fellowship with Papists, and this left-handed fellowship, or rather refusal of all fellowship, with Protestant denominations? this renunciation of the name of Protestants for that of Churchmen? Is the high church portion of the Episcopal church going over to the Papists, or are the Papists and they about to make an arrangement to meet half way?

Of one thing we are sure—that these signs indicate a *struggle for Protestant principles*. Nay, they tell us that this struggle is begun. Well, let it go on. This is a battle which Protestants have once fought and won. Their second victory is sure, and will be far more decisive and complete. They know too well what momentous questions hang on the issue, to sleep on their arms. They come to this second contest under better auspices. They contend not, as Luther did, against the leagued powers of political and spiritual despotism. They contend on freedom's soil and under freedom's sky. They contend amid the light of the nineteenth century, when the Bible is in possession of all the people, and that giant, the press, is

* One reason perhaps of the fondness of these diocesans for the writings of the Fathers of the first two centuries, is their extravagant doctrine respecting the authority of the bishops and clergy, and the subjection of the laity, of which the following are specimens.

"Wherefore," says Polycarp, "ye must need abstain from all these things; being subject to the *Priests* and *Deacons*, as unto *God* and *Christ*." Says Ignatius, (or rather say the epistles called his, and not often disputed by high churchmen,) "For whereas ye are subject to your Bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ. . . . It is therefore necessary that as ye do, so without your Bishop, you should do, nothing: Also be ye subject to your Presbyters as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ

our hope; in whom if we walk we shall be found in Him. In like manner let all reverence the *Deacons* as Jesus Christ; and the *Bishop* as the Father; and the *Presbyters* as the Sanhedrim of God, and College of the Apostles. . . . Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, being subject to your Bishop as to the command of God; and so likewise to the Presbytery. . . . See that ye all follow your Bishop as Jesus Christ; and the Presbytery as the Apostles. . . . It is a good thing to have a due regard both to God and the Bishop: He that honors the Bishop shall be honored of God. But he that does any thing without his knowledge ministers unto the Devil." This may be a palatable doctrine to Bishop Onderdonk, and all lords over God's heritage; but not, we think, to the laity in a free country.

scattering abroad with his hundred hands the leaves of truth. They contend in an age of revivals, illustrating the beauty, and excellence, and power of spiritual religion—an age of growing liberty, when the nations, having cast off the chains

of political tyranny, will not brook the more galling chains of spiritual slavery. And they contend with the pages of history in full view, written over with the enormities of religious despotism.

PERCIVAL'S CLASSIC MELODIES.

ONE of the most original, and, as many will think, one of the most interesting parts of the new volume of poems by Percival, has the title of "Classic Melodies." In the space of forty pages we are presented with thirty pieces, which must unquestionably be considered as most successful proofs of the genius and attainments of the poet and scholar. The pieces are not fragments of a few lines, but complete and highly finished poems, objective and classical in subject, spirit and form. We propose carefully to examine these experiments, and think that some at least of the readers of this journal will thank us for furnishing a metrical key, in regular form, to those which differ most in their structure from modern versification. Though in modern times the science of meter is far less studied than it was among the ancients, yet it still continues to be a subject of pe-

culiar attractions to poets and scholars.

The limits of this article will not allow us to enter into a full discussion of the essential peculiarities in the very nature of the ancient versification, compared with the modern. We will merely observe, that either the ancients pronounced the words of their language in a manner different from the customary one of conversation, when they recited poetry, or their versification must have made an impression on the ear different from ours, in which we give the same pronunciation to the words as in the familiar intercourse of life. In classical versification, it was essential to the true harmony of a meter, that the metrical beat (*ictus*) frequently fall on unaccented syllables. In the following examples, let the burlesque character be overlooked, and attention directed solely to the meter.

Armā vīrūmq; cānō || Trōjāe quī prīmū ab ōris.

Wākēn ārwūsq; ē'chōēs || wā'r-sōngs chānt prāīng ā hēro.

In this example each word of the English has the same number of syllables as the corresponding word of the Latin. Each word is accented on the same syllable, and each syllable has the same quantity. Precisely the same difficulty is felt in pronouncing *echoes* and *war-songs* as in pronouncing *cāno* and *Trojae*. The common scanning of schools and colleges neglects entirely the accent on the first syllable of the

two Latin words; and if this was the mode in which the ancients read their poetry, then our English line should be read with the accent on the last syllables of *echoes* and *war-songs*. In a note to his translation of Buttman's Greek Grammar, Dr. Robinson informs us that some of the German scholars take pains to discipline their ear and voice until they succeed in giving on such a word as *cāno* an accent on the first

syllable and long quantity on the last. It is not difficult to do this on the word *echoes*. The effect however will not be particularly agreeable, at least with our present habits of ear. We must content ourselves with merely suggesting this funda-

mental difficulty: at some future time we may afford it a fuller consideration, and attempt a satisfactory solution. It will not be uninteresting to present a few more examples. In Dr. Percival's volume, p. 187, occurs the following line:

Not is Elysian fields || by the still oblivious river.

By changing a phrase, we can make it correspond in accent and quantity to a line from Homer, Il. α. 187.

Not is the sweet prospects || by the still oblivious river.
 Ἰ-σὺν ε-μολ φά-σθαι || καὶ ὁ-μολ-ω-θῆναι δῖνον.

Thus we have the word *prospects* presenting the same difficulty in accent as the word *φάσθαι*. The following line from p. 201, is in a me-

ter which becomes the heroic hexameter by the addition of another syllable.

"Deep mid the shades of night || I sink in silent repose.

By a slight alteration this will correspond in accent with Il. α. 221.

Deep mid the shades night-sent || I sink in silent repose.
 μέ-θω Α-θῆ-ναι-σι || ἢ δ' Οὐ-λύμ-πονδε βιβή-μαι.

In this instance the word *night-sent* has its accent on the first syllable, but the metrical beat falls on the last, just as in the corresponding Greek word. The following ludicrous line occurs in an extract quoted in the North American Review from Tay-

lor's translation of Voss's "Louise." It is made still more odd by the accommodated accent at the end. We will place under it a line from Homer of very inferior merit as regards rhythm. The accents correspond, except at *ού*.

But when I all had been | emptied || the | bitter the | rolls and the | cold hám.
 ὅβριος | ἔκνωα | τῆρος || οὐ | δ' ἔσχε | ῥόλλας | δ' ἄμυρ

In ancient versification, lines in which the accent and metrical ictus uniformly coincide are very bad, e. g.

Sole cadente juvenens || aratra reliquit in arva.

We quote this line from Hermann, who gives in connection with it the true reason of its displeasing rhythm. This coincidence of accent and ictus, is undoubtedly the cause of the disagreeable sound, to persons of classical ear, of the Latin poetry of the monks of the middle ages.

To discover the true cause of the fact, that what is an intolerable fault in the English and perhaps in all the modern languages, is essential to excellence in the Greek and Latin, requires a more minute investigation into the nature of the rhythm of the latter, as spoken in ancient times, than has yet, so far as we can

learn, been attempted. Sir Philip Sidney, and one or two others in the age of Elizabeth, constructed English hexameters, on the ancient principle; but readers find them intolerable, on account of the violence which must be done to the pronunciation of the language.*

The reviewer in the North American of Professor Longfellow's bal-

* It is curious that the reviewer in the North American, in the article already referred to, seems not to have observed the principle according to which the lines are constructed, which he quotes from an anonymous pamphlet. If read according to the intention of their author, they are exceedingly musical.

lads, considers his hexameters as not more successful than those of his predecessors in this metrical experiment, and observes, "No modern tongue can fitly represent this ancient meter." Upon this assertion we remark that a perfect correspondence with ancient meters in the separation of accent from metrical ictus, is indeed with our present habits impossible; but that every other peculiarity of rhythm may be represented, we think Dr. Percival has demonstrated in the volume before us. The reviewer further remarks, "Most modern hexameters are forced and awkward, and forcibly remind us of the difficulty overcome." To the truth of this the hexameters of Dr. Percival are a striking exception. No one will deny the ease and spirit of their movement. We feel indeed constrained to consider these as the only exceptions to the truth of the remark. Having met with English hexameters by thirteen different writers, we cannot but think that our author is the only one among them who has succeeded in producing a meter that closely imitates the

ancient, and yet is natural and agreeable. Every one must be struck with the ease and freedom, not only of this but of all his classic meters. Let common readers be ignorant of the fact that they are experiments in versification, and they will scarcely notice that they are new and singular. They will scarcely observe that they contain any greater peculiarities than many of the pieces in other parts of the volume—the songs, for instance, adapted to national airs. The length of the lines in some of them might be complained of, but this objection may be removed by dividing them at the cæsural pause. All parts of the present volume are distinguished by our author's characteristic magnificence of versification, yet in none does the poet seem to write with less labor and pour forth his verses from a more natural and genial impulse. How admirable are the following extracts, not only for their magnificence and splendor, but, so to speak, for their poetic exuberance of spirits. We will mark in each line the place of the cæsural pause.

"Forth on thy rose-wreathen car, || thou rollest 'mid billows of saffron and gold.
Loves, on their iris wings, || the red streaming mists as thy canopy hold.
Graciously, ever at morn, || thy car thus aloft o'er the mountain is borne,
And, as thou comest, the woods ring aloud || with the clang of the welcoming horn." p. 204.

"Still, as in youth, ever green, || the laurel of Homer is flourishing.
Life-giving streams bathe its roots, || its wide waving foliage nourishing."—p. 202.

"Bright ascends the fatal dawn;
Bright the temple is flashing:
Wide a nation is rolling on,
Spear and armor are clashing."—p. 212.

"With loud burst of thunder, || 'mid a wide whirlwind of fire,
From the high heaven in glory, || descends the god of war.
The fearless hero, exulting, || beholds his warrior sire;
And he mounts, joyous, beside him, || the bright triumphal car."—p. 216.

How the mind is floated on in the following choriambics.

"When the blue wave sinks on the sea, || and the still night hushes the deep,
Ever my soul hastens to thee, || ever thy smile blesses my sleep."

The problem to be solved in such attempts as these that we are now considering, is analogous to that of an adequate translation from one language into another. A perfect

translation it is evident can not produce an effect identically the same as that of the original, for no two languages are alike in their impression on the ear and mind. A translator works with different instruments, and if his success be com-

* The Ascent of Romulus.

plete, he will produce effects, not indeed precisely the same, but such as are exactly analogous and completely equivalent. So in the case of imitating the ancient meters. Temporal meters are to be translated into accentual, and provided the strong and spirit-stirring rhythms of the former are faithfully given, the means may and must to a considerable extent be different. Dr. Percival seems to have been guided by the strong instinct of a master of versification in his own language. Hence he has added the ornament and support of rhyme to all the meters which can be assisted by it. Rhymed Latin hexameters were indeed written in abundance by the monks of the middle ages, and produced no effect but that of a barbarous jingle. But as a general rule the versification of the modern tongues requires rhyme. Guest, in his "History of English Rhythms," remarks of rhyme that "its advantages have been felt so strongly, that no people have ever adopted an accentual rhythm without also adopting rhyme."*

Those who have discussed the practicability of imitating the ancient meters, and decided against it on the ground that meter in our language must be accentual, have overlooked the important fact that we may construct accentual meters, the rule of which shall be that the accented syllables shall be long as well as accented. It is upon this principle that Dr. Percival seems to have proceeded. Indeed it is in consequence of a general observance of this principle, that he has always been distinguished in his versifica-

tion by a classic smoothness of flow, in respect of which, as well as in purity and felicity of language, he ranks with poets of the highest order. But in imitating an ancient meter, more must be done, if we would produce a satisfactory effect; than merely copy the arrangement of the long and short syllables. In the classic versification, the recurrence of accents separate from the regular beat of the verse, gave a variety and a sort of fullness of sound which prevented the sing-song and nursery-rhyme effect of the mere naked meter, such as we hear it in the scanning of the schools. Not precisely the same indeed, but a similar occurrence of *accents out of place*, constitutes a striking point of merit in our poet's "Classic Melodies," as we shall presently show when we quote from his hexameters. But there is still another resource in English versification, by which an equivalent may be afforded for the varied and full effect just described. It consists in a compensation by one or more syllables for want of quantity in another. In theory and in the rudest specimens, accentual versification is a mere tinkling succession of accented and unaccented syllables, the accident of quantity occurring without any order and producing no effect. Yet in the most harmonious English versification, the accented syllable is, as a general rule, long; and when in such versification it is short, it will be found to be preceded or followed by an accented syllable of uncommon length, or by an unaccented syllable that is long, or by both in conjunction. E. g.

No useless coffin enclos'd his breast,
Not in sheet nor in shroud we wound him.

In these celebrated lines the word "coffin" should, according to the rule of the meter, have its first syl-

lable long; but in compensation for its being short, we find all the three preceding syllables long. The second line is regular, except that after the word "shroud" we find only one

* Under the term rhyme this writer includes alliteration.

short syllable, when there should be two, or a long one in place of two; but as the chief stress of the voice falls on this word, it becomes so very long that a single short syllable is sufficient to fill out the time, and consequently although this syllable

is very short, yet the effect of a spondee is produced, as the sentiment requires. If we try the experiment of inserting another syllable, we shall find the line more regular indeed, but less impressive. E. g.

"Nöt in shēet nör in shrouē hād wē wōund him."

It has been justly objected to the manufacturers of English hexameters, that the feet which they have called dactyls and spondees are, in many cases, not these feet, but something else without a name. Even a slight examination of their lines will show that this objection is well founded. Such words as *pīlēōus* seem to be considered dactyls as much as words like *glōriōūs*. Dr. Percival seems very careful to have the first syllable of his dactyls really long, or if occasionally this can not be, to make compensation by filling out the time on other syllables.

Many of the meters in this part of the volume under consideration, are entirely new to our language, while some of them, viz. the iambic, trochaic, and anapestic, are common, as far as regards their general movement, both to ancient and modern versification. The heroic hexameter will however be considered the most interesting of all these experiments, partly because it is the most magnificent of the ancient meters, and partly because it is the one which modern poets have been most ambitious to imitate. Indeed at the present day, the example of the Germans has caused it to be quite the fashion in England and America, to attempt English hexameters. We will therefore consider this measure a little more in detail. The others we will briefly describe and illustrate for the satisfaction of those who read the volume.

The ancient heroic hexameter is a dactylic measure. In its most regular form it has what is called

the penultima caesura. By this it is divided into two portions, the first of which has a dactylic and the second an anapestic movement.* As with our psalm meters, if the size of the type and page render it convenient, each line may be broken into two. Instead of representing the succession of syllables thus,

-----||-----

We may represent it by two lines, thus:

Ἀλλὰ καὶ αἶψα

πατήρων δ' αἶψα μητρὸν ἱνέλλαι II. a. 25.

Τίτρε τὴ πέδιλλο

Ῥεχθῆνας σὺβ τέγμινε φίλι.

Dr. Percival, with fine poetical tact, has adopted this regular form of the hexameter, and as his specimens are short, has introduced but few variations in the place of the caesura. Apparently having his ear impressed with the rhythm of Homer, rather than the more spondaic movement of the Latin poets, he has given his lines that dactylic union of rapidity and energy which represents the true idea of the heroic hexameter, and which has been missed by all his predecessors. Anapestic measures, as is well known, are common in English, and

* Vide Hermann, for a full account of this structure. Vide also Sophocles's Greek Grammar.

dactylic are met with occasionally.* It is surprising that the latter are not more common, especially when we are familiar with so fine a specimen as the triumphal song in the *Lady of the lake*, "Hail to the chief," &c. Following the model which we have just given, Dr. Percival has imitated the heroic hexameter by putting together two established English meters. To a strong English dactylic line of two feet and a half, he has subjoined an anapaestic line of three feet and an additional syllable. The dignity of the measure is carefully preserved by making the accented syllables long, and the whole movement is thus, not a light and dancing one of triplets, according to a common notion respecting our "triple measures," but an animated and majestic march. We will exhibit a specimen and divide the lines. It is the opening of an address to Homer.

"Bard of the bright Chian isle,
From snow-crowned Olympus descending,
Come to my spirit at night,
Thy own full ecstacy lending;
Bear me away through thy world,

* We know that some, (vide the Edinburgh Review on Southey's *Vision of Judgment*.) like Guest, deny that the ancient feet ever really exist in modern meters. We would refer such to the fine dactylic hymn by Moore, "Come ye disconsolate, where'er ye languish," and to the very fine air by Webb, to which it is sung. The proportional lengths of the notes of the air will be found to be the same as of the ancient dactyl, one long syllable being equal to the two following short ones throughout. The song, "Hail to the chief," &c., by Scott, taken in connection with its tune, is another well known instance. The dactylic movement is not uncommon in old Scottish music, and appears to have been a favorite one with Sir Walter, as he has used it repeatedly. The hymn, "Star in the east," is another instance. The tunes to anapaestic hymns and songs will give the exact proportionate length to the syllables, as often as they are in common instead of in triple time, and they never have a strong and serious expression unless they are in common time.

Still with youth's first energy glowing;
Still with the great and the fair,
In wide effusion o'erflowing."—p. 199.

Though we have divided the lines in this example, and shall do so in most of the other meters which have lines of considerable length, yet we do so in the present case merely to facilitate the comprehension of the meter. In strict propriety each line should be read as a whole, the unity of which is not destroyed by the caesural pause. Though this pause ought to be decidedly marked in the reading, yet it will not separate the two parts of the line as completely, as the pause at the end of the line separates it from that which follows. The same will be true of some of the succeeding meters, the lines of which we shall thus divide.

In this stanza the only short quantities under the accent are in the words *spirit* and *energy*; but the *r* of spirit is naturally prolonged under the metrical beat, while *en* of energy is immediately followed by a long syllable which gives the whole amount of time requisite for the foot, and as it also follows a spondee which is rather clogged with consonants, its shorter quantity and the consequent more fluent utterance of the whole word add to the ease and spirit of the line. This stanza furnishes several instances of the occasional occurrence of accents not reckoned in the feet, to which we have already alluded. Correct pronunciation requires, that the first syllable of the word "*Chian*," the syllables "*full*," "*thy*," (to give the proper emphasis,) "*first*," and "*still*," (in the last line but two,) have each a slight accental stress. "*Full*" and "*first*," are the last syllables of spondees, and are long. The others are in situations where the law of the meter requires short quantities, yet the stress which they receive need not lengthen them, but is rather that sudden and sharp stress which

shortens the quantity. If the experiment be tried of reading the lines, first without any accent on these syllables, and then with a decided and expressive accent to enforce the meaning of the words, while at the same time the flow of the metre is not permitted to be obstructed, we shall find the latter mode to be far the most rich in its effect. In fact, the effect will be precisely the same as in what we conceive to be the true mode of reading the first line of the *Æneid*.

Thy world will be like *cānō* and "full ec-stasy" like *Trōjāe*. So likewise, "*Chian isle* and *still with youth's* will be like "*pātūlāe*" and

rēcūbāns in the first line of the eclogues of Virgil. Let it be remembered that the English lines *must* be thus read, unless we entirely neglect the proper pronunciation and emphasis of the words; the fact may confirm us in assenting to Dr. Robinson's statement on the authority of the German scholars, that this is the proper mode of combining both accent and quantity in the recitation of the classical languages.

We will extract the next stanza of this fine poem, and exhibit it with the lines undivided. The syllables which we distinguish by italics, are those which have accents out of place, as just explained.

"Other creations may fade, || to shapeless ruin decaying:
Over the world of thy song, || youth's earliest dawn is *still* playing.
Long the tall turrets of Troy || have perished by centuries riven—
Still at thy bidding they rise, || untouched and immortal, to heaven."

This stanza likewise affords several instances of compensation of quantity. They occur in the words "other," "ruin* decaying," "turrets," "perished," "bidding* thy." It will be well to notice that in each of these, as in the word "energy" in the previous stanza, the deficiency in the length of the first syllable of the foot is immediately supplied in the next, and is not deferred to the last syllable so as to change the dactyl into an anapaest.† It may be asked, do we consider that the syllables of our language can be arranged into the two classes of long and short, with as much strictness as in the Latin and Greek? By no means. While some of our syllables are as short as the short-

est, others are much longer than the longest in those tongues, and so strong is our accent that a long unaccented syllable, becomes what is called "doubtful" for the purposes of poetry. We just hint at these distinctions, without taking time to enter into a full consideration of them.

Three other forms of the dactylic hexameter are given by our poet; who remarks, that they illustrate the effects of the different degrees of Catalexis. For his remarks we refer to the volume, and content ourselves with supplying, what he has not given, viz. a brief description of each meter.

The second specimen (p. 201) differs from the heroic which we have just examined, in wanting the last syllable. The rhymes thus become single instead of double ones. Hermann does not mention this as an ancient meter. We will quote the first two lines, and mark the quantities. The first will be no-

* Length by position.

† The following line is apparently but not really an exception. In such a case, the voice dwells on the last syllable of a word like *lily*.

"Where spread the lily and rose,
Full bloomed, in Ionia's clime."

ticed as very felicitous in its spondaic movement, while a comparison of the two is instructive, as

showing that in well constructed hexameters, spondees do not clog the dactylic flow of the lines.

"Deep 'mid the shades of night, || I sink in silent repose;
Pressed by the soft touch of sleep, || my* lids on the outer world close."

The third specimen (p. 202) has a syllable added to the heroic, which makes the final dactyl complete and the rhymes triple. We have already quoted the two first lines, "Still as in youth ever green," &c.

In the fourth specimen the line is made yet longer than in the third by the addition of an accented syllable. The rhymes thus again become single. The first of our extracts is a specimen. Though the lines are very long, it is a magnificent and most agreeable measure.

The two last are mentioned indeed by Hermann, but seem not to have been much cultivated by the ancients, and may be regarded as metrical experiments of our author. Two more dactylic meters follow in his volume, to which the same remark may be applied. As their structure will be readily understood, it will be unnecessary for us to give extracts. The poems like those we have quoted from, breathe the true animation and glow of classic antiquity. The same qualities characterize the poems which illustrate various forms of the iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic meters. These specimens exhibit no rhythmical

movement that is not of common occurrence in modern versification.* It will however, not be uninteresting to direct the attention of our readers to the ancient arrangement of trochaic, iambic, and anapaestic feet into *dipodies*. By this is meant the measurement of the verse by "meters" of two feet each. Thus a line of six feet was called one of three meters, one of eight feet was said to consist of four meters, and so on. This made the metrical beat stronger on every other long syllable, and gave a rhythm with two sets of accents, one set stronger than the other. In music this is represented in the case of anapaestic verses by what was formerly (and it seems to us properly) called compound common time, but is now $\frac{1}{2}$ time, or common time of any sort which has regularly two accents in each measure. Trochaic and iambic verses, thus scanned, run in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, or compound triple time. All readers who give these meters a flowing and spirited expression, unconsciously observe this principle. Take the following anapaestic lines (p. 191) as an example.

"In the silence of night, and in solemn array, || by the glimmer of torches is whirling
Majestic the funeral train on its way || and its music is plaintively stealing."

* This syllable, *my*, is not really long in the correct reading of this line, but as it occurs immediately after the *cæsura*, and is the first syllable of the anapaestic portion of the line, (*vide supra*,) the deficiency is not felt. English anapaestic lines oftener begin with one syllable than with two, and thus in these specimens we find immediately after the *cæsura*, sometimes two short syllables, sometimes a single long one, but oftener a single short one.

* We can not but regret that the iambic trimeter, which among the ancients ranked next in dignity to the heroic hexameter, should have had *cæsuras* given it by our author so different from the customary ones of the Greeks—the penthimimeral, or the hephthimimeral, neither of which occur in his specimen, while the three which he uses were considered so faulty as to be rejected by Porson and all his school. We do not indeed object to the propriety of the rhythm used by our au-

To show that this principle has four first lines of a skating song precisely the same application in from another part of the volume, modern poetry, we will quote the (p. 147.)

"We speed o'er the star-lighted mirror along,
And the wood and the mountain re-echo our song.
As on, like the wing of the eagle, we sweep,
Now gliding, now wheeling, we ring o'er the deep."

And the following anapæstics from p. 238.

"The vines are deep blushing,
The vintage is nigh,
And plenty is gushing
In showers from the sky," &c.

"O! gay the plastic dreams of old, || the world their touch created :
The poet's eye, with fervent gaze, || still o'er it broods unsated." p. 207.

The following, which is also from the Classic Melodies, illustrates the same principle in the trochaic meters.

"See the bounding bark afloat !
Steady blows the willing gale :
Joy, with merry, merry note,
Hoists and spreads the purple sail."
p. 195.

The following hymn is remarkably regular in its dipodial iambic movement, and in the uniformity with which the accented syllables are long.

The Savior calls—let every ear
Attend the joyful sound ;
Ye doubting souls, dismiss your fear,
Hope smiles reviving round.

thor, considered in reference to the subject of the poem, though Guest describes it as a "strange" one, of which he had met with but one instance. The peculiarity consists in having the cæura generally after the second or the fourth foot. The ancients made the cæura fall in the middle of a foot, so as to give to the first half of the line a trochaic ending, and to the last half a trochaic movement. Though the length was the same, yet the ancient trimeter iambic was very different in rhythm from our modern alexandrine.

Lines of uncommon length will drag intolerably unless this rule is followed in reading them : as in the following iambs from the Classic Melodies.

For every thirsty, longing heart,
Here streams of bounty flow,
And life, and health, and bliss impart,
To banish mortal woe.

Here springs of sacred pleasure rise
To ease your every pain ;
(Immortal fountain ! full supplies !)
Nor shall you thirst in vain.

Ye sinners, come, 'tis mercy's voice ;
The gracious call obey ;
Mercy invites to heavenly joys—
And can you yet delay ?

Dear Savior, draw reluctant hearts ;
To thee let sinners fly,
And take the bliss thy love imparts,
And drink, and never die.

* In these examples we have marked every accented syllable as long—a few however are in fact short. It must be remembered also that such accents belong to the meter, and do not always coincide with the emphasis by which the sense is enforced. If a reader finds an attempt to observe them interfere with emphasis, let him attend to the latter

On page 186 we find a poem in the ancient elegiac measure, a meter which is frequently called the pentameter. It consists of an alternation of heroic hexameters with

what are called pentameters. The latter consist of two parts, each of the same length, and each composed of two dactyls and a half.

"O! it is great for our country to die,* || where ranks are contending:

Bright is the wreath of our fame; || Glory awaits us for aye—

Glory that never is dim, || shining on with a light never ending—

Glory, that never shall fade, || never, † O! never away."

This was a favorite meter with the ancients for poems of sentiment, and our author has been the first to make an appropriate and agreeable use of it in our own tongue.

The choriambic meters (pp. 208, 209) have, we believe, never before been attempted in our language. To modern ears they are singular and striking. Hermann characterizes the choriambic movement as "admodum gravis et magnificus"—impressive and magnificent. They require on the part of the reader a skillful prolongation of the long syllable at the end of each foot, to prevent the march from being as it were broken by abrupt halts. But indeed a careful prolongation of the

long syllables, though more necessary in these meters and those which we shall presently notice as having a choriambus for their most characteristic foot, is of great importance in reading all the others except the Saturnian. The true cause of the difficulty that students of the classics find in reading ancient poetry in such a way as to make the meters really agreeable, is the fact that they make most or all of the long syllables relatively short; either shortening the long or lengthening the short ones. Let any one try the experiment of reading such a line, for instance, as this from Horace, and the imitations which we subjoin,

"Beātūs illis || qui p̄ccāla nēgōtīs."

Hōw-calmly lives-hē || whōm nō-nōise ōr-tūrbulēce,

Or

Hōw-sweetly rest-wē || frēe frōm-all ūneāsiness.

with strict musical accuracy of time, so as to make the long syllables twice as long as the short, and he will find the Latin line to have a sound

quite different from that which we most frequently hear in schools and colleges. The impression made by its rhythm will be precisely the same as that of the English lines if read impressively and with a continuous flow of the voice. In comparison with the mode of reading to which we allude, this will make the long syllables as it were very long, and the short very short.*

in preference. Were it not that it would extend this article to too great a length, we would take this opportunity for showing that the rule in ancient versification, that irregular feet were admissible only in the odd places of iambic and the even places of trochaic meters, may be satisfactorily illustrated by harmonious specimens of modern versification. This subject is merely curious: that of scanning and reading by dipodies, is not only curious but useful.

* In this and several of the hexameter lines of this piece, the cæsura is after the first available of the fourth foot.

† The first syllable of *neer* is really short; the next compensates.

* The only way of being demonstrably certain that we give the true length to the syllables is to beat time with the hand while we read, and after a little practice in doing so, to read as fast as propriety requires, and at the same time observe the proportionate length of the syllables. The time, it will be observed, must be triple,

The following is the formula for riambic poems in the present volume have the following meters.

1st. $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

"Bear me afar övër the wäve, || fär tö the sacred Isländs."

2d. $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

"Bat wëen the dawn kindlës the sky, || sadly I wake, fär thou hast slöwn."

On page 210 we are presented with a mixed choriambic, of which this is the form. It will be noticed that the first foot in each half of the line is a choriambus.

$\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

"Häste tö the dance ! the music calls, || häste tö the smilë öf lövër."

Next in succession we find a new stanza, which, like the last, our author thinks might be an agreeable one to naturalize in English poetry. The stanza has six lines; the last three are like the first three, and each set has two lines (Glyconic) alike, and then a shorter line, (Pherecratean.) The movement in each line properly begins with the choriambus, which is the characteristic foot. The two syllables that precede this foot, are what is called a

base, that is, an introductory part of a line upon which the voice dwells before it begins to be borne on in the true metrical flow of the rest of the line. Representing the base by dots, the following is the form of the longer lines.

$\dots \parallel \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

The short lines are the same, except that they are without the last syllable.

$\dots \parallel \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

"Hark ! the échö öf shöut änd söng,

Sëe the bäcchänäls tröep älong ;

Löud the cymbäls äre söundíng."

The first short line in the second stanza, and the last half of the third, are according to that variety of this meter which allows the choriambus to be placed first, an arrangement by which the meter becomes the same as the mixed choriambic which we have just described.

"Súll is the gentlë vöice öf söng,

Ónlý cän péäce rëstöre it."

One line has three syllables for the base.

"Wait till the támütl has hurried by."

The Glyconic and Pherecratean alternated, compose the Priapean,

and the syllables respectively represented by crotchets and quavers, or minims and crotchets. As the English lines which we have given in imitation, aim at nothing more than to afford an exact copy of the rhythm, we hope they will not be regarded as pretending to any thing better than nonsense, in the way of translation. To make the imitation perfectly exact, the syllables must naturally unite into the same groups. To show this union we insert hyphens. "How calmly," for instance, is pronounced in English as a single word, as much as "beatus," (vide Walker's Grammar of Elocution, and Guest on the accent of construction.) "No-noise" corresponds to "procul" not only in syllabication and quantity, but also in having on the first syllable an accent separate from the musical or metrical ictus. "How," as a syllable, is either long or short, and by a well known rule the situation in which it occurs admits either a short or a long quantity; "or," coming before a consonant at the beginning of the next word, is in fact long by position, but this likewise is a situation in which, by the same rule, a long syllable is admissible.

(not named by our author,) of which we next have an illustration. The third of the extracts which we gave in the first part of this article is from this piece. In that extract we meet with an irregularity in the first line.

"Bright ascends the festal dawn."

One short syllable of the choriambus is wanting. Regularly the line would read—

"Bright ascendeth the festal dawn."

This is merely, however, an instance of a license in English versification which we have already explained: the last syllable of "ascends" is so long as to fill out the time. In this poem the last two lines have, in each half, the choriambus placed first, which, as we have just seen, makes the meter the same as the mixed choriambic.

Of the poem on page 213, the first stanza is Eupolidean and the second Cratinean. These meters likewise, Dr. Percival suggests, might perhaps be adopted with advantage in English versification. They differ from each other merely in the place of the choriambus which is their characteristic foot. We shall follow our poet's suggestion, and divide each line into two.

Eupolidean :

.. .. | ˘ = | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.. .. | ˘ = | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

"Then as breathes the whispering air,
O'er my head the cloudless sky,
Dreams from heaven visit me there,
Holy visions pass me by."

Cratinean :

˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.. .. | ˘ = | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

"But to my heart a music steals,

Faint at first, then full and clear ;

Déep In mÿ sôul frôm héavén It péals,
Borne as from sôme célestiál sphère."

It will be noticed that the shorter line of the Cratinean is like that of the Eupolidean. In the last example, the last line has three syllables (a dactyl) for its base. This produces an irregularity in the line, which is still farther increased by the word *some*, which is not well adapted for receiving the ictus.

The choriambus is again the characteristic foot of the next meter, the Epionic, (polyschematist.) This also seems to our author an available form for English poetry.

= ˘ = | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
= ˘ = | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

"What joy art even to hear thee,

Sweet voice of tenderest love !

How blest, alone to be near thee,

Thou'st and sorrowing dove !"

The meter called asynartete (p. 215) is compounded of rhythms having opposite movements, the first from long to short, and the second from short to long. The first is dactylic and the second iambic. It will be well to divide the lines. This peculiar structure, it will be observed, produces a very spirited effect.

"Merrily merrily rings

The joyous shout of harvest home,

Merrily merrily springs

The homeward bark thro' dashing foam."

On page 216, we are presented with an imitation of the galliambic, in a poem of great splendor and magnificence. Its rhythm is entirely new in our language, and, as it seems to us, in admirable harmony with the tumultuous agitation of the language and imagery. It is indeed less rebounding (to use an expression of Müller) than in ancient specimens, yet it possesses

this quality in a degree which will cause it to make a singular and startling impression on our ears, which are unaccustomed to meters designed like so many of the ancient, to produce by rhythm alone, strong, startling, and agitating effects. It was in this meter that the frantic priests of the mother of the gods, with accompanying drums and cymbals, chanted the destruction of the maddened Atys.* We have already in the first part of this article, extracted a stanza from this fine poem, "With loud burst as of thunder," &c. and think that every one must feel the peculiar character of its rhythm. An exact description of the structure of the galliambic verse, considered as composed of two Anacreontic lines, the foot of which is the *ionicus a minori*, would be too intricate for an article like the present. We will merely observe, to prevent a natural mistake, that the choriambus is not one of the feet, according to the true scansion. The following is the divided formula for the first and third lines of each of the three first stanzas.

— — — — —
— — — — —

"Thē clōuds rōll frōm thē mōuntains;†

Thē stōrm swēeps ō'er thē plāin;†

The next line has the following rhythm, which is essentially the same as the preceding, being changed by what was called *anacalasis*. These two formulæ will explain all the lines of the first three stanzas.

* Our younger readers will find it interesting to refer to Lockhart's "Vale-rius," for a wild song on the death of Atys, which the author puts into the mouths of these Corybantes.

† It will be observed, that both these hemistichs differ from the formula in having at the beginning but one short syllable instead of two or a long one. Perhaps also it is not strictly correct for us to place the mark for metrical ictus over the last syllable of "mountains," yet the true rhythm of this species of verse requires it.

— — — — —
— — — — —

And thē bōldest shrink in tērrōr;

Thē prōudest shāke with fēar."

The last two stanzas have a movement more calm and composed. We doubt however whether they can in strictness be said to be in the same ionic meter. The following is their formula,

— — — — —
— — — — —

"Wēep nōt yōur kīng yē Rōmāns!

Fōr hē nōw is ā gōd ābōve."

The Saturnian meter, which is supposed to have been that of the old Roman ballads, is exhibited in a poem which affords a curious exemplification of the rugged energy which must have characterized those rude songs. The native Roman meters, as is well known, were founded rather on accent than on quantity, and Dr. Percival has written this imitation in a meter which can only be read with the spirit and energy of a strong rhythm that is merely accentual.

"A shōut, a shōut for Cōcles,

Brāve amōng the brāvest!

For hē the bridge dēfēnded,

And fēarless swām the rīver."

Under the head of "Sapphic," we are presented with a short poem of exquisite beauty, which has for its subject the picture of the infant Christ asleep, while reposing on a cross. The Sapphic verse has often been attempted in English, and indeed may be considered one of our established meters. That popular collection, the Christian Lyre, contains a hymn to the tune of the old Sapphic ode on Bunker's Hill. English imitations of this meter, however, have been faulty in being merely accentual. The long quantities have not been rightly dis-

tributed. Our author having, as he hints in his remarks, taken especial pains with the long quantities, has made his lines smooth and flowing. Two of the stanzas illustrate the Greek form without the *cæsura*, and the other two the Horatian, which has a *cæsura* after the fifth syllable.

Greek :

"One so young and lovely, so full of beauty,
Grandeur and glory."

Horatian, with the lines divided :

"Yet that look reveals,
In its pensive sweetness,
Deep and holy love,
That will after lead him
Forth to heal and save,*
And to higher being

Kindly allure us."—p. 219.

The "Alcaic" poem (p. 219) will afford to English readers a good exemplification of the energy and variety found within the narrow limits of this favorite meter with Horace, yet it can scarcely be considered as having precisely the same rhythm, since the *cæsura*, except in the first line of the second stanza, is after the fourth instead of the fifth syllable. This prevents the abrupt commencement which characterizes the second hemistich. A careful examination will indeed show that this alteration increases the energy of both portions of the line, but does not the whole thus become too energetic? Does not the ancient model more than make up by repose, for what it loses in energy. In the ancient model too, the symmetry of the stanza is more perfect. This symmetry depends very much on the fact, that the rhythm of the third line, with its trochaic ending, is the same as that of the first portion of each of the two

first lines, while the fourth line, with its abrupt beginning, has the rhythm of the last portion of the two first.* It will be unnecessary to give an extract. No mere English reader can fail of the rhythm, and classical students are familiar with the scan-sion of the Latin model.

The first specimen of the "Asclepiadean" will be found to be correct in grammatical construction, and to give a regular course of thought if read with the omission of the short line of each stanza. When thus read the poem illustrates the meter of the first ode of Horace. If read as it stands, it is in the meter and stanza of the fifth ode of the first book. The second line of the second stanza seems faulty. It is most naturally scanned by complete dactyls. The second line also of the third stanza has a dactylic base, which it would have been well to avoid. For "only," read *but*. In the case of this meter also, it is unnecessary to furnish extracts or a description, for the reason just given. The language and sentiments of the poem are in the highest degree energetic and noble; but it may be doubted, whether the Asclepiadean rhythm must not in our strongly accented language necessarily be tumultuous.

The Asclepiadean numbered second, is a poem of great sweetness and beauty, reminding us of Collins's Ode to Evening. Its rhythm, however, (that of Horace, 1: 12,) has much of the abrupt and disagreeable rebound to which we have just alluded. As this proceeds from the coincidence of accent and ictus in this strong choriambic meter, and as the choriambic belong to the class of dactylic rhythms, perhaps still farther practice and study would bring on, in a person of our author's qualifications, the habit of giving to the long quantities, and particularly to

* This hemistich, like the extract from the Greek form, has the long quantity disposed as by the ancients—the second syllable being short and the next three long. The other two apparently have the second long and the fourth short, yet making the whole time the same.

* Vide Müller's Hist. Lit. of Greece, Vol. I, p. 171.

that at the end of the choriambus, syllables which end with vowels or liquid consonants and thus admit of an easy flow in the reading, and also the habit of inserting accents out of place, which we have seen add so much to the beauty of the hexameters in this volume. The great attention that Horace paid to the arrangement of his accents as well as his quantities, renders it probable that some degree at least of the same structure is absolutely necessary to this species of verse.

Perhaps we owe an apology for the length to which this article has extended. But we are free to confess a feeling of pride in the genius and scholarship of our countryman. The naturalization of the light and tripping *ottava rima* by Mr. Frere and Lord Byron, was hailed as an enlargement of the resources of our tongue; yet we consider that a still greater development of its riches has been effected by Dr. Percival in these experiments. The influence of quantity in our versification has indeed of late been acknowledged to some extent, but its systematic and regulated employment has never before been attempted in harmony with the genius of our language. This essay of our author opens a new field in our rich and powerful language, and will no doubt lead to more extensive discoveries. The "Classic Melodies" are divided into two parts, the first of which was published two years before the issuing of the present volume. The second part seems to our ear to exhibit a decided superiority over the first in ease and felicity, and we hope that our studious poet will continue to recreate himself with these trials. Those who have observed some of his fugitive pieces in local newspapers, are aware of his extraordinary talents as a translator. How great would be the gratification of receiving from his pen a series of translations from the classic poets, which should give in their versification a

lively idea of the rhythms of the originals. We can not indeed hope that our consonantal dialect can ever equal the vocalic fluency of the Greek and Latin, or that the stronger and more complicated rhythms of the ancient versification can be imitated without an inferiority in ease and sweetness. We fear likewise that the union of accent with quantity must necessarily make some of them declamatory. Still, these first attempts of Dr. Percival show that much may be done, and though the labor of breaking in and training the mind to movements in poetry so widely different from those of our times, must be far greater than that of imitating the meters of modern languages, those of the German for instance, yet the geological researches of our author show an aptitude and fondness for labor, that encourage us to hope, not only that he will continue occasionally to amuse himself with such essays, but that he will perhaps impose them upon himself as a task. Guest has tried his hand upon the English hexameter, in a translation of a passage of some length from the first book of the Iliad, and succeeded in managing the measure perhaps better than any of his countrymen. He suggests the utility of the meter for translations. Homer has, in whole or in part, been rendered into English in the fourteen-syllable meter, the ten-syllable, that of blank verse, the octosyllabic of Sir Walter Scott, and into "English Trochaics." Neither of these forms of versification has done justice to the magnificent Grecian. Dr. Percival's genius having through his whole poetical career been so signally displayed in the most splendid objective poetry, in mastery over language, and in vigor and sweetness of versification, is he not unquestionably qualified to execute a translation of the greatest of epic poets, which shall be superior to any of the attempts which have hitherto been made in English?

THE FASHIONABLE MONTHLIES.*

WE have written below the names of some half dozen monthly papers which we take to be fair samples of what we term—not ungallantly, because sincerely—our lady-literature. For we think we may safely characterize those we have named as feminine, and each one, in its way, “fruitful and foodful as the old Ephesian statue with the three tier of breasts.” We would by no means be understood to say that all the journals enumerated below shall be in existence at the time this meets the eye of the reader, or even at our present writing. But, that they, and more, *ejusmodi*, have been printed and scattered at some seasons during the year past, we have the evidence, first, of sundry lying by us in green, blue and purple; and second, the testimony of the metropolitan prints, enriched with some such morceau of criticism as this—“The Lady’s Companion for this month, is if possible superior to its predecessors. There are articles from Prof. Ingraham, Mrs. Ellet, Park Benjamin, Edgar Poe—the mention of these names is sufficient to insure our readers one of the richest treats lately offered to the public.”

It is surely very creditable to the conductors and correspondents of these magazines, that, so far as they are men, they have given up their manly appetites, and devoted themselves to the amusement of our cit-

izen ladies; to say nothing of all the little girls who have a hearty monthly laugh at the *outré* fashions, and the young seamstresses who fall into a passion with the blond, and the flowers, and with mimicking the attitudes—and the ten thousand factory girls, such as are not taken up with their own comparatively masculine “Lowell Offering,” who sigh over these bewitching monthlies—and the lively-witted school-boys, grown too old for the Thousand and One Nights, and Baron Munchausen, who love to mingle up *pious Æneas* and Xenophon’s parasangs, and a game at marbles, with a fashionable story about kid-slippers, or a-la-mode beef, and white wine—and finally the country coteries of young and old single women, who by dint of husbanding their moneys, delight themselves with a very fair representation of these fecundated issues. For, are there not enough of men’s books beside? Are there not Plutarchs and Prideauxs and Lockes to supply matter which presents some opposition, and so sticks closer to the ribs? And for times of relaxation, are there not the stories of the Yahoos, or the Brobagnags, or the whole Waverley series? And for rhymes, are there not Pope, and Dryden, and Dr. Donne, for grown up men, and Mother Goose for men ungrown? It is somewhat singular that until within a quite recent period, the demand for that species of literature which we have taken under review, has been exceedingly limited; and it is equally singular that the enlarged demand has increased the supply of producers to a most astonishing degree, and of producers wonderfully well adapted every way to the ends in view. Very unlike the fact which obtains in political economy, that a new demand is scantily fed, by ill-

* Graham’s Magazine, Philadelphia, 1843. Monthly.

Sargent’s New Monthly Magazine, New York, 1843.

Godey’s Lady’s Book, Philadelphia, 1843. Monthly.

Boston Miscellany, Boston, 1843. Monthly.

Lady’s Companion, New York, 1843. Monthly.

The World of Fashion, New York, 1843.

Miss Leslie’s Magazine, New York, 1843.

The Pioneer, New York, 1843.

furnished producers, we venture to say that there could never have been in any age of letters, or under the best regulated system of instruction, a class of writers so beautifully suited to humor the pretty idleness and innocent vanities of women and children, as those whose names are most honorably bestowed down the backs of these *boudoir* books.

It would be by no means foreign to our purpose, as the annalist of literary changes and novelties, to inquire how this demand originated—how it is, and how discreditable it is, that the youthful minds of the country, particularly of our cities—with exceptions so few, that they can be almost individuated—are becoming captivated with nothing, so much as that foppery and nonsense of which these ornamented papers are the true indices. But we reserve that inquiry for some future occasion, confining ourselves at present to the tone and character of the supply.

Not least among the elegancies which deserve remark in the periodicals before us, are the gay covers, contrived with, we must say it, no very happy ingenuity, for humoring the fevered curiosity for newness and strangeness. Thus, we have upon one a vignette taken from a popular British sporting work, representing an English country squire's company, rook shooting. The New York engraver has metamorphosed the shooters of the original into men and women, but by an unhappy oversight has left the multitude of rooks fluttering overhead in all imaginable, but very needless fright. What the appositeness of this may be, that it should form the outside gem to "Sargent's New Monthly," we are unable to discover. Another cover attacks national pride;—there are banners and darts and olive branches interwoven; and an eagle, clutching fiercely the imprint, "American Literature." On either side are scantily clad boys, standing on columns, with hats brimful of

blossoms, which last are falling in very accommodating festoons about the heads of a little lady and gentleman, who are sitting very composedly in niches of the columns, reading—Graham's Magazine. Next in importance to the covers, whose prettinesses we can not half enumerate, we reckon the engravings,—sometimes of a young lady very engagingly pressing a lock, or a pocket handkerchief, or a scrap of paper, to her bosom; again, a love-letter held before the eyes of a very lascivious looking miss; sometimes a portrait of Emma—sometimes of Lucy—sometimes of both. Relieved at intervals is this gallery of graces, with some portraiture of individual or scene, which has the extraordinary merit of conveying an idea of the original, however imperfect it may be, to the mind of the curious looker-on. After the engravings, so called for distinction's sake, appear the fashion plates—each one differing from the others, each the latest style, each the only genuine Paris mode, each "imported at immense expense."

A kindred difference we can not help observing in the literary attractions; but as we are without any precision of judgment in reference to pink hoods and *en gigot* sleeves, we must confess great diffidence of our own opinion in regard to the genuineness of the womanish poetry, and fashionable *nouveletttes*, which intersperse the pages of the embellished monthlies. Not that Mr. Willis's writings have not more charms for us than Park Benjamin's sonnets, or than Mr. Poe's "Lucius O'Trigger" style—just as a tastefully trimmed straw hat, over a blooming face, impresses us more favorably (we confess it) than a city milliner's wax bust, or all a haberdasher's finery lavished about the peaked visage of two-score. All the journals are alike in one or two particulars. Each one seems resolutely bent on admitting nothing, which by any pos-

sibility shall carry any sort of rational information to their readers—stimulate them to any new inquiries in morals, letters, or art—or tax in the smallest degree their intellectual functions. The writers seem all to have entered into the spirit of the enterprising publishers, and have rounded their labors with a *currente calamo* grace, which must to that class of readers who deny themselves the fatigue of thinking, prove irresistibly attractive. Even where, as in some few numbers, a subject is proposed which at first sight appears to offer something for mental digestion, it is treated in such an admirably extemporaneous way, that all opinions militant, if the reader chance to have them, are lost in the charming idlesse, with which these lady-writers invariably suffuse the mind. We will copy a short passage, that will serve to show with what an expansive grasp these writers discuss the topics of the day:—“The man Miller predicts that the globe which we inhabit will be destroyed in April, 1843. Alas! on how frail a foundation is based poor human reason. Since the Matthias delusion, (the most disgusting in the annals of human folly,) and the Mormon humbug, I have not been surprised at any manifestation of human fanaticism. How are such things to be explained? [How?] The melancholy fact is, that not one man in five hundred is an original independent thinker. Like sheep, we must have our bell-wethers to follow over fences and through fields, into whatever quagmire they may see fit, in their sapience, to lead us. Either through inertness or timidity we shrink from the labor and responsibility of drawing up from the inexhaustible wells of thought and reflection within our spirits [1] opinions of our own. It is so much easier to adopt those of other people, frail and fallible dogmatists it may be, whose judgments are the offsprings of selfishness, prejudice and

delusion!” There is a very ingenious summing up of the character of this sort of writing, in an old number, if we remember right, of the Boston Miscellany. Mr. John Neal of Portland, (a writer of no little notoriety,) has been telling a tweedle-dee story about a man and his wife and their portraits, which after bringing to a close in a strikingly dramatic way, he adds: “Are there not millions of stories like this afloat in the memories of people who never think of bringing them out, or of acknowledging their existence by word or sign? To all such, allow me to say, shame on you! for a pack of mumchances. What on earth are you good for? Think you that magazine writing, or stage-coach conversation, is to be made up of axioms and apothegms, of essays and homilies? No; both should be sprightly and natural and ever changing—mutable as the leaves of autumn playing in the sunshine, or the chiming sea, when the blue waves are flashing with perpetual evolution!”

This Mr. Neal in classing stage-coach conversation and magazine writing—such magazine writing—has blundered upon the truth in the matter. And, for so doing, we award him high credit—nay, downright praise; and the more readily, from the conviction that he stands in want of it. But we are slow to believe with Mr. Neal, that there are millions of such stories afloat; perhaps our fears make us incredulous, for in what awful catastrophe would not the publication of even *one* million such stories involve the literary world!

We do not say, that there do not appear occasional gems in these magazines of literature and art,—sometimes of poetry, sometimes of really valuable prose material; but such are rare, and are growing rarer and rarer. For they are not the things for readers who gloat at fashion-plates. They are inevitably

skipped by that numberless class who look for paragraphs about the "dear young man," and the pretty kid slippers, and Miss Angelina Miggs, and old castles, and dead babies, and howling madmen. Some of the earlier papers of the Boston Miscellany were of sterling worth; but how resulted it? Soon was intimated "the intention of the publishers to make a decided change—to give a larger proportion of articles of a lighter and more sprightly character—to remodel it entirely, and adapt it to the popular taste of the day." But they still retained Mr. Tuckerman at its head, and Mr. Tuckerman wished to indulge in some quite readable remarks about the old poets; but the readers clamored for more stage-coachism and less sense, and now those booked for the Miscellany are served with Graham. Let this latter take warning—shorten its critical remarks—hint to Mr. Cooper to send on more stories about pocket handkerchiefs and less matter of fact [?] about naval commanders; and to Longfellow to retain his erudition for his professional chair, and if possible transmit some such little popular gems as crept into his romance about "Leathery Stockings" and "I know a maiden fair to see."

But, in brief, what get we for our money's worth? Ten tales of fashionable life, from ten men and women of noisy name, all which help along in their small way, to the widening of factitious distinctions in society; give a palpable reality to the dogmas of fashion; set on fire the heads of silly women, with descriptions of French dinners, and parlor ornaments: a dozen songs and sonnets, at the hands of ever singing sonneteers—rich in nothing but the quackery of words and sentiments, (save some few glorious exceptions, for how can Bryant write poor poetry?) In addition to these, a couple of engravings, which if intended, as we infer

from the designations employed to make a title,* as studies of art, will no way gratify a good taste, and every way harm a poor taste. Finally, we have a plate of the fashions—a tumbler of punch to milliner women and mantua-makers—making poor apprentice girls, poorer, in their apish styles, unpalatable to sensible women, and leading the *sei-disant* gentlewomen of metropolitan rank, to headlong extravagance in spending modesty and money.

To assume a somewhat more serious tone, we like not least, and yet little enough among the peculiarities of these ornamental papers, their parade of names famous in the tittle-tattle of the day, not wholly unleavened by some belonging to writers, who in their own sphere, and with proper exertion, are most creditably known. What an absurd caprice is this, that the printing of a name though ever so much honored, is to make good, or affect one iota, the readableness, or the contrary, of any one of the ten thousand tales, or rhymes, put forth in these journals of mental dissipation! We had supposed—to all appearances, erroneously—that periodical writing ought to be judged by its intrinsic excellence, and not from any previous eclat pertaining to this or that man of renown. We had supposed that these stated issues to the literary world, gained their chief charm, and appropriateness, from the very fact that the discussions therein, were without a name, and *sequitur*—to be applauded, or condemned, just in proportion to their efficacy, for instructing or properly directing the public mind. We had supposed that the habit, now grown venerable, of collecting various opinions under one cover, and the responsibility of one or

* Graham's is a "Magazine of Literature and Art." Do. of Boston Miscellany. Do. of Pioneer, and others.

more known directors, had come into use, under the general apprehension that those opinions would have more force, and carry more authority with them, if issued under such a veil as regarded authorship, and so form together a consistent, yet various code of opinions, which the public might look upon, not as the vagaries of one or more minds whose bias was known and chronicled, but as an expression of the general tone of thought. But, we are reasoning upon a common-sense standard, one that would not at all apply to the jealousies of Palamon and Arcite, or to Miss Leslie's Magazine. Yet why not, Messrs. Sargent & Co., issue the letters of N. P. Willis, if you will buy them, in a volume by themselves—say a quarterly; then again, a little budget of poems and sonnets—a story book, by Mrs. C. Lee Hentz—each embellished with one of Mr. Dick's illustrative plates. Thus readers might consult their fancies in the purchase, and where the loss to the world, or the printer? Plain enough where, as regards this latter individual; and here is disclosed the happy weight of the names. Messrs. So-and-so, though very agreeable writers when interpagged with a sparkling extravaganza by Willis, or J. K. Paulding, would be very unsaleable ones if imprinted by themselves. Thus the scheme operates, not only to give a lucrative place to the second class of writers; but—for the publishers—the interspersing of some very pretty stories from some very pretty writers, renders palatable the second-rate and the more obtainable effusions. Where the benefit lies to the public in these monthly evacuations of sometime healthy minds, under personal hand, it would be hard to designate. On the contrary, such of that public, as make a literary living off the tables set at the Bowery, and by Louis A. Godey, are obliged to sup upon

Prof. Ingraham, in a sonnet, for the pleasure of having dined on a cast-away plot of J. F. Cooper. But, we have the charity to suppose, that a majority of the readers we are considering, from their ignorance of what real literary excellence is, relish indifferently, J. Q. Adams, and Morton McMichael; just as the Hunnish grenadiers, unlearned in the arts of Apicius, ate as stoutly, steaks stewed between them and their saddles, as the palace dinners of Valentinian?

But, we consider this system of making a favorite writer's name, the cloak for any after literary sins, objectionable in many other and altogether less remediable points of view. With the publisher, it is a safe, in fact, an unavoidable means, for filling his pages with trash. He pays for the name, and is paid for the name—nothing else whatever. We have moreover, been accustomed to regard that class of periodicals, whose professed object is to amuse, (if we must have them,) and the coterie of which we are now discussing, as very safe and harmless parade-ground for young writers. This, for many reasons. We have considered that the amusement of women and children through letter-press, belonged rather to adventurers on literary ground, than to old and tried mind; since these latter had more pressing duties—once more profitable, always more vital. It does strike us with a feeling not unlike disgust, to see an honored, and perhaps justly honored name, paraded before a page of foolery, which a tyro might surpass in those chiefest charms to the thousand readers—exaggeration and voluptuousness. We have farther regarded these periodicals, properly conducted, as safe ground for fledglings, since these come in contact there, with no great truths which they could harm by misrepresentation, and no common-sense affairs, which their extravagance

might derange. They would there learn to use words before opinions, and so undergo a very judicious training for more important literary offices. But this plan of foretold contributions from Messrs. So-and-so, utterly sets aside the humble efforts of the *debutante*. A MS. without a name, however intrinsically comic or interesting, we may suppose as valueless as Vicksburg stocks. And whoever wishes to stand high in the affections of women, young or old, who read "the Wreath," or to ingratiate himself with the Bowery publishers, and make his sharpened wits to stand in the esteem of people of quality, second only to comfits, and waltzes, and plaster vases, and Paris modes, must gird himself for a peculiar warfare. Discarding at once, every thing which could embolden his powers, or brighten the chain of his logic, or sublime his imagination, he must give himself up to the miserly accumulation of the wretched details of fashionable life; practice the delectable and very innocent devices for thrusting his name before the public—such as none but third-rate poetasters and essay-writers know of; and if he could by a little pardonable finesse, become a sharer in public sympathy, by committing one of the fashionable crimes of the day, with readers his fame would be at once established, and with publishers his notoriety would be the mark for showers of favors. Wo to him who spurns these means! we will not pretend to say, through how 'false a medium' such a daring one's abilities would be judged of.

—παιθ' ὁ χερσίν, λαμπρὸς 'ἰσθ', ὁ μὲν ὁ δὲ λαν,
Συγδ.

It would be hardly worth our while to reckon the probable influence of this system of petty authorship for the multiplied annuals, upon the writers who have a name to sustain. They must be their own keepers; and doubtless they

keep themselves very well. But do not many of them owe higher duties to society, whatever they owe their tailors, or their grocers?

It would be absurd to discuss seriously, and at any length, the moral character of those publications, which, we think, we have once or twice intimated, possess not enough character to distinguish morality, were it there. Yet the ceaseless operation of so feeble engines, will exert an influence over weak minds, which a decided tone for evil would never attain. In the one case—the apparent case—in-sidiousness is the foe; in the other—the supposed case—directness of attack, by exciting watchfulness, would be its own preventive. We are not among those—perhaps it is ground for self-condemnation—who are on the alert to apprehend every little wayward mental diversion, which seems to have no express object; those loiterings of mind in which it forgets its moral duties; those fancies heedlessly set forth, which can not be traced back to a disposing determination to do good. The truth is, there are so few efforts, and so blind efforts to make good the moral man, that we look in these times, kindly, and with a feeling that approaches to gratitude, upon whatever we find floating in the literary current, that does no positive harm. How is it with the matter before us? Mrs. Sigourney we believe to be a right feeling woman, tenderly alive to whatever may direct thoughts purely and religiously. But two or three verses, very good verses though they are, constitute no charm—no moly, or harmony, to disenchant a Circe, or a Comus. We believe Mrs. Sigourney to be an unpopular writer with the multitude of readers—readers of these journals only. Miss Sedgwick bedrops her graphic stories with fair moral maxims, which read well, and to a certain extent, wear well; but with the majority

of those who devour Prof. Ingraham, and catch-penny sonnets, and new music, and immodest fashions—wear not at all. Mr. Willis *may* tell in his inimitable way, some story of Hebrew Lament, with true religious sympathy—but do Mr. Willis' living readers look up his verse or prose for doctrines of morality, or for imbibing any sort of sympathies with what is better, and purer, and holier, in mental living? Here comes up an accidental but very pertinent illustration of what we have previously remarked, in regard to acknowledged authorship. Few lessons of morality, or of any true wisdom, are in any way enforced by the names of these exhibitors. The Christian Hero, unacknowledged, might have effected much good among those whom it only provoked to scorn; knowing, as they did, that Sir Richard Steele was the author, and that Sir Richard Steele was a drunkard and a debauchee. But we have no fear for the publishment of Christian Heroes in the works under notice; on the contrary, we have a fear of a widely different sort—a fear that the general vapidness, the untruth, the frivolity, which characterize them, will sadly unfit the minds of our female and youthful population, for any thing like healthy, vigorous, sustained moral action. Taking the readers and writers in the gross, we find on the one side, youth, susceptibility, ignorance; on the other, brilliancy, novelty, sensuality. Who shall say, to what dreadful results in the forming of youthful minds, these characteristics operating reciprocally, shall not speedily tend? Upon the man of high intellectual resources, we may suppose the puling sentimentalities of such as William Gilmore Simms, if swallowed in sinning hours, to have as little effect, as the wisp of paper thrown in, to mark his last reading of Milton, Chillingworth, and Burke. Can we predicate the same, of the

ignorant city girl? Tom Jones might provoke only one or two quiet sallies of laughter in the man of education, while it would banefully vulgarize the tastes of a school-boy, and debauch the feelings of a miss. The Sentimental Journey might be very harmlessly read by the mere lover of Sterne's humors; and Lydia, if like her father, might read, and not blush, and be none the worse for the reading; but what shall we say of Eliza's, and of Mrs. J.'s admiration?

There is more, far more responsibility resting on those who profess to teach or amuse our women and young people, through the medium of these monthly issues, than their conductors seem to be aware of. It is not the youth of the land—especially of our great capitals, with their superficial attainments in letters, who can read week after week such literary trifling, to call it by no worse name, without some time a serious day of reckoning with their consciences—for time misimproved, faculties disarranged, perception of truth deadened, and love of it abused. What a school of training these embellished *perditas* afford for the mothers of the coming generation! If life were one everlasting round of soirées, and waltzes, and flirtations—ladies all belles, and men all apes—we could hardly conceive of any thing more indicative of what might be supposed the literary taste, than some of these monthlies. Nor could we contrive better tutors for the private meditations of such a society than some of these highly extolled, 'most eminent American writers.' Here and there, indeed, as in the Philadelphia Ladies' Book, we see an urgent push for a moral teaching; but when most successful, among the crudities which environ it, affecting us very much like the throwing in of Yorick's text—"we trust we have a good conscience," among the odd low things of Shandy's history.

If, as we remarked in *limine*, the rout-going, party-giving, waltz-loving women, want matter to give food to the illusory dreams which wealth and fashion nourish, while the little bubble of their eminence remains unbroke, any one of the herein mentioned monthlies will be appropriate. We commend the Ladies' Companion, the World of Fashion, and, with more reservation, the Graham Magazine, to their tender charge! confident that they will find each one of them all they could desire in fashion-plate, in engraving, in tale, in morals, and in religion. But if thinking, reasoning, observing people want something of a somewhat racier cast than we offer to them, to pay them monthly visits; to keep their minds open to the great topics of the day; to bring home agreeably and intelligibly to those unused to a mere dry recital of facts, stirring questions of social, political, and commercial interest; to tell them stories of life as it is, or may be—some such stories as that of 'worth not wealth' making the man; to offer rare interludes of poetry, not made out of a known name as the head, nor of rhyme, nor alliteration only, but of strength and grace;—then they must look somewhere else for it than to the journals we are noting.

It is not now our purpose to dissect our whole monthly literature, or to say whether we have, or have not, such an issue altogether as we could wish. Though we should like nothing better, than to spend an hour or two, and as many of these clean, white pages, in drawing to the full our *beau idéal* of a monthly journal; yet, in want of this, for which we have neither time nor space, we will set down a few extemporaneous hints toward making up the character of a good organ—one that should have a tone and a reputation of its own—a unity, consistency, and straightforwardness of purpose, such as the intelli-

gent public would soon begin to respect, and when once respected, would amply sustain. But it should be premised that there must be some reasonable limit to the number of such periodicals. The regard of the literary part of the nation, can not be attached *ad libitum* to a score of changeling monthlies. There must be permanence and comparative scarcity. Both constitute value, and neither in any way retards the widest distribution. Both constitute wealth, which alone will ensure successful action; not indeed in securing old English annual plates to be retouched by Jordan and Halpin, or a host of great names, but the best efforts of all writers. That degree of wealth which would just serve to keep in existence a dozen, would render a single one treble the value of all. The abandonment of some expensive and needless features in the papers before us, would furnish a surplus, that under judicious management would greatly extend their usefulness. Thus, what need in a periodical instituted to refine taste and cultivate the mind, of those grotesque fashion-pictures? Is it not enough that milliners and mantua-makers should have them, or must they be brought into the family for school-girls to dilate upon and to form their notions of elegance by? Will they teach simplicity to put on beauty, any more than the printed pages will teach truth to innocence? Such gewgaws and their lifeless accompaniments have destroyed simplicity, and, to speak most charitably, disguised innocence, in the hearts of those once merry-faced, bright-eyed, whole-souled New England girls, who now with their French, and fashion, and finery, become mouthing and mincing simpletons.

A good monthly journal must show constant variety. The mind of the general reader craves it, and will have it at the expense of poverty. It will not do for tale writers

to be forever telling, after Mrs. Lee, of living beyond the means; nor of city dissipation, nor of parties and weddings; nor in journals with pretensions to sobriety, will it ever do to have all the matter cumbrous with facts, or gorgeous with description; nor yet all chaste to severity. There must be something to teach; something to waken a smile; something, it may be, to draw down a tear. The over-wise and the prudish, may depend upon it, that the mingling of pleasantry with instruction, of humor with satire, of fancy with fact, will carry a monthly (why not a quarterly?) to a thousand readers, who were else wholly unblest of it. It should not be full of graces, but only so many, as, like the garland about the Bacchan *thyrsus*, should hide the point, without impairing the power to pierce.

To a good journal there must always pertain an air of *newness*. We are not going to set down under this head any clap-trap ideas about originality and the creative power. Nothing of the kind; we mean simply, that it ought to keep pace with the social, political, and literary progress of the world. We mean that the reader ought to find in it no mere recapitulation of old doctrines or truths, taught in the schools, but vigorous inquiry as to what men are doing with those truths and those doctrines *now*, what they might do with them *now*, and what they ought to do with them *now*. If an inquiry runs back two centuries or ten, still it should have its terminus and its bearing *now*. People who subscribe for periodical reading, are most apprehensive and curious and earnest about the *now*. And if the reader in order to feel the piquancy of the good things upon the pages of a periodical, must fling out of mind all the stupendous changes of the day; forget that the doughty O'Connell is measuring himself against the stern old Duke of Wellington; forget about Mr. Newman

and the Churchman; forget that the whole British peasantry are shouting and yelling for American beef and wheat; forget whether Mr. Clay or Mr. Birney is the most probable successor of Mr. Tyler;—and he will very likely give up the monthly for more of the dailies. Not that scholars who live among their books would find it at all irksome to forget the struggling present; but all printers know that scholars are poor paymasters.

Again, if we are to have a journal for intellectual sustenance, there must be some reach, and consequently some length to the setting forth of opinions. It is absurd to suppose that any subject of great and general interest, can be dispatched in a way worth the reading within limits which could be run over by our lady-readers, in the intervals of nursing sick babies. What intelligent man or woman wants to take up a discussion of the copy-right, or any other important question embraced within a couple of pages of careless *suoiys docté's*? It is not one page, or two pages, or half a dozen, of readable type, that can afford scope for a strong man to write down his strength.

It is necessary that a journal to be what it ought, should have some pretty well sustained pretensions to a correct moral tone. There should be no pandering to vitiated appetites; no matter by whom, or how finished and gracile, the conveyancing of licentious thoughts. We will not take this late occasion to particularize; but well might a fair-hearted woman blush at some unmistakeable *entendres*, which have besmeared things from the pens of 'eminent contributors' for the fashionable monthlies. If readers in love with such entertainment want diversion, we commend them to Roderick Random, and like discarded stories.

Again, a good American paper ought to be republican in its character. There should be no lurking

efforts to build up through it exclusive classes—set apart by adventitious circumstances; no foolish notions incorporate about rank and caste, farther than mental independence and culture generate them.

Yet again; it should be national. And what do we mean by nationality—or is there no meaning attachable? We think there is. We do not mean that its province should be narrowed to a consideration of what transpires this side of the seas, with an affected neglect of the great truths which are evolving beyond the waters, giving thoughts and feelings to myriads, born like ourselves to a mixed destiny of sorrow and hope; not

possessed of a phantasy that the sphere of its influence is central and sovereign; not showing prejudices bounded by landmarks, or loves so measured;—but in the range of its observation, and the justness of its decisions, cosmopolitan. Yet while viewing with interest the progress of the race every where, is, at the same time, regulated by mind conscious of its heritage—conscious that it is part of a new nation, whose language is its own, whose institutions are its own, whose hopes are its own, whose fears belong to it also, and whose progress in whatever is good, or whatever makes good, belongs to it more peculiarly than any beside.

HENRY CLAY, AS AN ORATOR.*

We intend to speak in the praise of Mr. Clay. His place among the great men of our country is permanently fixed. He stands forth prominent above the politicians of the hour, in the midst of the chosen few, who are the perpetual guardians of the interests and the honor of the nation. The foundations of his fame are laid deep and imperishable, and the superstructure is already erected. It only remains that the mild light of the evening of life be shed around it.

The speeches of Mr. Clay belong to the country, and it is a most valuable possession. The citizen who is familiar with them, will feel a stronger love for the inheritance of freedom which has fallen to him. The statesman who studies them, will be inspired with a more elevated ambition. No man can read them without being deeply impressed by the noble thoughts, the warm

sympathies, the high-toned honor, in a word, the large soul which dwells in them. He may not agree with every opinion which he finds in them, he may not approve of every measure which they support; but on every page he will meet with the convictions of a comprehensive understanding, and the sentiments of a generous heart. The generations of young men, which may be successively trained up in their spirit of lofty patriotism, will cherish with sacred enthusiasm the institutions of freedom. The country which shall maintain the same spirit, will be strong and prosperous and honored.

Almost every noble feeling of our nature finds an utterance in these speeches. It is this, as we regard it, which constitutes their great, their peculiar excellence. They breathe the soul of humanity into the measures of state. They make government itself to seem to have a living, beating heart. They unfold and support systems of policy with strong arguments, but the arguments themselves are congenial with our best

* *The Life and Speeches of Henry Clay.* New York, Greeley & McElrath, 1843.

feelings. True statesmanship is of the heart as well as of the head, and we do not believe a finer exemplification of this rare union can be found in the whole range of English literature. Mr. Clay has for the greater part of his public life, acted on the wide sphere of national politics. Within this period, many fundamental principles of government have been discussed, and many important measures both of war and peace been established. Mr. Clay has always taken a leading part in them; but, however various the subjects, the same generous tone of sentiment pervades all his speeches. We meet with nothing narrow and contracted. Every thing is founded on broad principles. We find nothing low, groveling and mean. His eloquence takes a wide sweep and soars high. Can any one read his speeches upon "Arming for War with England," in 1811, upon "The Increase of the Navy," in 1812, and upon "The New Army Bill," in 1813, without feeling, however much he may perchance differ in opinion from him on the necessity of the war, that it is with such sentiments of national honor and with such unwavering confidence in the people of this country, that our statesmen should approach the grave questions which arise out of our intercourse with foreign nations? Can any one read his speeches upon "Internal Improvement," upon "Domestic Industry," and upon "National Currency," and not feel, even while dissenting upon the policy of these measures, if dissent he does, that were all our statesmen filled with the same earnest zeal to make this nation prosperous, united and independent, the country would be safe? Can any one read his speech upon "The Compromise Bill," in 1833, and not feel that the spirit of concession and compromise, which first breathed in the federal constitution, is here embodied—the spirit which should ever animate every

measure of the federal government—the very spirit which will make us a bright example to the world of a wide-extended commonwealth, cemented together in its interests by mutual benefits? Can any one read his speech upon "The Recognition of South American Independence," and not feel that those are American sentiments, worthy to be cherished by American citizens? But we will not go into farther detail. Whether it be a question of war or peace,—whether of agriculture, commerce, or of manufactures,—whether of the construction of the constitution; or of the powers of the different departments of government, no matter what the question is, we find in these speeches the true tone of feeling with which it should be entered upon. And this is an excellence of the greatest value. Let generosity, honor, magnanimity, and the nobler principles of our nature, inspire the investigations of the statesman, and we need not fear for the result.

In speaking thus highly of the elevation of sentiment which so preëminently characterizes these speeches, we do not intend to intimate that they are deficient in argument. If they were mere effusions of the feelings, we should not think them worthy of much consideration. But they are not so,—far from it. On the contrary, they belong to the highest kind of argumentative oratory. The arguments are not, it is true, a mere line of premises and conclusions drawn up in logical array; but a well-formed host of truths, in which the convictions of the understanding are corroborated by the feelings of the heart. They are not put together by artificial ligaments into a lifeless skeleton, but they are a living body with a living spirit. They are not mere dialectical practices upon a problem to be demonstrated, but they are what is far better, the convictions of a comprehensive thinker upon subjects which engross his whole soul, and bring ever-

ry power, the intellect, the imagination and the feelings, into subjection to the one grand object of carrying his audience along with him into the adoption of principles and measures for the good of the country.

But these speeches have other characteristics, which we wish to set forth.

They are employed in building up, not in tearing down—in establishing and supporting measures of government, not in overthrowing them. So uniformly is this their purpose, that we have not hesitated to regard it as characteristic. And when we consider how much easier it is to attack than to defend, and how much more responsible it is to carry measures than to oppose them, we shall not easily overestimate the value of this excellence. It is the natural disposition of some men to attack every thing and to propose nothing. Besides, there is a strong temptation to this course, in the opportunity which it gives to cut and thrust with the keen weapons of satire, in the complacent conceit of superiority which it unconsciously nourishes, and in the pleasing delight which the gaze of admiration at such keen-sighted sagacity in seeing what every one else has overlooked, can not fail to excite; to say nothing of its being recommended to the selfish and artful by its avoiding responsibility and enabling them to grow great on the ruins of other men's works. If they who are so prompt in tearing down systems of policy and in subverting good laws, were equally skilled in establishing better in their place, we might regard the disposition to attack and destroy as one of the qualifications of a statesman. But in general it is not so. They who loom up large amidst the ruins they have brought around themselves, and who were the exulting spirits of destruction, dwindle into insignificance when any thing is to be built up. They who are the great men of the day, the

men above the age, the men who look down from their lofty seats with proud contempt upon the systems of policy which the fathers of the republic have established, are the very first to shrink from the responsibility of substituting measures of their own in the place of those they have destroyed, if they do not rather make the attempt meanly to cover over their imbecility with the pretext that government has nothing to do for the people. When we consider how pernicious it is, to familiarize our feelings with only the evils of society, and how destructive it is of all reverence in our minds towards government itself, to divest it of the disposition to bless us, we can not but be attracted to that higher kind of statesmanship which regards government as the provident dispenser of good to mankind. Here lies one of the peculiar excellences of these speeches. It has been the good fortune of Mr. Clay to live at a time when most important measures of government have been established—it was his nature to take a leading part in them, and these speeches contain the noble efforts he made in their behalf. They are the records, not only of the evils which have been removed and prevented, but of the good which has been achieved. They are the monuments which his own eloquent labors for his country have unconsciously erected to himself. We believe they are destined to exert a great influence in training our future statesmen. We rejoice in this. We have no indulgence for the other class of politicians. We can not respect the intellect of the man who can only mutilate and destroy, or believe that he becomes great merely by overthrowing what is great. We have no confidence in the wisdom which denies to government the providence of good, and reduces it to the mere negation of evil.

We will mention another excellence of these speeches. They are

distinguished by a wise adaptation to the common nature of mankind, while at the same time they are free from appeals to unworthy and improper motives of action. No statesman can carry his measures—and he who fails of this scarce deserves the name—who does not sympathize with man and comprehend his nature. No orator can succeed in his objects, who does not adapt his arguments to the various and diversified feelings and impulses and principles under which men act. There is a reason for this. The whole nature of man is interested in the measures of government. His physical nature is concerned in the supply of its wants and comforts, his sympathy in the relief of the distressed, his sense of justice in the establishment of what is fair and equal to all, his generosity in the bestowments of national gratitude, his feelings of honor in the maintenance of national rights, his conscience in the doing of what is morally obligatory. There is not a principle of our nature, which may not be appealed to, and with propriety. This is the peculiar field of the true statesman and orator. Man in his whole nature—man, not as possessed of an intellect alone, but of sympathies, of feelings, of a heart—man, not as a being of pure reason, but a creature of inborn and hereditary prejudices, and of multitudinous biases, habits and associations, bound up and intertwined one with another—man, not as a machine made to the order of the theorist, but as the production of nature planted and growing up in the soil of this earth, with its roots groveling under ground, while above it is swept by the breezes and the tempests of heaven—such is the man, who is to be impelled, to be persuaded, to be governed, by the orator and statesman; and he who knows him, alone can do it. This power belongs in a remarkable degree to Mr. Clay, and, exercised as it has been in the establishment of

important measures of policy, and more than once in the most critical emergencies of the state, it gives to his speeches weight and authority. But it is a power which is easily perverted. For, every principle of our nature, which may be made the object of an appropriate appeal to lead us into right conduct, has, so to speak, its weak side. We may despise the comforts of life, or we may indulge them to excess. We may stand aloof from the sufferings of our fellow men, or we may sacrifice duty to our sympathies. We may be too generous to be just, and too just to be generous. And so of every principle of our nature. Besides, we have mean passions, low propensities, and base desires. This is the field of the false orator and the self-seeking demagogue. Man, as depraved, as the creature of degrading appetites and envious dispositions, as capable of being abused, deceived, misled, insulted in his highest interests, is the game they pursue. Here in the low grounds of his ruined nature, they dig and mine. Here is the source of their mighty power. Such is their boasted knowledge of human nature, a knowledge of its capacities for evil, and its readiness to give itself up to destruction. Contempt for such low-minded ambition, and alarm at the tremendous energy of this perverted power, have led many to denounce every appeal to the principles of human nature, and to hold that measures of government should be carried by a strict demonstration of their merits addressed to the understanding alone. But this has never been done in free governments. We have no confidence it will ever be done. The cause is in human nature itself, which was made to be moved, excited, impelled. For our own part we believe that the friends of good laws and wise systems of policy, must take human nature as it is, and adapt themselves to it. We have no fear but that the true

orator and statesman can meet the cunning demagogue upon the field of popular oratory, and vanquish him. We believe that the soundest and most comprehensive measures of statesmanship, can be carried by the voices of the people of this country. But in order to this, the orator and statesman, instead of standing aloof from the people, and giving up the impulsive nature of man to be abused by the demagogue, vainly thinking to keep an hold upon his reason, must—not come down, for it is no descent—but sympathize with man, and labor to bring over the whole of his nature to the side of what is wise and right. It is for this reason we regard it as a great recommendation of these speeches, that they are so fine a model of popular eloquence.

We shall not give the full impression which these speeches have made upon us, if we do not add, that in our estimation, they place Mr. Clay among the best of the highest class of statesmen. His great merit in this respect we conceive to be, that he not only has the genius to originate wise measures, but also the ability, not inferior in importance, to carry them through the halls of legislation. Statesmanship in this highest form of it, which is concerned in the origination and establishment of wise systems of policy, is the noblest employment of the human faculties, and for its success, requires the greatest and the most diversified powers. To conceive in the mind, of measures which are to affect beneficially the industry, the happiness, and the moral feelings of man, which are to reach with kindly influence, the most intimate and dearest interests of every household, and to move with harmonious but irresistible force through the circles of the private business of individuals, and that not of one generation but of many, and passing beyond in its wide-sweeping effects,

to distant lands, this is indeed a mighty effort of genius; but, to reduce these conceptions of the mind into the proper form to be acted upon by legislation, and so to commend them in the deliberation, to the principles and opinions, the feelings and interests of the legislative body, as to carry them successfully through all difficulties, and to place them safely in the statute-book as a part of the permanent policy of the country, is hardly a less effort—and certainly involves greater responsibility. It may be a great achievement to work out wise and practical measures in the study, and to recommend them by argument to the community; but it is a far different matter and a far higher undertaking, to encounter the responsibility of their actual adoption. To bring the productions of private thought into direct contact with the fears, doubts, cavils, prejudices, and conflicting opinions of a large deliberative body, where a single false movement may defeat the whole, to urge them upon the consideration of those, who can change these abstract speculations into permanent laws, and clothe them with the authority of the nation, and to feel moreover, as the critical moment arrives, the whole weight of its responsibility—with a nation's welfare at stake—requires the firmness and the self-confidence of a master mind. A measure of statesmanship thus consummated, is like a work of creative genius, which, first wrought out and completed in the mind of the author, must pass through the ordeal of other minds before it can be established in its permanent place in the literature of the country. The union of creative power in originating measures, and of practical skill in carrying them, is the rarest accomplishment of the statesman. These speeches afford abundant proof that it belongs to Mr. Clay in an eminent degree, and we are disposed

to regard him, *in this respect*, as the purest model of a practical statesman, which our country has yet produced. We do not say but that we have had, and now have, statesmen, who would be accounted more scientific, and who may trace the grounds of political measures farther back to their ultimate principles, though as far as we have observed, such men succeed better in the promulgation of general truths in the community, than in the specific application of them to the purposes of legislation. Jeremy Bentham could have found but one place suited to him as a law-maker, and that would be a seat in the senate-house of Utopia, though by repeated inculcation, he may have so far beaten the single principle of utility into the minds of men, as in the hands of others, to make it of some practical worth. We do not say but that we have statesmen who are of a more bold and daring ambition, to discover and establish new and untried systems of policy; but we have seen nothing as yet in such adventurous attempts, to make us place a very high estimate upon them. We would assign an exalted place to profound investigations upon the nature of government, and the principles of legislation. We would not disregard even mere speculation, as entirely useless. But when the question is, what shall be done by actual legislation for a country, we would rather entrust its interests into the hands of a practical statesman.

We have thus far spoken of the value of these speeches with respect to the tone of sentiment and their general scope, together with the instructions they furnish upon the subject of practical statesmanship. It remains to treat upon them as productions of literature. Every perfect oration is a work of creative genius and of studied art. Like the poem which is destined live, it is not only to be created, but, also, to

be shaped and fashioned into the most perfect form. The great Grecian model, the chief of the productions of the oratorical art, is wrought in every part with the nicest skill of workmanship, and in point of a carefully composed union of completed parts into one whole, is not inferior to the most finished epic poem or tragedy. It is quite certain that Cicero and Demosthenes, when they were to give their speeches a permanent existence in literature, labored them, with the utmost care, from the structure of the individual portions and their combination, to the choice of a word and the composition of a sentence. They regarded themselves as no longer speakers—having finished their office as such when the words were once uttered—but as authors, whose works, like those of the poet and the historian, are to be read and enjoyed. It is this which gives their present value to these ancient orators. Who would read these great masters, if we had nothing but the notes of a Grecian or Roman reporter? Who, now, except the student of oratory, studies the mutilated fragments of the eloquence of Fox? Reports have a contemporaneous value, and to certain classes of individuals may be of permanent worth. But if speeches are to live as works of art in literature, the genius which gave them birth, must give them immortality. We conjecture that few of these speeches have been written out for publication by the author, and none of them, as it seems to us, have been wrought and perfected as works of art. We regret that Mr. Clay has not followed the example of Canning, and Brougham, and Webster, and the more, because we feel confident that thus completed, his speeches would become a permanent part of the literature of the English language. But as this has not been done, we do not think it necessary to examine them with

minute criticism. There are however a few prominent excellences of an oratorical kind, which we will present to the attention of the student of oratory.

The mode of argumentation is by a statement of facts and truths, and the common sentiments of mankind, rather than by a strict logical sequence of premise and conclusion. Lord Brougham remarks, that the most splendid passages of the great oration of Demosthenes, consist of nothing but mere statements. But it is deserving of consideration, whether this is not just what they should be. All argumentation is made up of premises which involve the conclusion, but which are themselves, or at least a part of them, assumed as being held by the hearer or reader for truths. As a philosopher, a man is bound to prove every premise which is not in itself evident, but as an orator who is to persuade an audience, he is only to prove such as that audience may doubt of. He surely may take as true what they hold to be such. Now a statement as distinct from a logical process, is such a combination of admitted truths, motives of human conduct, and principles of action, as of itself to give plausibility to the general conclusion. When Demosthenes states the causes which led to the peace with Philip, the statement is so natural, that is, the universal principles of human conduct are so connected as causes with the event, that we can not doubt it gives the exact truth. This may seem an easy matter, but it requires the most comprehensive understanding of human nature, and the most intimate sympathy with the workings of the human heart. Indeed, is it not the very province of genius to know, as it were, by a kind of birthright, what is held to as real and true, in the very secret recesses of man's nature? And what is a work of genius, but an appeal to the deeper sentiments and

belief of man for its own truth? Let not, then, this mode of argument be rejected as unsatisfactory—employed by a master mind, it is the surest means of success; let it not be set down as unphilosophical—that is the soundest philosophy which knows what is true and proves only what is doubtful; let it not be sneered at as weak—it is the highest effort of power to wake up the human mind to the consciousness of what it knows of itself to be true. We have dwelt the longer upon this point, because it is the great oversight of many speakers, not to know what to state and what to prove, and because, in our estimation, this manner of argument is strikingly characteristic of Mr. Clay.

These speeches are also distinguished by the simplicity and singleness of purpose, the entire sincerity of design which is conspicuous in them. The orator has but one single object in view, and that is to satisfy the present audience. He cares more for their sympathy and agreement with him than for any thing else. For the time being they are every thing to him and he to them. If we were to select any one thing which the orator is to forget, it would be himself, or if any one thing which he is to keep constantly before him, it would be his audience. The cause—and not self in any of the Protean forms of vanity—is to be set forth. Mr. Clay excels in this respect. As we listen to him, we are certain that he does not know that he is an orator; we are sure that he is not looking beyond us to the future renown of the speech he is making—we know that he is not thinking of himself but of his cause; and when our suspicions are unawakened upon any of these points, we yield ourselves up in confidence to the orator.

But Mr. Clay, single and sincere as he is in the cause which he espouses, does yet make us unconsciously take a deep interest in him-

self. We sympathize with him as a man. We not only listen to him as the advocate of important measures, as the patriotic statesman, and accomplished orator, but we feel a personal interest in him as an individual, and share in his hopes and fears and anxieties. There are orators who convince us by the strength of their arguments, or delight us with the felicity of their rhetoric, without exciting within us any sympathy for themselves. Upon the skill and power of Cicero, the well-adapted opening, the clear arrangement, the full-flowing stream of narrative and argument, we dwell with delight, but we are not very anxious for the man whether he succeed or fail. We are constantly reminded, it is true, of the orator, but we can not help suspecting that much of this splendid oratory is to set forth Cicero for our admiration, and no man has yet appeared in history great enough to place his own individual glory above the interests of the age in which he lives. We are astonished at the magnificence of Burke, but we do not draw near into close intimacy with the exalted genius which creates these splendors. We can not resist the calm argumentation of Pitt, but we read his speeches as state-papers and cabinet manifestoes. But there are other orators who besides their cause impress themselves upon us—whose own personal feelings are so naturally infused into their speeches that we feel for them. We make the public cause, theirs, and their cause, ours. It is the personal feelings which they express that thus opens our hearts towards them—but then, personal feelings, not exhibited but only not restrained—personal feelings, not brought forth to make an impression, but uttered because they are in the

heart and must needs come out. Such was Demosthenes. He not only inflames us with his own burning zeal for the freedom of Greece, he not only animates us with his own unflinching confidence that Athens will not tarnish the honor of her ancestors, he not only hurries us along with him in the rapidity of his eloquence to the field of battle, but, so earnest is he, so deeply interested are his own feelings in the result, so wholly is his heart in it, we feel for him as well as for Greece. Such was Fox. He struggles not alone, we struggle with him, we stand by his side—our feelings rise and sink with his. Such, we do not scruple to add as worthy to be named with these great masters, is Mr. Clay. These speeches are an autobiography of his feelings; they reveal the heart of the orator, beating with honor and patriotism, and our own hearts beat with his.

• We took up these speeches as a part of the literature of the day which fairly came under our notice. We determined to examine them thoroughly, and to judge of them impartially. We have stated the impression which they made upon us. We did not intend to discuss the various subjects of which they treat, upon some of which we should have disagreed with the opinions they maintain, but to speak of their excellences as speeches. We are aware that we have spoken in high terms of praise, but we must do this if we would speak truly our sentiments. We have not done it, however, as partisans, we have no political object in view, but as American citizens, we delight to speak well where we can of our orators and statesmen; and we can give no indulgence to the prejudice which is blind to the merits of such a man as Henry Clay.

THE POSITION OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

It is from no desire to intermeddle with the internal affairs of another denomination of Christians, that we introduce to our readers the subject which we have placed at the head of this article. Nor is it from any wish to take advantage of the present troubles and growing dissensions of the Episcopal church to make converts to our better faith, or to make reprisals for the accessions which they have sought to gain from the disputes and divisions of other denominations. We have listened in calmer times with proper interest to their proclamations of their own unity, while other churches have been rent into factions, or threatened with schism. We have seen a few from other churches, charmed with this proclamation of unity, and professedly won by the hope of peace, leave the connections in which they were trained, and attach themselves to Episcopacy. But they have not been men whose departure the churches have had occasion to regard as a serious calamity, or whose recovery would be worth any very serious effort. We are content that they should minister in their new connection, we hope with greater success than was promised in their former relations, and with all the peace and comfort which it may be possible for them now to obtain.

We feel that we have a right to advert to this subject only so far as it pertains to the cause of our common Christianity. In their internal affairs; their questions of precedence and order; their family affections or alienations; their domestic difficulties, troubles or joys; their questions about the relative rights and powers of bishops, priests, deacons, or laymen;—we claim no right and have no disposition to interfere.

The limits of courtesy and propriety on such matters are settled. With the domestic concerns of a neighbor—the family jars, loves, alienations, modes of living, style of dress or intercourse, we have no right to intermeddle. It is their own concern, and they have a right to manage it in their own way. We are not to be ‘busy-bodies in other men’s matters.’ We are not to attempt to foment divisions; or to aggravate a family quarrel; or to utter the note of triumph over *their* dissensions—though it should be to meet and ward off reproaches on account of our own; nor are we to interfere with a view of encouraging a feeble party against a stronger in order to prolong the strife and rend the family asunder, or to make needless proclamation of what we may happen to know of the family jar. We go even farther than this. We should not feel ourselves at liberty in such a domestic difficulty to lend our aid or to give our counsel to one of the parties that we regarded as indubitably right, and that held opinions in accordance with our own, in order to prolong the difficulties there or to prevent a reconciliation in any way which they might regard as proper.

But there is a sense in which this becomes a matter of common interest, and in reference to which there is common ground. If the community is to be affected by this difference, we have a right to express our views. If there are common interests pertaining to the good order of society that are in danger of suffering, we have a right to lift up the voice in their defense. If principles are advanced by either party which may affect the welfare of the community, we are not at liberty to be silent. If the difficulty is the regu-

lar and inevitable result of certain views which both parties publicly proclaim that they hold, we have a right to say so. And if one party is aiming at an impracticable thing; endeavoring, though in the most peaceful manner, and with the purest motives, to maintain principles and to accomplish objects which are in their nature wholly at variance with those on which the family has been uniformly administered, and to which that party also has solemnly expressed its assent, we do not suppose that we are forbidden by any law of courtesy to express our convictions on these points, and to endeavor to derive from this inevitable want of harmony lessons that shall be of value to the common cause.

Such we consider to be the present condition of the Episcopal church. A crisis has occurred in that communion such as it could have been foreseen by a moderate measure of sagacity must sooner or later occur, and which, however it may be for a time suppressed, we venture to foretell will in some form continue to break out, until 'the church' is thoroughly reformed and prelacy abandoned.

In the controversy now waging there, the great interests of our common Christianity are affected. There are momentous questions at stake in which all who love the religion of the Savior are interested. There are points of much more importance than any which can be raised about the qualifications of Mr. Arthur Carey for the 'deaconate.' There are questions respecting the working of the system; its fitness to promote unity; the measures which are adopted to secure harmony; the effect of those measures in suppressing the truth, preventing free discussion, and fostering error, and above all the general effect of the system of Episcopacy on evangelical religion, which it is the duty of every man who conceives

it possible—as it may be—that he or his friends should be invited to become an Episcopalian, to examine, and which the present outbreak furnishes an appropriate opportunity to examine. We have never had any sympathy for prelacy. We have never believed that it was the form of religion prescribed in the New Testament. We have always regarded it as a system adapted to cramp and crush the free spirit of the gospel. But we have had no doubt that there were many of the intelligent and the good among the followers of the Lord Jesus, who regarded it conscientiously as the system prescribed in the Bible; and we have supposed that there *were* minds so formed that they would be better edified in connection with that form of religion than under a different method of organization. We think the time now has come to examine the influence of that system on evangelical religion; and in order to make our inquiry definite, we propose to inquire into the present position of the evangelical, or as it is often called, the low church party in the Episcopal church. We shall inquire whether the objects at which they aim can be secured in that communion, or whether they do not necessarily meet with obstructions in the organization of the Episcopal church which will certainly prevent the accomplishment of those objects; whether there are not in their forms of worship things which will inevitably cramp and crush the free spirit of religion; and whether the Episcopal church is not so organized as effectually to secure the ultimate ascendancy of the objects aimed at by the high church party. In other words the question is, whether Tractarianism is not a fair development of the system, and whether those views, if the present organization of that church should be continued, are not destined to be ultimately triumphant.

It is well known that there have been, perhaps from the commencement of its existence in this country, two parties in the Episcopal church. These parties are generally known by the names of the high and the low church—or as the latter prefer, we believe, to be called, the evangelical party. These parties have grown up, not from the nature of prelacy, or by any tendency in the Episcopal church to foster the aims sought by the evangelical party, but from the contact of Episcopacy with the spirit of our age, and with the free developments of Christianity among the other denominations with whom Episcopalians come necessarily in contact. It is possible that the germs of these parties existed in the Episcopal church in its incipient state in this country, but that which has now grown up into the evangelical party, we suppose would have been suppressed by the overshadowing of the religion of forms if it had not been excited and kindled by the reflected influence on the Episcopal church of the views and objects of evangelical Christians in other denominations. It has been apparent that other denominations greatly surpassed the Episcopal communion in zeal for those things specially commended in the New Testament; that they sought a more spiritual religion than had been common in the Episcopal communion; that they aimed more to convert and save the souls of men; and that they sought in methods that had the undoubted sanction of the New Testament to spread the gospel around the globe. The question arose whether these objects could not be grafted on Episcopacy, and whether without producing schism, and with the maintenance of the highest respect for prelacy and for the forms of religion, it was not possible to introduce the evangelical spirit into the bosom of the Episcopal church, and to what was regarded as the nobleness, venera-

bleness, and authority of her ancient forms, add the life and vigor and elastic energy which reigns with such power in other denominations. If so, it seems to have been supposed, there might be urged in favor of prelacy all that is now urged from the necessity of the ‘apostolic succession;’ all the authority of the Fathers; all its boasted power to preserve the unity of the church; and all the advantages derived from a staid and regular organization, united with all that commends evangelical religion to the hearts and consciences of men. It is not to be denied that there have been and are still in the bosom of the Episcopal church, men who strive sincerely and with a zeal not surpassed by those of other denominations, for the conversion of souls. They are men who would do honor to any cause, and whose life and labors would be a blessing to any communion. It is this party which have endeavored to engraft the spirit of evangelical religion on the forms of prelacy; and it is to their holy and devoted efforts that the result has already more than once occurred that the Episcopal church has been in danger of being rent in twain. It is not that they have aimed at such a disruption, but it has been that kind of danger which would exist in a colossal statue of marble that a fissure would be caused by applying intense heat to one portion and not to the other. It has required all the power of numbers, influence, and prelatival authority on the part of the high church party, united with all the veneration of the low church party for the church and her forms, to prevent such a rupture. Thus far this has been successful, and in every controversy of this kind the high church party have secured the victory, and the unity of the church has been preserved. We think the history thus far furnishes an omen of most portentous character in regard to the issue of

such contentions at present and in all time to come. We have no expectation that the low church party will ever gain the ascendancy, or carry ultimately a single point. Our reasons for this opinion will be seen in the progress of our remarks.

The present position of the parties in the Episcopal church, is not determined precisely by the different views which characterize the high church and the evangelical party. There has been to some extent, a breaking up of the old lines of demarcation, and a somewhat modified arrangement. The controversy respecting Puseyism, is not precisely the same as the controversy which has hitherto prevailed. To a superficial observer it might have been anticipated, perhaps, that the low church party would have been found, without an exception, arrayed against the doctrines of the Tractarians, and that the high church portion would have been as uniformly friendly to the Oxford theology. But this, if we correctly understand the matter, has not been precisely the case. A portion of those who have been regarded as high church, have made as strenuous opposition to the advances of this system, as have been witnessed in any other quarter; and some who have been regarded as leaders of the evangelical party, have shown a decided inclination to vindicate the most arrogant form in which the spirit of the Oxford theology could manifest itself in this free country. Those of the high church, moreover, who have resisted these aggressions, have shown no more affinity for the evangelical portion than they did before. In the possible, but not probable event of a rupture in the Episcopal church, they would undoubtedly be found ranged with the friends of the Tractarian cause—no matter what their arrogance, and no matter how near they approximate to Rome, rather than with the evan-

gelical party. This they would do, not because they love Puseyism *more*, but because they love the low church principles *less*. We apprehend also, that if the question of a possible rupture should actually come up in the Episcopal church, it would be found that rather than such a crisis should occur, what there is of the evangelical spirit in the other party, would be suppressed or crushed, rather than that matters should come to such a result. Such is the inborn horror in the mind of a genuine Episcopalian at the very word *schism*—though the whole system of Episcopacy is a schism of the worst kind from the proper sense of the unity of the church—such the love of forms, of peace and of order; such the desire not to expose themselves to the possible danger of vitiating the ‘succession;’ and such the belief, in spite of experience, that the free-born spirit of Christianity *may* live and breathe under all the incumbent pressure of these antiquated forms, and may move on to the conquest of the world, fettered and manacled as it must be, that these difficulties with Puseyism would be greatly diminished in their view, and that no one would dare to mention the word *separation*.

But our business now is not directly with Puseyism. We wish to refer to the lines which existed before the slight irregularity in the ranks of the parties, caused by the prevalence of the Tractarian theology, occurred. The characteristics of the two parties before the present difficulties arose in the Episcopal church, we shall proceed to state as we understand them.

The views of the high church party are accurately defined, and the points in which they differ from their low church brethren, as well as from all the denominations of evangelical Christians, are well understood. They have never made any secret of them, and have never

propounded them as if they wished to practice any concealment, or regarded them as mysteries to be made known only to the initiated. They hold, if we understand them aright, to the necessity of an actual, uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, in order to the validity of the ministry. They hold, that the ministry of the church consists of three orders, and that the supremacy is in the bishop; that all the power of ordaining is in him, and that no one has any right to officiate as a minister of religion in any form, except in virtue of the imposition of his hands. They hold, that to him alone appertains the right of confirmation, and that grace, quite desirable, if not essential to salvation, is conveyed by that rite. They hold, that there is no church but the Episcopal church, and that in any other body of persons there is no valid ministry, and are no valid sacraments. They hold to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and to the efficacy of the sacraments by some kind of *opus operatum*. They hold, that those who have been baptized in a proper manner are to be brought to the bishop and confirmed, as soon as they can say the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the catechism, and are to be admitted to the church without any special inquiry into their spiritual state, or without giving any distinct evidence of a change of heart. They hold, that such is the efficacy of baptism thus administered, of confirmation, of the observance of the eucharist, and of a connection with the true apostolical church, that by this process their salvation will be secure.

They are opposed to revivals of religion, as the term is commonly employed; to prayer-meetings; to 'night-services,' and to all 'voluntary' societies for the spread of the gospel. They utterly refuse as a body, to give the Bible without the Prayer-book, and religiously ab-

stain from all connection with any association for promoting any religious object out of connection with 'the church.' They take no part in a bible, sunday school, tract, or missionary society, where persons of other denominations are concerned in the directorship, or where their appearance could be construed as an admission, that other denominations appertain to the church of Christ. They are seen on no platform mingling with other Christians in the promotion of the common cause, and neither by their contributions, their presence, nor their names, do they lend any countenance to any meeting or association which can be construed as a union of different denominations of Christians for any object whatever. As members of the church of Christ, as ministers of his religion, they hold that there can be no common ground on which they can meet others. As citizens, as neighbors, as friends of literature; as those who may be engaged in the business of mending a road, or building a bridge, they may be connected with others, because these things can not be Episcopally done; but they go no further. Not even in the temperance cause will they associate with others. Of this we know not exactly the reason, whether they are unfriendly to temperance principles themselves, or whether they regard temperance as a part of religion and consider that it is not desirable to promote it except somehow through the apostolic succession. We do not recollect that they have given to the public an opportunity of forming an opinion on these points.

As a consequence of these views, they regard all other associations of men, however numerous and respectable, as left 'to the uncovenanted mercies of God.' They are in this respect on the same platform with the Jew and the Mussulman; the Japanese and the Caf-

frarian. From the true church they are 'dissenters.' They are without valid ordinances, without a valid ministry, and without the promises. They meet in conventicles, not in churches; they listen to the arguments of laymen, not to the teachings of the authorized ministers of religion. They are sprinkled in infancy or immersed in riper years, by those who have no authority for doing either; they partake of bread and wine which in nowise differs from common bread and wine, except that they are partaken in smaller quantities and in a 'meeting-house;' they are ministered unto by those who would commit sacrilege, by putting on the surplice or by going into a pulpit duly consecrated; and they are buried in ground that has never been consecrated, and by those who, as they have no right to address the living in the name of Christ, have no right to officiate at the graves of the dead. They *may* indeed be saved—but who may not be? God is merciful, and they have the same chance of salvation that the better part of the heathen have—and no other. These, if we understand them, are the leading views of the high church party. We have designed not to do injustice to them, and we have the means of substantiating the correctness of this representation by the highest authorities in the Episcopal church.*

* To the view here presented, that the tendency of the high church opinions is to 'unchurch' all others, justice requires that we should notice one exception. It is the only one which has fallen under our observation. It is that of the Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, D. D., of the diocese of Pennsylvania. He says, (*Tract on Episcopacy*.) "By the present writer this consequence" [that of unchurching other denominations] "is not allowed." He states no reasons why it is *not* allowed, nor does he attempt to show how this admission of the fact, that others are not unchurched, is consistent with certain principles which he has laid down. We have never been able to make out the consistency of the admission with the

The views of the low church or evangelical party, are not less accurately defined. In most of those things which characterize the high church, they are united with them. They are not 'a whit behind the chiefest' of that party in the belief of the apostolic succession; in glorifying the Prayer-book; in attachment to 'the church;' in the faith that a valid ministry is found only in connection with prelacy; and in strenuous endeavors to promote the interests of the Episcopal sect. They do no more than the highest Puseyite would do, in recognizing the ministers of another denomination as authorized to preach the gospel or to administer the sacraments. They never invite them to preach, and never appear with them in any such connection as to show that they regard them as the ministers of the Lord Jesus. They recognize their baptism no more, we believe, than they would that of laymen, and, in common with their high church brethren, they expect that those who come among them from other churches, if private members, will submit to the rite of confirmation; if ministers, that they will abjure their former ordination, and submit to the imposition of the hands of the prelate. We do not know that in a single instance they have ever protested against this as improper, or even hinted that they

views which he defends in that 'Tract,' and we merely record it as a *fact* which we regard as an exception to the general views of that party. We see no way of explaining it, except by ascribing it to the promptings of a heart of kindness, which shrank from the conclusion to which his reasoning was tending, and which led him to express the feeling of kindness even at the sacrifice of logic. Such an expression of feeling we will always honor wherever we find it. We only wish, as the feeling is undoubtedly right, that the logic in the Tract had been such as would have been consistent with it. Is that logic likely to be correct, which would require a man either to suppress such a feeling, or to give vent to it in the face of all his reasoning?

regarded the previous ordination as differing in any way from lay-ordination. While they allow one who has been ordained by papal hands to minister at their altars without being re-ordained, and offer no remonstrance against it, we suppose that there is not a low church minister in this land who would not be shocked, if a Presbyterian minister should be admitted to the rank of a 'priest' or even of a 'deacon,' without being re-ordained. We think too, that they are as zealous for the Episcopal church, and for its upbuilding, as any high churchman can be. It is an object never lost sight of by an Episcopalian, and whatever may be the place in which he is ranked in his controversy between the high and low church, or in the disputes respecting the Oxford theology, and whatever may be the style of his intercourse with other denominations, the obligation to remember the interests of the Episcopal church is never for a moment forgotten.

But with these views the low churchman has endeavored to blend certain others in which he greatly diverges from his high church brethren, and in which he assimilates himself to other denominations. He does not believe in the efficacy of forms for justification. He does not believe in baptismal regeneration. He holds to the doctrine of regeneration by the agency of the Holy Spirit; in justification solely by faith; in sanctification, not by any *opus operatum* of the sacraments, but by the word and Spirit of God; in the necessity of spiritual religion; in the duties of a holy life; in the obligations of steady self-denial and a separation from the world. He holds that they who come to the Lord's table *should be converted* as a qualification, not that they should come to be converted. He claims the right of *not* "bringing those to the bishop to be confirmed," whom he does not regard as having evi-

dence of true conversion. He would guard the church from the admission to its ordinances of any who do not give evidence of true piety.

The low churchman is in general a Calvinist, and frequently of the highest order. He preaches the humbling doctrines of the cross, and advocates the lofty themes of divine sovereignty in the salvation of men.

The low churchman believes in the necessity of special efforts for the salvation of men. He believes that prayer meetings are adapted to promote the edification of believers, and to secure the salvation of sinners. He is no enemy of "night meetings," and is so much the friend of "protracted efforts," that he unites cheerfully in "associations" with his own brethren, and in Episcopal churches, and seeks to turn the bad and unauthorized arrangements of his own church, for the observance of saints' days and especially of Lent, into a series of protracted preaching efforts to promote revivals of religion.

The low churchman is one who is willing to act with the friends of religion, where he can meet them on common ground. He is willing to engage in the circulation of the Bible, though it have not the Prayer-book attached to it—reserving his zeal for the latter to be manifested through a society in his own church specially organized for that purpose, and reserving to himself the right to manifest as much zeal for that as shall seem to him to be meet. He is willing to act with others in the distribution of tracts on the common topics of religion, and in the establishment of sabbath schools, even should they not be connected with the Episcopal denomination. In the cause of temperance, of the Sabbath, of promoting the gospel among seamen—and in opposition to the arrogance and the aggressions of the Papacy, he will meet with other Christians in the same committee-room, or on the same platform, but

never as clergymen, or in such a way as to imply that those with whom he associates are to be regarded as authorized ministers of the gospel.

We see thus in the Episcopal church, two distinct classes of men—classes that must, from the nature of the case, come into frequent collision. We propose now to examine the position of the latter class, especially in regard to their relation to their own church, and to the question whether they can ever succeed in the objects at which they aim. We regard the question as one of great interest and importance, not doubtful in our minds as to the issue, but as a struggle throwing light on the nature of religion, and as adapted to aid us in determining whether prelacy is the form of religion that is revealed in the New Testament. If the experiment should be successful, it would do something to make us less doubtful whether the ministry was organized with “the three orders;”—if it always has been and must be a failure, it is to us a clear demonstration that the church was organized on some other foundation.

We need not say, that in the main our sympathies are wholly with the low church party. With the aim of the other party we have none; but the low church party, so far as they differ from their brethren in the Episcopal communion, are aiming at the same objects as all the rest of the evangelical world, and are endeavoring to promote those views of religion which we believe will ultimately triumph. The question with us is not whether the objects at which they thus aim are right, and will ultimately be somehow secured on the earth, but whether the Episcopal church can be imbued with these principles, and whether they will triumph in the controversies which inevitably arise in their own denomination. Now in reference to this question, we shall state freely

some views which seem to us to put this question to rest.

The first is, that the object at which they aim has never yet been accomplished. The experience of the world has been against it. We state a position here which we think is the result of all experiments, and which we challenge the advocate of Episcopacy to refute. It is, THAT IT HAS NEVER BEEN POSSIBLE PERMANENTLY TO CONNECT THE RELIGION OF FORMS WITH EVANGELICAL RELIGION; or, what amounts to the same thing, that the Episcopal mode of worship has never been permanently blended with the objects at which the low churchman aims. We will first refer to a few facts sustaining this position. We shall then take occasion to show why it is so.

The attempt to unite the religion of forms with the gospel, has often been made. There have been good men connected with every form of worship. There have been in all ages of the church, men who have held to the doctrines of grace; men who believed in all that constitutes evangelical religion; men holding to the entire depravity of man, the doctrine of regeneration by the agency of the Holy Spirit, the necessity of holy living and of a close walk with God—who have endeavored to unite these things with the religion of forms. There have been, as there are now, those who have been warm friends of prayer meetings, and of revivals, and of efforts to spread the gospel around the world, who have sighed for the spirit of freedom amidst the pompous and imposing ceremonials of the worship of forms. They have loved sincerely the forms of religion; and they have loved, with an ardor which nothing could extinguish, the pure doctrines of grace, and the holy aspirations of Christianity. Trained in the bosom of a church prescribing pomp and splendor in public worship, they have brought to its favor

all the prejudices of education ; accustomed to use a Prayer-book from childhood, they love it as they do the home and the companions of their youth ; sincerely believing that Episcopacy is the form of worship prescribed in the New Testament, they have been bound to it by all the strength of conscience ; or in lands where this is prescribed by statute, and where it is the religion of the state, they have felt that every thing of a temporal nature depended on adhesion to it, and have sincerely desired its perpetuity. At the same time they have loved evangelical religion. They have believed that it is the religion of the Bible. They have not doubted that it would finally prevail. They have sought, therefore, to spread its spirit in the bosom of the Episcopal church. What now has been the lesson which history has taught us in regard to the relation of the religion of forms to evangelical religion.

The Jewish religion, in the time of the Savior, was a religion of forms. It had a strong resemblance in many respects to Episcopacy ; and indeed Episcopacy has avowedly borrowed much from it, and often defends itself by a reference to the divinely appointed pomp and pageantry of the temple service. There were, in the time of the Savior, as there always had been, some pure worshipers of God in connection with that system ; for Zecharias and Simeon, Anna, Elizabeth and Mary were of that number. But the Savior originated the evangelical system, and detached it at once, wholly and forever, from the Jewish forms. He severed his whole church from it ; required his people to come out of it ; pronounced his gospel to be free, and never meant that its freedom should be cramped by the religion of forms. The rites which he appointed for his religion were as few as possible, and the most simple that can be conceived. He designated but two as permanent rites in

the church, nor did he appoint any other that can with any propriety be designated as "sacraments," even if these should be. The two which he specified are Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and we venture to say that if every form of religion ever propounded among men were examined, two more simple or unostentatious rites could not be found. As the rites themselves, also, are the extreme of simplicity, so he made every thing about them as plain as they possibly could be. He prescribed no baptismal font of massive gold, silver, or marble ; but the water taken from a running stream, or from a fountain bursting forth in the desert, would answer all the purposes of the emblem. He ordained no splendid communion-service to contain the symbols of his body and blood ; but the plainest cup and platter would suit the design. As these rites are as simple as possible, so it was reasonable to suppose that they would be as remote as any could be from abuse. They are the last things on which it could be conceived to be possible to rear a gorgeous superstructure of spiritual pomp and power. Who could have imagined that the simple rite of water baptism could ever be magnified into the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, or could become the instrument of giving dignity and supremacy to the holy hands that were appointed to administer it, and thus of sustaining the arrogant claims of a priesthood in the religion of forms, and be so tortured by the "cunning craftiness" of men, as to be a substitute for the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit ? And what finite mind could have anticipated the history of the Lord's Supper ? Who could have foreseen what the simple emblems of bread and wine would be made to become when attached to a religion of forms, and what use would be made of them in banishing evangelical religion from the world ? Who could

have imagined that they would become the principal support of the most extraordinary claims ever set up by a priesthood over men; that the doctrine would be gravely taught and believed, that by words of ceremony they would be changed into "the very body and blood, soul and divinity of the Son of God;" that they would yet be borne along in gorgeous procession, and that princes and kings would prostrate themselves before them; and that the power of making this wonderful transmutation would be supposed to give to one class of men a sanctity above all others, and a mysterious connection with the Deity elsewhere unknown among mortals? If rites so simple, and so little susceptible of abuse, have been thus made the means of excluding the agency of the Holy Spirit from the soul, and of establishing the power of the most mighty hierarchy on earth, we see one reason why Christ established no more, and why his whole arrangement was such as most effectually to detach his religion from all connection with the religion of forms. The Jewish religion, eminently a religion of forms, accomplished its object in separating that people from all others, and in adumbrating a future spiritual system. It was adapted to the age of the world during which it was designed to continue, and to the purpose of preparing for a better system, and though it is undeniable that there were holy men under that system, yet its history served among other instructive lessons to teach its own tendency to sink into heartless ceremony, and the difficulty of maintaining spiritual religion in connection with forms; and the Savior, therefore, detached *his* religion from it forever. As soon as possible the Jewish altar was thrown down, the priests were disrobed of their gorgeous vestments, the smoke of incense ceased to ascend, and the temple itself was demolished to be built no more. The

spirit of the gospel separated from forms then, nor was it ever to be united with the pomp and ceremonies of the ancient worship.

From the days of Constantine, Christianity became a religion of forms. But where was the spirit of the gospel? Where during the dark ages did it live? Has it ever been known in permanent connection with the Papal communion, or in the Greek, the Armenian, or the Nestorian churches? In all these churches the religion of forms has prevailed, and still prevails, and their history has been characterized by an almost entire separation from the spirit of Christianity. There has been no permanent connection, and if, under the influences of the Spirit of God, there has been at any time a reviving spirit of piety, after a few efforts to diffuse itself through the cold and slumbering church, it has either died away, or withdrawn where it could breathe the air of freedom. To see this, let a few facts be submitted to the attention of candid men.

Far back in the history of the Papal communion, there was a reviving spirit of the gospel. Some pure spirits arose imbued with the same love of Christ, and feeling the same power of religion, which prevailed in the days of the Apostles; but could they blend their religion with the prevailing religion of forms? They withdrew, and in the peaceful valleys of Piedmont the Waldenses worshiped God "in spirit and in truth," until the fires of martyrdom were lighted on all their hills and through all their vales, by the advocates of the religion of forms, and Rome succeeded in nearly exterminating them.

Again the spirit of vital piety was rekindled in the bosom of the Papal church. Simultaneously, and without concert, a heavenly influence breathed upon the souls of Zuingli, of Luther, of Melancthon, and of Farel. They were all in

the bosom of the Papal church; all had been reared in connection with the religion of forms; all had every thing to lose and nothing to gain by a separation; and all by a separation exposed themselves to the thunders of the Vatican—the fearful power that could shake the thrones of princes and cause monarchs to turn pale in their palaces—and to the terrors of the civil arm. Yet, with every inducement from education, from their belief of the heavenly origin of the Papacy, from the love of peace, and from the dread of martyrdom, to remain in the bosom of the Papal communion, an attempt to blend the spirit of the gospel that now filled their hearts with holy fire, with the cold spirit of the religion of forms, was hopeless—and hence the Reformation. In Germany, in Switzerland, and in France, as far as the Reformation extended, there was a final separation of the two, nor was there any power of argument, or art, or interest, or arms, that could there unite them.

In England the experiment was to be tried in another manner, and with a much better prospect of success. It was the experiment that was made under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. There was the genuine spirit of the Reformation in the Anglican church. It reigned not indeed either in the heart of Henry or Elizabeth, but it did in the heart of Edward, and more illustriously still in the hearts of Latimer, Ridley, Bradford and Cranmer, and with these men there was a sincere effort to blend the two together. There was every facility for making the experiment in as satisfactory a manner as possible. Every thing in the protection of the laws—in the power of talent, eloquence, learning and piety, that could be demanded for the successful prosecution of the effort, existed, nor could circumstances ever be well imagined that were more fa-

vorable to success. What was the result? It is before the world, and the world has it by heart. The Puritan spirit gradually rose and increased. It became chafed, and galled, and was impatient under the fetters of form. It sighed for freedom; and in a single day two thousand of the best men in the English church left their livings—exposed themselves to poverty, persecution, and imprisonment, only because the spirit of the gospel could not be permanently blended with the religion of forms. Part of those men went to prison; all were subjected to privations and sorrows in their external circumstances;—but the evangelical spirit was free, and the “church” was left a cold, dead, dull, formal thing. The vital power of the Episcopal communion had withdrawn, and there were no earthly temptations that could ever again induce the Puritan to seek a union with the religion of forms. The experiment had been made under the most advantageous circumstances possible, and it was decisive.

A portion of the band of Puritans, driven from their country to Holland, and then across the ocean, found a refuge on the rock of Plymouth, and gave their religion to this great western world. Here all was free and vast. A boundless territory was spread out before them, and they laid the foundation of a religious system which they intended should be forever separated from a religion of forms. Its effect is seen in the religious activity and zeal, the intelligence and order, the revivals, and the efforts to spread the gospel abroad, which distinguish our republic among the nations of the earth.

But the history of the religion of forms in our father-land is not completed. The separating of the Puritans had left the church a dry, cold, dead thing. Again, however, God visited that church with the special influences of the Holy Spirit, and there was a reviving and quickening

spirit of religion. God breathed upon the heart of the Wesleys, and of Fletcher, and of Whitefield, and fired them with as devoted a zeal as had ever warmed the bosom of a Puritan. They were ~~in~~ the church, and were converted when connected with it. They loved it. They shrank back from the very thought of a separation. John Wesley lived, and labored, and prayed night and day, that he might *not* separate himself from the church in which he was reared, but that there might be diffused through all that communion the spirit of evangelical religion. Never was there a more honest, vigorous, or persevering effort to unite the spirit of the gospel with the religion of forms, but in vain. That vital part of the church of England which had been quickened by the Spirit of God, in spite of every effort to bind them together, drew off by itself, breathing the air of freedom and spreading the heavenly fire over continents.

Until the present time, the result of the experiment has been uniform. The religion of forms has never been permanently blended with the gospel. The experiment is again making in our land and in our father-land, with what result is a matter of great interest to the whole Christian world, but what that result will be no one can reasonably doubt. That there should be outbreaks and collisions; that the love of revivals and of prayer-meetings, and the purpose to mingle with other denominations in great efforts to spread the knowledge of the truth, should bring the patrons of these things into conflict with the high church party, is to be expected. They are the regular results of the existing state of things in the Episcopal church, and they can not be avoided. Such conflicts will arise, and however much they may be suppressed for a time, and however all parties may unite in singing paeans to the 'unity' of the

church, yet the elements of collision, like the pent-up fires of the volcano, rage within. To keep these elements under; to prevent entire separation and a prostration of the whole fabric, requires all the power of authority on the one side, and all the yielding of a Christian spirit on the other, and a devout attachment to prelacy in both. It is the spirit of the gospel struggling in bonds and sighing for freedom. The present state of the Episcopal church, is but the acting over again of scenes which have been played from the beginning. The spirit of true faith will not be bound. It does not breathe and act freely when fettered with forms. It can not go forth freely to the conquest of the souls of men, or to the subjugation of the world. If it lives, it *will* be the spirit of the Apostles—unfettered by forms; the spirit of the Waldenses, of Wickliffe, of Luther, of Farel; of the Puritans, of Wesley, of Whitefield. Every controversy thus far waged, where the spirit of the gospel has come in conflict with the religion of forms, has had one of two results—either the spirit of the gospel is suppressed and dies away, or the one is severed from the other never to be united again. They never have been, they never can be permanently blended. Such, it requires little sagacity to foresee, must be the result of the present controversy between the two great parties in the Episcopal church. It is just a struggle, whether the love of prelacy, and the cry of unity, and the power of numbers and of wealth and of the 'bishops,' shall be sufficient to crush the rising spirit of the gospel, or whether there will be vital energy, and independence, and the love of the pure doctrines of the gospel, enough to break away from all this, and be free. We should rejoice in the latter result—we anticipate the former—and we fear the Episco-

pal church will still continue to be 'one.'

We have thus stated one truth, as it seems to us, of great importance in regard to the position of the evangelical party in the Episcopal church, and to the probable result of their struggles. In illustrating the nature of their relative position, and the difficulties with which they have to contend, we now proceed to remark, that *they are compelled to use a liturgy which counteracts the effect of their teaching.* We have stated, that they are no less sincerely attached to the Prayer-book, and no less disposed to laud its excellence above all other uninspired productions, than the most staunch defender of high church principles. And yet, what is the effect of the perpetual use of this book on an attempt to diffuse evangelical doctrines through the Episcopal church.

In our last number, the general characteristics of that book were considered. We propose to look at it now only with reference to the subject before us.

The prescription to use the liturgy in the worship of God, is binding religiously on all the ministers and members of the Episcopal church. The *whole* service for public worship, for marriages, for baptisms, for funerals, is prescribed. Every prayer to be offered is set down; every portion of Scripture to be read is designated, and every address, with the single exception of the sermon, is already composed. At a baptism, a marriage, or a funeral, it does not appear from the canons, that a minister is to be allowed either to offer an extemporary prayer, or to make an extemporary address. Even the form of prayer in a family is prescribed, and the 'master or mistress having called together as many of the family as can conveniently be present, is to say as follows'—morning and evening. The directions for public

worship are all positive and explicit.

"The minister *shall* begin the morning prayer by reading one or more of the following portions of Scripture." "Then the minister *shall* say;" "the people *shall* answer here." "Then the minister *shall* kneel and say the Lord's prayer;" "then likewise he *shall* say;" "then *shall* be said or sung the following anthem;" "then *shall* follow a portion of the Psalms;" "then *shall* be read the first lesson according to the table or calendar," and "before every lesson the minister *shall* say, Here beginneth such a chapter or verse of such a chapter of such a book"—and so on to the end of the Prayer-book. All the discretion which is allowed, appears to be in the choice of some half a dozen 'collects' of half a dozen lines each; that at the end of the Venite, Benedicite, Jubilate, Benedictus, Cantate Domino, &c., there "*may* be said or sung the Gloria Patri;" that he has a choice between two forms of the creed—a longer and a shorter form—and that he may introduce into the morning service more or less of the quite tedious communion service. With these quite unimportant discretionary powers, the prescriptions are absolute, and the design was undoubtedly to render the service of the church wholly uniform. There is *no* discretion given in regard to extemporary prayer. There is no permission on any occasion to go beyond what is written down. If there is any special emergency requiring a form of prayer different from any which are printed, it is proper to wait until it can be prepared in the authorized quarter and sent down to the inferior clergy. There is no permission to hold prayer meetings, and the liturgy does not contemplate any such thing as a prayer meeting. There is not even permission given to the minister, to select and read a portion of Scripture that shall have any re-

lation to the subject. If his text should happen to be, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son," and the "lesson" for that day should happen to be that chapter of the book of Chronicles which commences thus, "Adam, Sheth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalaleel, Jered, Henoch, Methuseleh, Lamech," all that the minister is to do, is to say, "here beginneth such a chapter," and read on.

We are aware that the low church party do sometimes hold prayer meetings, and that occasionally an extemporary prayer is offered after sermon, and we will do them the justice to say, that so far as we have heard, their prayers are models of a simple, pure, and holy worship, and are such as to prompt irresistibly to the expression of regret, that they are *not* permitted by their book to pour out their souls in this manner, and that they are fettered by forms. But we believe that they themselves regard such prayers, and such prayer meetings, as a departure from the prescribed mode of worship. We know that the high church party consider them a direct violation of the prescribed rules of the church. We consider them as wholly unauthorized by the church. We see no permission of such things; we see no latitude of discretion in regard to such things; we believe that such a thing as a prayer meeting, where extemporary prayer should be offered, and especially by laymen, is a thing not contemplated by the canons of the Episcopal church.

What then is the inevitable tendency of the constant use of the liturgy according to the manner prescribed? Or, which amounts to the same thing so far as the subject before us is concerned, what must be the effect of its use even as it is employed by the low church party, in regard to the preaching of evangelical doctrines? They hold, we have conceded, the great doctrines

of grace. They teach the necessity of regeneration by the agency of the Holy Spirit. They insist on the doctrine of justification by faith. They are friendly to revivals of religion. Do the arrangements in the liturgy harmonize with these efforts? So far from it, we think, that their teaching and the Prayer-book come into perpetual conflict; and where the Prayer-book is to be perpetually used, the result of such a conflict can not be doubtful.

We do not advert now to the fact, though we might do it, that *preaching* in the Episcopal church is quite a secondary thing, and that the arrangement is so made as to allow it to produce as little effect as possible. A whole hour of the service, if performed with any degree of deliberate solemnity, is occupied inevitably with the prayers and other forms of devotion. After this protracted and wearisome service, it can not be supposed that the mind will be in a very desirable state to listen to a *sermon* of any considerable length. The ordinary length of Episcopal sermons—from fifteen to twenty minutes—we regard as in entire accordance with the arrangements in the Episcopal church; a sermon of fifty minutes or an hour, becomes intolerable. In another communion—the mother of Episcopacy—the *pulpit* is placed in a corner of the church; in the Episcopal church the *sermon* is designed to occupy the same relative position.

But the difficulties encountered by the evangelical party lie deeper than this. We mean, that they are compelled perpetually to use a liturgy which counteracts all their teaching. The liturgy is opposed to the views of the low church Episcopalian, and to the whole influence of his teaching, and is a *constant* influence. To some of the views thus constantly brought before the people in the Prayer-book, op-

posed to the evangelical teaching, we will now advert.

There is, first, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a doctrine which we regard as the undoubted teaching of the Prayer-book, and which presents a constantly counteracting influence to the doctrine of the necessity of a change of heart by the agency of the Holy Spirit accompanying the truth. The doctrine of the Prayer-book is, that a child that is baptized in a proper manner, is 'regenerated by the Holy Ghost.' The language of the liturgy on this subject is as explicit as language can be, and we have never seen any explanation by the advocates of low church views, which seemed to us to have the least degree of plausibility. The language on this subject in respect to the public baptism of infant children, is the following. The "minister," after the baptism and making the sign of the cross, is commanded to "say"—"Seeing now, dearly beloved, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits," &c.—"We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant *with thy Holy Spirit*, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church." The same doctrine is expressed in reference to the "private baptism of children." After the baptism, and the sign of the cross, the "minister" is directed also to "say"—"this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church"—and in like manner to give thanks, "that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant *with thy Holy Spirit*, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church." But this doctrine, that by baptism there is regenerating grace bestowed by the Holy Spirit, is held not only in

reference to infants and children, but if possible, still more clearly in reference to "those of riper years." In the canonical directions on this subject, we find in the Prayer-book the following things. (1.) The people are told that "all men are conceived and born in sin," that "none can enter into the kingdom of God, except they be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost," and are exhorted to "call upon God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous goodness he will grant to these persons that which by nature they can not have, that they may be baptized with water *and the Holy Ghost*." (2.) The following prayers are then directed to be offered. "Mercifully look upon these thy servants; wash them, and sanctify them *with the Holy Ghost*; that they being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church." And again: "Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons, that they may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ." (3.) After baptism, and the sign of the cross, the minister is directed to say:—"Seeing now, dearly beloved, that these persons *are regenerate*, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits." The thanksgiving then follows, and then this prayer. "Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons; that *being now born again, and made heirs of everlasting salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ*, they may *continue* thy servants," &c. Here is a regular order in the teachings, prayers, and thanksgivings, all implying the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and all implying that that regeneration is accomplished by the Holy Ghost. There is the exhortation to the people to pray for this, then the prayer actually offered for this, and then a solemn form of thanksgiving that

it has been done. And that this is the true teaching of the liturgy on this subject, and that the meaning is not, as some Episcopalians have endeavored to show, that the word 'regeneration' here means a mere 'change of state,' or a transition from the world into the church, seems to us to be perfectly clear—for, (1.) Such is not the meaning of the Scripture terms, "regeneration," and "being born again," employed in this service. In the Bible they can not be understood to have this meaning, and there is no evidence that the framers of the liturgy meant to depart from the Scripture usage. (2.) The regeneration here spoken of, is not a mere 'change of state or relation.' It is a change of regeneration *by the Holy Ghost*. This is what is prayed for, what is taught as having been accomplished, and that for which "heartly thanks" are given when the form of baptism is passed through. Now regeneration by the agency of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures, means a definite thing. It is not a transition from heathenism to nominal Christianity; it is not a mere profession of religion; it is a work on the heart itself, by which *that* is changed, and by which the soul begins to live anew unto God. (3.) This *can not* be the meaning in the liturgy. Is it possible to believe that sensible men should gravely intreat a whole congregation to offer fervent prayers, that certain persons then present might be enabled to *join a church*? Is it necessary for all this parade and ceremony, and all this solemn invocation of the special aid of God's Holy Spirit, that they might be enabled to *change their relation*? Is this a work so difficult to be performed, as to need the special interposition of heaven in the case, and that no one could hope to be able to do it without the particular influences of the Spirit of God? And is religion in the Episcopal church such a solemn trifling as

this representation would imply? We do not believe it; and despite all the efforts of low church Episcopalians to explain this, we believe that the high church and the Puseyites have the fair interpretation of this part of the liturgy, that it is intended to teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and that this will be the impression ever made on the great mass of those who use the Prayer-book.

Now these prayers, teachings, and thanksgivings, occur constantly. Whenever an infant or an adult is to be baptized, the low churchman as well as the high churchman, is compelled to publish this doctrine. He has no discretion. The whole service from beginning to end is to be read through, and no matter what may be his public teaching as a preacher, or his private views, here he is under a necessity of teaching the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. He gives public thanks in reference to every child as well as every adult that is baptized and sealed with the sign of the cross, that he is regenerated by the Holy Ghost and made an heir of everlasting life. What will be then the force of his preaching, on the subject of the new birth or the change of heart, in the proper sense of the term? What impression will be made on those already "regenerated by the Holy Ghost" in baptism, in regard to this? Can such preaching be intended for them? Can it be applicable to any but the heathen and the unbaptized; for pagans, scoffers, and "dissenters?" Are not all others already born again?

A second difficulty of a similar kind derived from the liturgy, with which the evangelical churchman is obliged to contend, relates to the doctrine of "confirmation." If we understand the views of low churchmen, they accord with our own in regard to the necessity of a change of heart, and of evidence of personal piety, as qualifications for

communion. They do not suppose, that regenerating grace is conferred either by confirmation or the "eucharist," nor do they hold, that persons should be admitted to either, without evidence of personal religion. We believe that they are sincerely aiming to guard the Lord's table from the approach of all who do not give evidence that they are truly 'born again'—not of baptism, but by the Holy Spirit of God.

They are undoubtedly right in these views, but are these the views of their liturgy? Does the Prayer-book contemplate this? Have they, as Episcopalians, a right to rest in this, and to exclude from "confirmation" and the Lord's supper, all who do not give *them* evidence that they are truly converted, or are truly pious? We think they have not; and that in their efforts on this subject they are not only departing from their own standards, but are in the very matter compelled to use a liturgy, the tendency of which is to counteract and render nugatory all their own instructions and efforts. We believe that the Prayer-book does not contemplate, in order to confirmation, any other regeneration than that of water-baptism, or any other qualification than that of following out the arrangement at baptism. In support of this, we turn at once to the Prayer-book itself, and find the arrangements there contemplated in reference to "confirmation" and the Lord's supper, to be the following. The minister is directed to say, not to the parents of the child, but to the "godfathers and godmothers," after baptism is administered, "Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him, so soon as he can say the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and is sufficiently instructed in the other parts of the church catechism set forth for that purpose." We observe here no requirement of any

change of heart, or of any evidence of piety whatever. We do not believe that an acquaintance with the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the church catechism, necessarily infers the possession of renewing and saving grace, and as these are all that is specified, we do not see what right any churchman has to add thereto. To us, the only question which it would seem to be proper to propound to a candidate for confirmation would be, whether he could 'say the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments,' and the 'parts of the church catechism set forth for that purpose.' Why has any minister a right to *require* any thing more? Why is he any more at liberty to demand evidence of what *he* regards as a change of heart, than he has to insist that the candidate shall be familiar with the Westminster Confession or the Saybrook Platform? As these are all the requirements specified, we naturally turn to 'the other parts of the church catechism set forth' with reference to the rite of confirmation to enquire, whether *that* contemplates a change of heart as a qualification for that rite.

The church catechism has the following title in the Prayer-book, "A catechism; that is to say, *An Instruction*, to be learned by every person before he is brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by the Bishop." The qualification which is here specified, in accordance with that which is stated at the baptism as necessary in order to confirmation, is not that there shall be evidence of a change of heart, or any vital transformation of character after baptism, but that this catechism has been *learned*, that is, committed to memory, before he is brought to the bishop.

This catechism contains the creed, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and a few questions and answers growing out of each, and

on the nature of the sacraments. The question is, with what qualifications and character one would 'be brought to the bishop' who should have strictly complied with the directions in the Prayer-book? Would it be necessary that he should furnish evidence of a change of heart, or would it be right to reject his application for the communion, if he could 'say the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and had learned the other parts of the church catechism set forth for that purpose?' These qualifications may be learned from a few of the questions directed to be proposed to the candidate, and the answers which he is required to give. The first thing which we meet with is the odious doctrine of baptismal regeneration—the elementary idea of Episcopacy as it is in the Prayer-book, and a doctrine on which all that is required to be said by the candidate is based. "Question. What is your name? *Ans.* N. or M. *Quest.* Who gave you this name? *Ans.* My sponsors in baptism; *wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.*" Then we would propound a 'question' to those Episcopalians who endeavor to show that regeneration in the Prayer-book does not mean a change of heart, but a change of state. It is this. What more can there be in the new birth, or in regeneration as effected by the Spirit of God, than to be made 'a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?' Yet all this the candidate is to affirm was secured to him in baptism. The same doctrine we have affirmed again, if possible, in still stronger terms in this same catechism which is to be 'learned.' "Quest. What is the outward visible sign or form in baptism? *Ans.* Water; wherein the person is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy

Ghost. *Quest.* What is the inward and spiritual grace? *Ans.* A death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness: For being by nature born unto sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace." That all this is supposed to be conferred by baptism, is apparent from the previous answers on the nature of the sacraments. "Quest. How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his church? *Ans.* Two only, as generally necessary unto salvation; that is to say, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. *Quest.* What meanest thou by this word *Sacrament*? *Ans.* I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself; as a means whereby we receive the same, and a PLEDGE to assure us thereof." The necessity of grace is not indeed any where denied, but it is affirmed here, as it is implied every where in the Prayer-book, that the grace is imparted at baptism, and that the 'invisible sign' and the 'inward grace' go together.

With these views, and having 'learned' to say these things, the candidate is to be brought to the bishop to be confirmed. We are ready to acknowledge, that many or most of the questions directed to be propounded to the candidate are solemn and pertinent. On the supposition that they were propounded to one who had been *truly* converted, they are such questions as ought to be proposed to all who make a profession of religion. But what is their weight, or power, or pertinency, when addressed to one who is taught to say that by infant baptism he was 'made a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,' and that his sponsors made certain promises for him in baptism which he has come now to relieve them from, by ratifying them himself?

Now what will be the effect of

this standing and stereotyped system of instruction on the preaching of the evangelical part of the Episcopal church? They aim to teach a different thing from this. They strive to teach, and they really believe, that water baptism, however administered, does *not* impart all the grace which is needful to the salvation of the soul. But here stands this catechism which they are to teach, and which conveys lessons so plain that it is supposed a child may understand them, and alas, so plain that we fear they *are* understood and believed by the great mass of those who are 'brought to the bishop to be confirmed.' We can easily imagine what the effect would be, if in a Congregational or Presbyterian church all the children were to be taught, that regeneration was imparted by baptism properly administered, and that all they had to do in order to be qualified for the communion, was to 'learn to say' this. Where would be our revivals of religion?

We are aware that the evangelical party in the Episcopal church endeavor to evade this. We know that many of them insist, that the candidates for confirmation shall give evidence to them that they are truly converted, and that by the exercise of what they seem to regard as their right, they restrain those from confirmation whom *they* do not judge to be qualified for the communion. Aware of the obvious and dangerous tendency of the system as set down in the Prayer-book, they claim the right of *not* presenting to the bishop for confirmation, those whom they do not regard as qualified for it. We have no doubt that in doing this, they are acting in accordance with the New Testament, which plainly teaches that repentance and faith are indispensable qualifications for the Lord's table. But is this Episcopacy? Have they this right according to the canons of their own church?

We think not. We are willing to allow that there must be some discretion allowed to the officiating minister or rector of a parish in regard to those who are to be presented, as the fair rules of interpretation seem to demand that he shall not be required to present those who are open infidels, or who are grossly immoral. But has he a right to put his own interpretation on what constitutes a proper qualification; to say that baptism does *not* mean regeneration; that the child that was baptized, was *not* 'made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven;' that it has *not* 'pleased God to regenerate him with his Holy Spirit' when he was baptized, but that another kind of regeneration is necessary, and to withhold him from confirmation until he has himself the evidence that he is born again? Has he a right to set his own views thus against the teaching of the church, and to insist that his views shall be complied with contrary to the obvious meaning of the canons, and to the almost unbroken custom of the church? We think not. We think that by becoming an Episcopal minister, he binds himself to act in accordance with the obvious meaning of the liturgy in this respect, and that however his soul may revolt at it, and however contrary all this may be to his convictions of what is taught in the New Testament, as long as he chooses to remain in the church, he has no discretion. He is the servant of the church. He has received this Prayer-book as his guide, and it is his to carry out its views. If he is dissatisfied with them, the way is clear. It is to leave the communion; it is not to introduce and defend practices contrary to the elementary conceptions of Episcopacy.

There is another thought. The church may be regarded as making a sort of compact with every child

that is duly baptized, that if he will comply with her regulations, he shall be entitled at the proper time to whatever advantage there may be in her full fellowship and favor. There is a pledge given, through the sponsors at baptism, that if the course of life which is then recommended is pursued, the child as soon as he can say the creed, the ten commandments, and has been suitably instructed in the other parts of the catechism, shall be entitled to the privilege of confirmation. We believe that he may forfeit this by an unholy and wicked life, but not by any interpretation which his pastor may choose to put on the terms of the compact implying that he was *not* made a member of Christ and a child of God. On this subject, we think, the case is wholly parallel with that of one who becomes a "candidate for orders" in the Episcopal church; and as such a candidate, if he complies with the canons in the case, has a *right* to ordination in the church, so has a youth who has been baptized, and who has learned to say what is taught him, a right to confirmation. The right in the one case is as clear as in the other. On this subject, and with reference to this principle, we shall here submit the views of a gentleman who deservedly occupies a very prominent position, not only in the evangelical portion of the Episcopal church, but in the ministry of this country, in regard to the ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey. The reasoning, *mutatis mutandis*, applies as well to the case before us as to the ordination of Mr. Carey.

"It becomes, therefore, a very important question to consider, what are the rights of a candidate for orders. In doing this, I shall not deem it necessary to refer to particular canons, which are well known, but to consider the course through which a candidate is led by the authority and the appointment of the church. Our canons lay open this path with great distinctness. They also guard it, and limit it, with very marked and peculiar re-

straints. The question is, does a perfect compliance with all these directions and restraints give, from the church to the candidate, a right to expect and to claim his orders at the last, nothing appearing in any legal way to vitiate this performance of his required course? A young man is invited to become a candidate for orders, for the plan laid out for him amounts to an invitation. He obtains his certificates of personal character, and is regularly received and recorded by the bishop as a candidate. He pursues his prescribed course of studies under the direction of his bishop. He passes satisfactorily to the bishop and presbyters his required examinations. He presents his regular certificates for ordination. He subscribes the required declaration of conformity. He has thus finished and completed his prescribed course of education to the satisfaction of the authorities under which he has been placed. Now has he acquired a right upon the faith of the church, with whose prescriptions he has fully complied, to the ordination which he seeks? It must be granted, of course, that if his qualifications, mental or moral, are ultimately found insufficient, he may be justly rejected. If his examining bishop and presbyters are dissatisfied with the one, they have certainly the right to reject him there. If any persons are acquainted with moral crimes, which, if known, would actually overturn all the worth and influence of his certificates of character, they may declare them at the very last moment, and he may be arrested there. But if his examinations have been satisfactory to the persons appointed to direct them, and his character is unstained with moral crime, has he not a right secured to him to the ordination, for which he has fulfilled his appointed preparation? Or is it to be considered by him, and for him, utterly uncertain, to the very last moment, whether he shall be allowed to gain the object of his wish? May he finish his curriculum of study, and fulfil every requisition of the church under whose care he is placed, receive the approbation of the chief ministers appointed over him, gain all the required certificates of unspotted character, and be admitted to record his name in the bishop's register, to the constitutional promise of conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the church, and thus have his acceptance to orders as it were acknowledged to him, and his mind authorized to rest in peaceful expectation of his ordination, and yet may he be exposed to be arrested, in the very attainment of his desire, by the possible judgment of two persons in the assembled congregation, that he is deficient or erroneous in religious doctrine, or theological training? I confess this amounts in my view to extreme oppression. What

young man of honorable and ingenious feelings would be willing to expose himself to this possible disgrace, and this entire uncertainty of prospect? Or what Christian parent would be willing, in the face of such a hazard, to commit his son to the faith and guardianship of a church, whose system of law was so insecure, and so destitute of all protection to his character or prospects? Yet if the principle that a final protest, founded upon the personal suspicion or conviction of any persons, that the theological attainments and preparation of the candidate are insufficient or unsound, is to be of necessity regarded, and acted upon by the bishop ordaining, to what other result than this shall we be brought? Will it not completely unsettle our whole church, in thus undermining the just prospects and rights of the ministry at the very commencement of their course? Will not the secret reservation of such arbitrary and irresponsible power, amount to a complete exclusion of desirable candidates from our ministry? I am necessarily led, therefore, from these considerations to the conviction, that there are rights secured to the candidate, upon the implied faith of the church. The connection seems to me to have the aspect of a mutual contract. The candidate voluntarily yields himself to restraints and laws, to which he was not before subject, to gain advantages and benefits, which are thus promised and secured to him. The church therefore comes under an obligation to bestow upon him, on the fulfilment of his part of the contract, the advantages of a ministry, to which it has encouraged him to look; and he in consequence, has a right to the result of his labors, which can not be justly withheld from him?*

Now with these principles, we do not see how a minister of the Episcopal church can refuse to present a candidate for confirmation who has complied with the directions in the rubric, even though he should not give him evidence that his heart was changed. One of the difficulties, then, with which the evangelical party has to contend, is, that the grand, the leading object of an evan-

gelical ministry every where—the conversion of the soul to God by the truth, the quickening of a spirit dead in sin by the preached gospel, the conversion and salvation of the lost by the mighty power of the Holy Spirit—meets with this counteracting, this all-pervading influence in the Prayer-book, and that despite his private convictions and all his sense of what is right and true, he is under the high obligation of his ministerial vows to act *as if* a baptized child were made “regenerate with the Holy Ghost,” and was “a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of heaven.”

Our next remark in regard to the position of the evangelical party, is, that there are no arrangements or provisions in the liturgy for promoting their peculiar and distinctive efforts, or which contemplate such efforts. In looking over the Prayer-book which the low churchman, in common with all other Episcopalians, is under an obligation constantly to use, the question at once occurs whether those things at which he distinctively aims are contemplated there? Do they fall in with the design of the Prayer-book? Was it the intention of the authors of the Prayer-book to promote them, and have they made arrangements for them? Or are the peculiar things which constitute the characteristics of the low church party, and which they are endeavoring so zealously, and with so much of the spirit of the gospel, to promote, things which they have superinduced upon the liturgy, and which they are compelled to carry forward by a system of independent arrangements? We are constrained to believe that the latter is the case, for the following reasons.

1. We think that Christian missions to the heathen are not contemplated by the Prayer-book. They were not regarded as distinct objects of Christian effort at the time when the Prayer-book was made, and it

* Letter of the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D. D. in relation to the ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey, published in the *Episcopal Recorder*, October, 1843. This letter was understood at the time of the publication to have been written by Dr. Tyng, and in a subsequent number of the *Recorder* this is admitted.

has not been, and we presume could not now so be molded, as to adapt it to the present views of protestant Christians in their efforts to spread the gospel around the world. To say nothing of the cumbrous and unwieldy nature of the forms of Episcopacy in reference to missions—of the perplexities which must meet a missionary who should attempt to go through the liturgy in a heathen community—of the changes of vestments and postures which it contemplates, the alternations from prayer to praise, from reading now by the priest and now by the people—of the difficulties arising from the contemplated necessity of responses on the part of the people, there are other things which lead us to think that the Prayer-book was not designed to be adapted to missionary operations. There are no such references to such efforts; no prayers directed to be offered for the success of missions; no allusions to churches gathered among the heathen; no petitions that the people may be imbued with the missionary spirit; no supplications that the missionary in heathen lands may be sustained in his trials, and encouraged in his work. We believe that a congregation of Episcopalians might use the Prayer-book any given time, and strictly conform to all the prescriptions of the rubric, and never have the missionary spirit excited in the least conceivable degree, and never dream, from any use of that book, that it is the duty of the Christian church to spread the gospel around the world. We have reflected with some care on the forms of prayer there prescribed, and we have been able to recall in all the petitions and all the collects only the following that has any bearing on this subject—unless the incessant repetition of the Lord's Prayer, morning, mid-day and evening, and at all times, be an exception—a repetition amounting, as far as the use of that beautiful form can be made to, to the *βαρτο-*

λογος so pointedly condemned by the Savior, (Matt. 6 : 7)—a repetition which seems to be intended to be a substitute for all sorts of petitions that ought to be offered. We find the following petitions, and those only, bearing on missions. The first occurs in the "Prayer for all Sorts and Conditions of Men." "O God, the creator and preserver of all mankind, we humbly beseech thee for all sorts and conditions of men, that thou wouldst be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health unto all nations." This occurs again in the evening prayer, and this, besides the petition in the Lord's prayer, is the solitary petition which is regularly offered by the whole Episcopal church from Sabbath to Sabbath, for the universal spread of the gospel of Christ. Beside this, in one of the "collects," for Good Friday, designed to be used but once in the year, we find the following petition:—"O merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor desirest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live; have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word, and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnants of the true Israelites," &c. The fact here adverted to is the more remarkable, because in the numerous instances in which "collects" are appointed to be said, occasions are constantly occurring where it would seem almost unavoidable to make *some* allusion, and to offer *some* petition, for the spread of the gospel among the heathen, and for the success of Christian missions. Thus in the collect for "The Epiphany, or the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles," we have this prayer: "O God, who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles, merci-

fully grant that *we*, who know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruition of thy glorious Godhead, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Thus in the collect on the "Conversion of St. Paul :—" "O God, who through the preaching of the blessed Apostle Saint Paul, hast caused the light of the gospel to shine throughout the world, grant, we beseech thee, that *we*, having his wonderful conversion in remembrance, may show forth our thankfulness unto thee for the same, by following the holy doctrines which he taught, through Jesus Christ our Lord." So on "St. Peter's Day," and "St. James the Apostle," and "St. Bartholomew the Apostle," and "St. Matthew the Apostle," "St. Michael and all Angels," "St. Simon and St. Jude, Apostles," and "All Saints Day," we have the same utter want of allusion to the Christian duty of spreading the gospel—as if none of these Apostles had ever done any thing in such a cause, or as if "St. Michael" and "All the Saints" had no interest in the universal diffusion of Christianity. It is remarkable, we think, that so many "collects" *could* have been made by Christian men, without a recollection that the "Saints" whose virtues are thus commended, were distinguished more than for any thing else in spreading the gospel among the heathen, and that the thing in which the church ought specifically to imitate them is their fidelity in obeying the Redeemer's last command. A missionary society, or a missionary effort, whether in connection with other Christians or by themselves, is a thing we believe unknown to the constitution of the Episcopal church. That constitution contemplates a regularly organized congregation, and all the efforts which are made by that church in behalf of missions are efforts not contemplated by her liturgy.

2. Revivals of religion are not contemplated by the Prayer-book. We believe that this would be ad-

verted to by the high church party as an evidence of the excellence of the book itself, if not as a proof of its semi-inspiration. But the evangelical party have different views of the desirableness of such works of grace. We believe that they as sincerely rejoice as others do when the Spirit of God descends with power on a people, and when many are brought simultaneously to embrace the Savior. In the proper measures for promoting such a work, they sympathize with their brethren of other churches. They would dwell on the same topics in preaching; urge with the same ardor the doctrines of depravity, of justification by faith, and of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and give substantially the same counsel to an inquiring sinner. They admit the efficacy of protracted services, or as they choose to call them, "associations;" and in addition to such services of a "voluntary" character, they propose to avail themselves of what would otherwise be the cold and benumbing influence of the long season of fasting in "Lent." But what is the relation of the Prayer-book to such efforts? What aid could be derived from that book in a work of grace? What would be the effect of the sole use of that book in endeavoring to promote a revival of religion, or in conducting it? There is nothing in that book that is adapted to promote what is commonly termed a revival of religion; and there is nothing in the book that is fitted to the thrilling scenes of such a work. There are no prayers that careless sinners may be awakened; none that inquirers may be guided to Christ; none that would express the desires of a church in behalf of those who are asking what they must do to be saved. If these things are made the object of petition in an Episcopal church, it must be by the appointment of "prayer meetings"—assemblages that are not contemplated, as

we have already seen, by the Episcopal constitution. We have heard it said that a Presbyterian minister once went into an inquiry meeting, and commenced the services of the evening by this question: "Can you tell me, how doth Christ execute the office of a priest?" The Episcopal Prayer-book is not as well adapted to the state of things in a revival of religion, as the use of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism would be if propounded through and through to those composing such a meeting. There is not a feature of the book that is adapted to such a work of grace. Whether this is not an advantage in favor of the book, we are aware is a point on which many Episcopalians would differ materially from us. We say only that if there are to be revivals of religion in the church, they must be conducted in some other way than by the use of the Prayer-book.

3. The efforts for the promotion of religion among the young as a distinct class, is a thing unknown to the constitution of the Episcopal church, and all attempts to promote Sabbath Schools, whether in the bosom of the church as a sectarian matter, or on a more general scale in union with other denominations, is a departure from the teachings and the designs of the liturgy. The Sabbath School is an institution which has grown up some two hundred years since the Prayer-book was arranged for the use of the Anglican church, and it has never been modified in the least degree to adapt it to the grand enterprise of teaching the Bible to the young, though more than fifty years have elapsed since God began to set the undoubted seal of his blessing to the efforts of Robert Raikes. The Prayer-book, even as we now have it, is the "petrified wisdom of the age of Elizabeth," and it does not adapt itself even to the undoubted Christian institutions of an advanced period of the world. The only arrange-

ments in the Prayer-book which contemplate the instruction of the young at all, are found in the catechism. The amount of instruction contemplated there is, the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, and a careful initiation into the mystery of baptismal regeneration, and the expression of a settled belief on the part of the child, that by baptism he was made "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." This great defect of the Episcopal church—this fact that there is an utter forgetfulness in her forms of the young, and an utter want of adaptedness in her institutions to them, is thus candidly admitted by Archbishop Whately. He observes that the liturgy "is evidently neither adapted nor designed for children, even those of such an age as to be fully capable of joining in congregational worship, were there a service suitably composed on purpose for them. To frame and introduce such a service would not, I think, be regarded as a trifling improvement, if we could but thoroughly get rid of the *principle* of the Romish lip-service."—*Essays on Romanism*, ch. i, 5. This is a candid confession; but we do not believe that it is possible for the Episcopal church, so long as her forms are used, to "get rid of the Romish principle of lip-service."

4. Prayer meetings are not contemplated by the Episcopal service. There is no arrangement in the Prayer-book for such meetings, nor so far as we have been able to examine, is it once intimated that they would be desirable or proper. If they are ever held, they are a departure from the system, or an attempt to engraft on the system that which is no part of Episcopacy. Nothing would be more unfitted for what is ordinarily designed by a prayer meeting, than the use of the forms of the Episcopal church. We believe that those ministers of

that persuasion who patronize such meetings, never think of using the liturgy on such occasions, unless it may be to save appearances, and we are certain that the high church party are consistent and Episcopally right in their opposition to such assemblages.

5. All union on religious subjects with other denominations, we regard as in like manner at variance with the spirit of Episcopacy. There is in the Prayer-book no recognition of any other churches as such, of any other ministers than those who are Episcopally ordained, or of any organization for the promotion of religious objects except "*the church*," with her "*bishops, priests and deacons*." In the Prayer-book, we find no admission even that others are or can be Christians. We think there is but one allusion in the forms of prayer to any Christians other than those of the Episcopal sect, and that occurs in these words: "We pray for thy holy church universal, that it may be guided and governed by thy good Spirit; that all who *profess and call themselves* Christians may be led in the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." There is no prayer offered for ministers of other denominations—no allusion whatever to them. The prayers for ministers of the gospel are always in the forms following: "Send down upon *our* bishops and other clergy, and upon the congregations committed to their charge, the healthful spirit of thy grace." "Make, we beseech thee, all bishops and pastors diligently to preach thy holy word, and the people obediently to follow the same." The recognition of another church than the Episcopal, or of other ministers of the gospel than the Episcopal, is a thing unknown to the Prayer-book. It contemplates no union with others, alludes to no common action with them, and evidently supposes that the great interests of re-

ligion in the world will not be carried forward by voluntary associations, or by union with others, but by the organization under the "three orders." We have felt grateful for the aid which some eloquent and zealous Episcopalians have rendered in the distribution of the Bible, and of Tracts, and in the support of the Sunday School cause in connection with others; but we have never had but one feeling in regard to the consistency of this with Episcopacy. We have regarded it as a departure from the constitution of their church, and whatever independent zeal a few may show for a time in these catholic movements, we anticipate that the time is not far distant when the voice of an Episcopalian will no longer be heard at the anniversaries of our national institutions, and that the only aid which Episcopacy will render to the cause of diffusing Christianity, will be under her own distinctive organization. There is now far less disposition to unite with others, than there was a dozen years ago;—successive years will show it to be less and less.

Our next thought in regard to the efforts of low churchmen, is, that as far as we understand the subject, those efforts are all at variance with the doctrinal views of the church. We allude now to the opposition to Puseyism, or the Oxford theology. We speak here on the presumption that those who are low churchmen will be in the main opposed to that system of belief. On that controversy we have looked from the commencement with great interest, not with reference to the question whether Puseyism is in accordance with the Bible—for in regard to that we see not how a question can be raised—but with reference to the question whether it is not the true spirit of Episcopacy, and is not in accordance with the views prevailing at the time when the Prayer-book was arranged, and those expressed by the standard writers of the Episcopal

church. We do not propose now to go into an examination of these questions, but it may be of some interest to those who are in the Episcopal church to know how these things appear to those who are without. We regard, then, the Puseyites as entirely in the right in this controversy, so far as Episcopacy is concerned; wholly wrong so far as it relates to the Bible. We think that those who are opposed to the Oxford theology, are engaged in the most hopeless of all controversies ever waged, so long as they make their appeal to their own Prayer-book, or the early standard writers of the Episcopal denomination. We have no doubt that if the views of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman were to prevail in the Episcopal church, the church would be substantially in the same position in which it was in the days of Elizabeth. It was but half reformed. It retained then a large part of the offensive features of Romanism, and those views were embodied in the Prayer-book. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration, of the *opus operatum* of the sacraments, of the real presence, of the intermediate state, the veneration of saints, the appointment of festival days in commemoration of their virtues, the pomp and pageantry of worship, the sign of the cross, bowing at the name of Jesus, the holiness of the church and the altar, and the sacredness of the consecrated burying-place, all, with numerous similar things, are part and parcel of Romanism, and not of the religion of the New Testament. To bring back the Episcopal church to the views entertained on these subjects in the time of Elizabeth, which we understand to be the declared aim of Dr. Pusey, would be to establish the sentiments advanced in the Tractarian theology. The views of Dr. Pusey in his celebrated sermon on the eucharist, which was the occasion of his suspension, we think are abundantly sustained by

the quotations which he has made from the standard writers of the Episcopal church; and unless our evangelical brethren in that church will change their mode of argument, and appeal solely to the Bible, we are morally certain that they are destined to certain defeat. The Prayer-book and the Fathers of the Episcopal church, will sustain their adversaries. An honest appeal to the Bible, however, in the case, would be fatal to Episcopacy, and if persevered in must read the Episcopal church in twain.

There is but one other thought which we propose to submit in reference to the present position of the evangelical party in the Episcopal church. It relates to their own consistency in their efforts to mingle with Christians and Christian ministers of other denominations. We have already intimated that the *principles* on which this is done are well defined and understood. They never associate with the ministers of other denominations as Christian ministers. They never invite them to preach for them, but uniformly say when the question comes before them, that they can not reciprocate an act of ministerial courtesy of this kind. They never recognize the right of non-Episcopal ministers to administer the sacraments of the church. They never recognize their ordination as an ordination to the Christian ministry, and never suppose that a minister from another denomination, *except the Papal*, can be suffered to officiate in an Episcopal church without renouncing his former ordination, and perchance his baptism too, and submit to the imposition of the hands of the prelate. These and kindred acts on their part, force us almost inevitably to the conclusion that in common with their high church brethren they regard the Episcopal as the only Christian church, and consider all others, ministers and people, as left to the 'uncovenanted mercies of God.'

Yet there is much that we can not reconcile with this. There is a zeal for the truth which looks as if they regarded the vital doctrines of Christianity as of more importance than its forms. There is an honest effort to promote the great objects contemplated by the gospel, which seems to rise above all the narrow confinement of sectarian efforts. There is, in some things, such a hearty mingling with other Christians, and such a zeal in promoting the common objects of our religion, as to lead us for a time to forget the Episcopacy, and to rejoice in them as co-workers with all others, in the glorious efforts to spread the gospel. There is such impatience of restraint, and such a declared purpose *not* to be fettered by forms and *not* to be limited to the narrow views of a 'sect,' that we begin to ask with concern, whether, in our apprehensions of their attachment to Episcopacy, we have not done them essential injustice. There are occasionally such solemn declarations made in such public places, that they '*will not* be confined within the narrow walls of a sect, nor be prevented from looking out on the broad Christian world, and sympathizing with other Christians,' that we are constrained to ask, whether we have rightly understood the true interpretation of the other positions which they have taken, or whether—a conclusion which we will avoid if possible—all this is said for the purpose of effect, and is designed ultimately more and more to give Episcopacy favor in the sight of the community.

Now so antagonist and irreconcilable are these positions of the evangelical party in the Episcopal church, that we should be glad to propound to some of the leaders of that party a few questions, and we take the liberty of submitting them here, with the hope, that through their papers they will furnish to the community an answer.

The first would be this. Do the evangelical party regard the ministers of other denominations as in any sense authorized ministers of the gospel, and their churches as true churches? If they *do*—(which we do not believe to be the case)—then we ask of them, why they are never in any proper way so recognized? Why do they not come out and openly say so? Why do they never admit them to their pulpits? Why do they never protest against their being re-ordained when one of their number leaves the church of his fathers, and enters the service of the Episcopal denomination? Why do they submit to the gross public indignity offered to Protestant churches by the uniform acts of the Episcopal church, admitting a Catholic priest at once to officiate at her altars without re-ordination; demanding that every other minister shall be ordained?

If in reply to these questions they should say, that *they* regard the ministers of other denominations as having a right to preach and administer the sacraments, and consider the ordinances administered by them as valid, but that the 'canons' of their church will not allow them to express this belief by any public act, or to reciprocate any act of ministerial fellowship, then we would ask of them as independent Christian men, how they can suffer their consciences and their hearts to be fettered and trammelled by such canons? How can they consent to remain in a position where they can not express in any proper way the honest convictions of their minds, and act as freemen? How can they peacefully minister in a communion where the very nature of the institutions is a well understood exclusion of all other churches as having no valid ministry and no valid sacraments? How can they by their conduct, hold up all other churches as left to the 'uncover,

wanted mercies of God?' The Episcopal sect, as such, is a small part of the Christian world. In this land it is, and it will continue to be, among the 'smallest of the tribes of Israel.' Its communicants are few in comparison with those of other denominations. Its ministers are also comparatively few, and in point of talent, learning, piety, and moral worth, are not eminent above all others. If it be so, that other churches are true churches, and other ministers are true ministers, then they have the common right of all Christians, to be recognized as such by all their Christian brethren. That is no desirable position for a man to place himself in, who believes that these are true churches, but who is habitually constrained to speak and act as if they were not, and so to act as to leave the impression, that he regards them as on the same platform in regard to salvation, as the Jew, the Turk, and the infidel. And yet this is the fair interpretation of the conduct of the Episcopalian. Almost the smallest denomination in our country habitually acts, as if the great body of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, had no claim to the character of a church, and were to be treated as those on whom the light of Christianity has never risen. The most eminent ministers of the land, living and dead, are to be regarded as preaching without authority, and as intruders in the sacred office. Of the departed, Eliot, and Edwards, and Bellamy, and Dwight, are never to be spoken of as true ministers of the gospel; of the living, that honored appellation should not be given to Beecher, Alexander, Woods, Stuart, or Nott. Hall, in our father-land, was no true minister; Wesley was one only because he had been touched by Episcopal hands; Summerfield had neither there nor here a right to preach, and nine tenths of the effec-

tive ministry of our country, are to be regarded in no other light than intruders and impostors. Now do the evangelical party in the Episcopal church believe this? If they do not, we call upon them by every sentiment of honor and religion, to say so. If they can not do this and remain in the bosom of Episcopacy, then we call upon them to act the man and the Christian, and to seek a connection where they can say this, and can act out the honest conviction of their souls. We do not understand the constitution of that man, who can quietly remain in a connection where, by a fair interpretation, his conduct will do an enormous wrong habitually to the great mass of his Christian brethren, and where this interpretation of his conduct will express a constant falsehood in regard to his own opinions.

But if the evangelical Episcopalian should say, that he does not regard the ministers of other denominations as having a right to preach and to administer the sacraments, then we have another question to propose. Why is not this honestly avowed? Why is there not on his part always a course of conduct entirely consistent with this? Why is there ever any such mingling with other denominations, as to leave any doubt in regard to this matter? His high church brethren never act in such a way as to leave room for an ambiguous interpretation of their views, and we honor them for their consistency. We know where to find them. It is always in the Episcopal church, and they never so far forget themselves as to convey the impression, that they have ever heard that there is any other church. If the low churchman holds the same views in regard to the church and the ministry, then what means all the declamation which we hear about his own catholic and liberal views, and his determination not to be fettered and manacled?

We take our stand here. If the evangelical Episcopalian regards other churches as true churches, and other ministers as true ministers, we have a right to know it. If he does not, then the community has a right to know what Episcopacy is. If it is essentially narrow, and exclusive; if it recognizes no other communion as a true church, and regards all others as left to the uncovenanted mercies of God, then it is a *right* which the community has, to understand this. Episcopalians are every where endeavoring to win the young from the churches of their fathers. Let us understand fully what the system is, and let not the youth of the land, won by great professions of catholicity and zeal for the common cause, be drawn blindfold into a communion that is essentially exclusive of all others, and where the first act of faith must be the expression of a belief, that a father and mother worship in a conventicle, and are baptized and buried under the authority of laymen.

We have spoken freely, but not in anger. It is not because we believe that those brethren who are endeavoring to infuse the evangelical principle into the Episcopal church, are not good men, that we have made these remarks. We regard it as an honor, that we are permitted to number some among them as our personal friends, and there are many among them at whose feet we regard it as a privilege to sit down. Among the living of this class, we doubt not there are some as holy men as the church embosoms, and among the dead, there are those whose memory will be cherished as long as piety, eloquence, and moral worth, are honored on earth. The name of Bedell will not be, and should not be, forgotten. The land has known few men who have done more honor to the ministry than he did. His silvery tones, his placid manner, his

clear enunciation, his unshrinking fidelity, his indefatigable toils, his meek, pure, unobtrusive Christian spirit, his large-hearted liberality toward all who love our Lord Jesus Christ, can not be forgotten by the multitudes who hung on his lips, as a preacher, and who loved him as a man.

But we regard these brethren as laboring in an impracticable work, and in a work which it would not be desirable to accomplish if it could be done—an attempt to blend the spirit of the gospel with the religion of forms. The experiment has now been fairly made. It can not be hoped that it will be made under better auspices, and we regard it as destined to inevitable failure. As we love pure evangelical religion therefore, we think it right to state what we think must be the result of the experiment, and to set before the churches the principles which are involved in the controversy.

We think, also, that there has been an error in other denominations of Christians in this matter. There has been a feeling, the correctness of which no one seemed to regard it as proper to doubt, that the Episcopal sect was to be numbered in the family of evangelical churches, and that other churches should lend their influence to infuse the evangelical spirit more and more into that communion. Under the influence of that desire, pious and devoted young men have been advised to throw themselves into that communion, with the hope, that they might do more to promote the great cause, by attempting to diffuse the spirit of Christ through the religion of forms, than by ministering in connection with the church of their fathers. This, we now think, was unwise counsel. It was both *unkind* to Episcopacy, and it was morally certain that it would be a failure. It was *as* unkind as if the Methodist church, pressed with great concern for the

Presbyterian denomination, should scatter its ardent sons through all the presbyteries of the land, avowedly for the purpose of changing its policy, and diffusing the tactics of Wesley through the Presbyterian ranks; and it was an experiment which, from the nature of the case, *must* fail. There is a way of effectually neutralizing all such influence that comes in from other denominations. Episcopacy has the means of infusing its own principles, with singular vigor, into the heart of a neophyte from another church. Let the miter once touch the head of a low churchman, and a new light shines on his mind in regard to the apostolic succession, and on all the pomp and paraphernalia of prelacy; and as a New England man becomes the most cruel of all slave-drivers, if he can be made so far to forget himself as to become a slave-driver at all, so a man from an evangelical denomination becomes the most furious for prelacy, if he can be made so far to forget himself as to become a prelate at all. We think it time for the evangelical young men of our country to understand, that if they wish to advance the cause of the gospel, it is not to be in connection with the religion of forms. The gospel of Christ has elements of moral power in itself, which are only hindered by gorgeous external rites—as the keenness of a Damascus blade is rendered useless if buried within a gorgeous scabbard.

We regard the prevailing spirit of Episcopacy, in all aspects, high and low, as at variance with the spirit of this age and of this land. This is an age of freedom, and men *will* be free. The religion of forms is the stereotyped wisdom or folly of the past, and does not adapt itself to the free movements, the enlarged views, the varying plans of this age. The spirit of this age demands that there shall be freedom in religion; that it shall not be fet-

tered or suppressed; that it shall go forth to the conquest of the world. It is opposed to all bigotry and uncharitableness; to all attempts to 'un-church' others; to teaching that they worship in conventicles, that they are dissenters, or that they are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God. All such language did better in the days of Laud and Bonner, than now. It might be appropriate in lands where religion is united to the state

—"like beauty to old age
For interest's sake, the living to the dead,"

but it does not suit our times, or country. It makes a jar on American feelings. It will not be tolerated by this community. The spirit of this land is, that the church of Christ is not under the Episcopal form, or the Baptist, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, or the Congregational form exclusively; all are, to all intents and purposes, to be recognized as parts of the one holy catholic church, with no distinction of prerogative, with no right to the assumption of exclusive names, with no self-complacent expression of feeling, that *their* form brings them nearer to heaven than others. There is a spirit in this land, which requires that the gospel shall depend for its success not on solemn processions and imposing rites, not on the idea of superior sanctity in the priesthood in virtue of their office, not on genuflections and ablutions, not on any virtue conveyed by the imposition of holy hands, and not on union with any particular church, but on solemn appeals to the reason, the conscience, the immortal hopes and fears of men, attended by the holy influences of the Spirit of God, and which demands that the devotion which from age to age is to be breathed forth on our hills and along our valleys, should be that pure worship which proceeds from the heart, worshipping God in spirit and in truth.

REVIEW OF THE ERRORS OF THE TIMES.*

It is sometimes a serious question whether we have a right to laugh; and especially when some priestly foible, or consecrated absurdity provokes our mirth—as in the late charge of the Rt. Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Connecticut. Ought we, for Christ's sake, to be sober, when prelacy is acting Bottom in the play, because it is prelacy and not the real Bottom? This great tragedian, our readers will remember, was specially ambitious to "play the lion too;" he would "roar that it should do any man's heart good to hear him," and with the further advantage, that he would not "frighten the ladies;" for he would "aggravate his voice" and "roar you an' 'twere any nightingale." This famous nightingale of a lion, was roaring upon us all the way through in our first reading of the charge, and now that we are set down to our solemn office of review, we can no way get the sound from our ears. We have a certain respect for the worthy diocesan, which disposes us to treat his effusion with all due forbearance and gravity. We have even tried to bring ourselves to a serious and regular discussion of his argument; which he has manifestly labored with prodigious effort and expectation. But we can not utterly suppress the comic feeling that haunts us, neither can we possibly muster so much of respect for the matter of his production, as to feel it altogether suitable to our ambition, to measure our strength against it in a deliberate and solemn

answer. We fear too, lest in such an attempt we should part company with our readers, for the proscriptive grin they have suffered of six months standing since the charge was published, has so far relaxed the austerity of their Puritanic faces, that they will scarcely be willing now to follow a regular deliberative argument. Still, we will endeavor to come as near sobriety as we can.

And first of all, we will thank the Bishop for his charge, as the most serious and deliberate thing we can say. There is a point of view in which it has a real and sober importance. It is a flat, and, as far as a generally good spirited man is capable of malice, malignant attack upon the distinctive religion of New England. As such, it absolves our ministers from any chance of incurring unpleasant imputations, by going into a public defense of the Congregational polity. Many, we know, as Episcopacy has been growing rife among us, have been detained from taking ground, by their perhaps undue sensitiveness to such impressions. Now they have the Bishop's official permission to put on strength and go to the work, clear of all restraint. A few perhaps, who were more occupied with the impudent assumptions of the charge than with its weakness, have suffered a salutary vexation. Others, we know, and they are the many, hailed its appearance as a deliverance, and with real exultation. It eased a perplexity which had long tried their patience. In this view, the Bishop's charge is a thing of consequence, and he may certainly look for some important results to follow it. Heretofore too, it has been somewhat difficult to ascertain what Connecticut Episcopacy is. Here we have it on authority. Here

* Errors of the Times. A charge delivered to the clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut, at the annual convention, holden in Christ Church, in the city of Hartford, June 13, 1843. By the Rt. Rev. Thomas C. Brownell, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Diocese.

it is revealed with a most fatal ingenuousness, and our churches and ministers may see it without mistake. The dry bones are uncovered, the dead flat of Pharisaism is spread out before them, the ghastly grin of spiritual death stares them in the face.

Having offered this most serious tribute to the Bishop and his charge, we can not resist the temptation to set forth some inductive matters, which compelled us to receive it with lighter impressions. This is the fanatical age of Episcopacy, and there was never a church on earth more thoroughly leavened with fanaticism, than the Anglican church is at this moment. But the Bishop suffers a most amusing ignorance even of the possibility, that any such malignant phrensy can ever visit Episcopal bosoms. He speaks of "fanaticism," (p. 26-7, and elsewhere,) as the exclusive right of the sectaries—a thing quite impossible, either in or under a successor of the Apostles. Could he have endured with a little more patience the abhorrent discipline of "metaphysics," he might have been led to suspect, that it does not alter the essential nature of man, either to be under or to be a bishop. Possibly he might have discovered, that fanaticism is oftentimes only a sign of the activity of religious influences—that religion when it verily enters the soul, has to bear the company of evil there, and that when the holy fire is kindled, it may reasonably be expected (such is human infirmity) that some devilish heat will occasionally kindle with it. If too, in tracing the history of New England fanaticism, he had not forgotten the history of the Apostles, he would have seen that these luckless preachers were doomed much oftener than they wished, to stir up a blaze of fanaticism. Nay, if he had stayed to form some deliberate estimate of St. Ignatius himself, who is to Episco-

pacy father of the Fathers, he would have found him an arrant fanatic, as carnally inflated, as mad with senseless zeal, as Davenport himself. Fanaticism does not, as he supposes, depend on given forms of outward demonstration, such as indicate an erratic or ecstatic phrensy; but on the activity of absurd and malign emotions in the province of religion, and among religious bodies. Where the religious principle is most active therefore, the exposure to fanaticism is greatest. But alas! even the inertness of formalism is no certain security against this truly human infirmity. The fury of the *fane* (which is fanaticism) may set even spiritual death on fire. Though the church care not a straw for the great doctrines of Christian truth, and deprecate, it may be, every manifestation of a true Christian experience, the question of a tallow candle, or of the real presence of Christ to the teeth of his disciples, may yet suffice to set on fire the course of nature, no thanks to grace. And exactly this is what we now see in the Anglican church. Laud is alive again at Oxford, and the dead body of high church formalism is seething once more, in the blaze of the rubrics. Mecca itself was never the seat of a more senseless fanaticism, than the great high church university is at this moment. The shirt of Mahomet never wrought a madness more absurd or malign, than the Oxford doctors now suffer in their shirt of penance, or their zeal for the dead letter of the rubrics. And if we regard the word, there is no other so true and proper fanaticism as this same *fane-fury*, this church-mad inspiration, which is now reigning in the Tract writers and their adherents; nor only in their adherents, for the leaven of their movement extends to the whole Anglican church, both in England and also here. And yet our Episcopal bishop is as ignorant

of the fact, as William Miller of the like in his determination to burn up the world.

See how it goes in England. A literary honor is announced at Oxford in favor of a distinguished American scholar and statesman. Witness the hisses and yells of discontent by which the unfortunate stranger is insulted. This at Oxford! a great and renowned university! in the nineteenth century! And what is the cause? Why, that Mr. Everett has never been baptized in the church! Or, what is not a whit better, that he is a Unitarian! If the latter was the cause most ostensibly used, the former certainly was the most real and efficient; for it is plain enough, according to the well known practice of the church, that if the holy sprinkling of priestly hands had fallen on the stranger's head, the member thus regenerated, might have received the doctorate with applause, even though it held the faith of the infidel. Nor is this a mere casual ebullition of the church phrensy that rages at Oxford. Not only are the sacraments of the church proclaimed as the only vehicle of salvation, and they that refuse them unqualifiedly damned; but what is more really new and electrifying to the English nation, it is proved by penances and fasts and vigils, that the new teachers are certainly pious men! The rumor of their sanctity goes abroad with their doctrines, and when they propose to regenerate the church, the ancient apostolic, but alas, sadly degenerate and dishonored church, the word is a fire in thousands of bosoms. When they advocate the right of persecution against the enemies of the church, the ear of the nation is not shocked, for they are men of sanctity, and sanctity is a thing so new and strange, that no one can tell what great things are to come of it! When they maintain by the most learned process

the authenticity of the popish miracles, no one stares at their credulity—they are sent to restore an age of faith! If they advocate the principle of *reserve* in religious knowledge, it is but a more imposing proof that great mysteries of wisdom are hid in their minds. If they undertake the philosophy of ethics and gravely propound the doctrine, that "morality is gravitation towards the church," the discovery is received with silent awe. If they maintain by solemn argument, that no one is qualified to investigate the natural and mathematical sciences who is out of the church, and that the power of the keys extends to all the departments of human knowledge, who shall smile at the sanctimonious nonsense of a doctrine so honorable to the church! The new zeal thus kindled in behalf of the church, spreads rapidly through the establishment, and so astonished are multitudes to see any thing in the shape of an earnest attention to religion, that they really hail the movement as one that promises to regenerate the land. The political aristocracy are not sure, that some new hope of strengthening their decayed and tottering eminence, is not here dawning upon them. The bishops denounce the new school faintly, taking care to atone for what they do, by a more close and rigid adherence to the rubrics. Here the old cathedral bell, that had almost forgotten to ring on Sundays, announces a daily service. Here the humble chapel is filled with the smoke of incense, and hung about with pictures and crucifixes, which the gaping multitudes rush in to see. The younger clergy, for the young are specially susceptible to fanaticism, vie with each other in their spite against the dissenters, and their zeal for saints' days, penances, and postures—for the strait-breasted coats, the "changeable suits of apparel, the mantles, the

wimples, and crissing pins" of the rubrics. The churches in the mean time are better attended. The tables of the fashionable drawing-rooms are cleared of novels to make room for bishops' charges, the Tracts for the Times, and the torrent of church pamphlets daily pouring from the press. The clergy of course are delighted with their new consequence, and the rising honor of the church, and the more they hope for themselves, the more cordially do they hate and oppress the dissenters.

Such is the new era of Episcopal fanaticism kindled at Oxford. The tragic part is there, but the comic is reserved for us. Our Anglican clergy on this side the water begin to hear of the great day coming to Episcopacy at home, and forthwith kindle up their little tapers to emulate the great fire that is burning in England. Bishop Doane goes over to get the anointing of Dr. Pusey, and returns pompous Lord George, to set up a cross! Onderdonk is so fierce to become a lord that he makes himself a bear. And the good Bishop of Connecticut, whose misfortune it is to be hedged about by the stiff old pikes of Puritanism, amongst which it will not do so well either to be a lord or a bear, must nevertheless charge. Habitually cool and moderate, respectable and respected hitherto, for his official discretion and the general courtesy of his manners to Christians of other names, he has the least possible talent for the new fanaticism; but he must suffer what he can. His more combustible clergy gather round him breathing flame into the miter. The great hope awakened in England of some splendid triumph about to be achieved by the church, takes him on the side of his prerogative and draws him into the field.

Tracts for the Times, many and strong in England, Connecticut emulates in one little pamphlet with a green cover on the Errors of the Times! The high church British lion roars, in good earnest, against any and every shape of private judgment. The Connecticut nightingale roars a response against private judgment, only observing to take away the meaning! Oxford anathematizes every poor dissenter with a stout-voiced thunder, and justifies the rod that shall whip him into conformity; "the dissenters," squeaks Connecticut in a soft mouse-like tenor! Dr. Pusey glories in reproducing the wounded body of Christ, and eating his presence as the true food of spiritual life. Dr. Brownell, like a certain other gowned dignitary who had some reasonable fears of the ghost she was raising, says he intended to speak of the errors that prevail in regard to the Lord's Supper, but had not time!

To complete the picture, we must go into the convention and hear "the charge" exploded. Our readers are informed of the profound sensation it produced in the assembled clergy and laity to hear the worthy Bishop "aggravate his voice"—the opinion universally expressed (a surprise to themselves) that it must place their Bishop among the most renowned prelates of the church!—and that all with one voice of gratulation said, "Let him roar again—let him roar again!" But alas! when the judgments of a respectable body of men are inflated by some petty gust of fanaticism, how little are they aware of the figure they make in the eyes of sober and judicious people, who are not sympathetically infected. To such "the charge" sounded more like that trifling combustion which is heard at the other end of the gun. And the profound sensation it moved in the convention was just far enough from sober reason to provoke a sense of the ludicrous.

Sed ut fanaticus œstro
Percussus, Bellona, tuo divinâ, et, Ingens
Omen, habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphî.

When some flaring madness blazes out from a nest of ignorant and deluded people, it moves our pity. But when a grave and generally dignified body of men are heated into some gentle absurdity, and betray the infirmity of human nature in a way that is barely picturesque, the comic sense must needs be touched, and the muscles of laughter show that they were made for use.

Now it must not be supposed that we intend or wish to excite any feeling of contempt towards the person of our diocesan. The difficulty with him is, that he is too respectable a man to make a respectable fanatic. He has too much good feeling to excel, in a work, which demands unqualified impudence and malignity; too much good sense and discretion to act the fool vigorously. If he had made a bolder onset we should have respected him less. He was set, by his office, in a condition of fearful exposure, and the wonder (most creditable to himself) is, that he has made so poor a figure in trying to quit his discretion. The church ought to understand, that if they want a thorough genuine fanatic to lead their cause, they must have a young man in the bishopric. It is impossible to make the fane-fury blaze out fierce and strong, in a mind that has been tamed by long experience, and has settled into habits of tranquillity and moderation. And if such an one will fire his gravity by a forced combustion, the manifestation can not be less than ridiculous.

At the same time it must be granted, that the gratuitous insult the Bishop has seen fit to offer our churches, renders any expression of respect on our part, however qualified, an act of mercy rather than of justice. He well understood that we must receive as an intended insult the epithet "*dissenters*," which he bestows upon us, on almost every page of his charge. And it is plain enough that he takes a malignant

pleasure in the insult. In so doing, by the universal judgment of mankind, he puts himself beyond the terms of civilized warfare, and sacrifices every claim to personal courtesy or official respect. And if we were not too much amused by his absurdity to be nettled by his impudence, we should be obliged to treat him with merited severity. But when we figure the Bishop at the head of a church, which scarcely differed from a tory clan in that day when ours was bearing the nation on its shoulders and giving it existence and a name—a church, afterwards increased by the accession of "certificators," who went over to escape their taxes in the days of our establishment;* by malcontents who wanted ease to their consciences under some more quiet doctrine; and by refugees of yesterday who fled thither to shelter their appetites and gains against that noble reform, which is now so nearly triumphant in our country, and promises to be throughout the world,—when we consider that the Bishop himself received his nurture in our bosom, and to this day has no baptism but ours on his consecrated head, and that now in a solemn convention of clergy and laity from his churches, which originally were only little gatherings of faction scattered here and there under the names of so many saints, and are now for the most part scarcely strong enough to save the poor saints from irony—that here he takes his ecclesiastical tripod and gravely calls us "*dissenters*."

* Formerly every person was required to pay taxes to the Congregational churches, unless he signified by a "*certificate*" lodged with the clerk, (when will the lord bishops of England allow such a privilege to the poor tythe-paying dissenters?) that he preferred some other church; a provision, of which, those who cared much for their money and naught for religion, were ready enough to avail themselves by a nominal connection any where. These were called "*certificators*."

scoters"—there is something so exquisitely picturesque in the figure, that resentment is impossible. And the picture is seasoned yet more delightfully, when we consider that a grave and heretofore courteous Bishop, now trying to be even with the times in his church, has yet so little capacity for the high church madness he emulates, that he can possibly screw himself up to nothing more wicked than a petty effrontery or a piece of ill manners. We wonder that the Oxford doctors have nowhere discovered in the rubrics a Dervish dance prescribed for the bodily exercise of these old judicious prelates, that they may be able, somehow, to lash themselves up to the requisite pitch of church phrensy.

But the "*Errors of the Times*"—what are they? Principally three—private judgment, non-episcopal ordination, and a lack of baptismal regeneration;—all errors which, if they are errors at all, are as old certainly as the Reformation, and in our opinion as old as the world. How then "errors of the times?" Assuredly it was of some consequence to find a title that should sound as congruently as possible to Episcopal ears; and since the "*Tracts for the Times*" have stirred so great a commotion, why not "*Errors of the Times*!" And the Bishop in his zeal to bear a title so eminently impressive, did not observe the hardship put upon a little preposition, which stands as mere laty between its terms. "*Tracts for the Times*" is very well, though designed to remove old abuses; but "*Errors of the Times*," for errors as old as Adam, is not so well. "*Errors for the Times*" would have been better, and withal just so much nearer the Oxford title. Besides, if we are *Anglicising*, it is important to write English.

When we heard that the Bishop had made an onset on the right of

private judgment, we were not a little astonished at his boldness. Can it be, we said, in this nineteenth century—in this nation where thought is free as air, and not a man conceives the possibility of any law upon his opinions save the law of God himself—in the state of Connecticut, where every mental habit and every social institution is the distillation of Puritanism, that a Bishop, himself a son of the Puritans, a mild and reasonable man, has really had the audacity thus to insult every habit, prejudice and principle in our bosoms? Has he dared to pollute the atmosphere we breathe, by offering to our approbation the foul old dogma of the Papacy, which now reveals its last stage of putridity in the activity of the Oxford ferment? There is something impressive and, so far, respectable in great moral audacity. The flagrancy of an outrage sometimes endues it with power and sublimity. And we really began to fancy, in our dismay, that the ghosts of all the Popes were come back upon us to gibber and howl in the recreant ears of our Puritan apostasy. But lo! how sweetly are they laid in a moment, and with such marvellous facility, that the stare which protruded our eyes gives place, at once, to another sort of contortion, the most pleasant and comfortable that can be imagined. For the worthy Bishop, we discover, only sets himself on private judgment to "aggravate his voice!" How else could he play the lion at all? But then lest he should frighten the ladies—we mean of course the Puritan ladies who "might have no more discretion but to hang him!"—he very kindly tells them that he only gives what is set down in the play, and that he means nothing really bad or terrible in it!

Now in these days of Episcopal fanaticism, it must be remembered that every thing in the church, low or high, goes up higher; and if not every one can be highest, he must

yet be as high as he can. The Oxford faction, who are soul and spirit of the whole movement, lead off in a bold, unqualified denial of the right of private judgment, maintaining the authority of the church in all ages as binding and conclusive. Then the bishops and clergy follow in a "Song of Degrees," according to the warmth of their emulation, the extent to which their judgments are infected by the new fanaticism, and the degree of propinquity to Rome they choose to suffer. Some declare that the authority of the church for the first "seven" centuries is law, some of the first "six," others "five," others "four." Very few are so far behind as to say the first "three." The Bishop of Connecticut could not be expected to soar as high as the Bishop of New York or Maryland; and considering the mental atmosphere of New England, it was certainly very respectable to put himself down for the first "two" centuries.—"The Holy Scriptures (p. 5) as they were interpreted by the church during the first two centuries, not as they may chance to be interpreted by the wayward fancies of individuals, constitute the only sure basis for us to rest upon." Brave! brave enough. Some of our Puritan folk we have heard were really astounded by the declaration.

But the ludicrous thing, which somewhat flats down our impression of the worthy Bishop's altitude, is, that his discretion has backed him up to a point when church authority had not begun to run—the very period when there was no judgment but private judgment! Every advocate of church authority carefully distinguishes between the opinions held by individuals and opinions held by the church. We can scarcely read ten pages, in any writer on the subject, without meeting the distinction. But there is not one opinion of the first two centuries which can, with any propriety, be consider-

ed an opinion of the church; for the church was not so organized as to have a joint action, or unite in a common expression of any kind. The churches were isolated, or at least not organically united. No convention, council or synod was held previous to the year A. D. 170, nor, in the thirty years following, was any held more extensive than mere provincial synods, and these as it happened arrayed against each other in their determinations. No general or oecumenical council was held prior to the council of Nice, A. D. 325. Now church authority is defined by Palmer and others to be the authority of "universal judgment," and, within the first two centuries of church history, there is nothing that can be called "universal judgment." Some guess may possibly be made in regard to the opinions and practices most prevalent, by comparing one writer with another, one principal church with another, i. e. by tracing the history and free workings of private judgment. And so there can at any time. If the Bishop will bring together all the writings, practices and synodical expressions of the Christian denominations now at work in the field of private judgment, he will ascertain what their mind is much more easily than he can ascertain the mind of the church in the second century. There is quite as much of agreement now as then, notwithstanding the affliction he suffers at the spectacle of sects and schisms and quibbles tearing the bosom of Christian unity in our churches, and none more bitterly than his own. And what is also to be remarked, there is no one opinion of the first two centuries, in which they can be shown to unite more uniformly than in maintaining the right of private judgment!

Now whatever we may think of church authority, the claim is not positively *absurd* if we take a later position, when the church began to

collect her judgments and give them a joint expression,—when she was taking up the private judgments of the earlier times and certifying their validity. For, as Palmer says in regard to a *partial* judgment, the church ultimately judges whether that judgment is itself correct, and if the whole church affirms and acts on it, it becomes the judgment of the universal church. But our Bishop declares that the first two centuries are “the *only* sure basis,” which is a positive denial that the third century is a sure basis. And thus we have the pleasant spectacle of a Bishop charging against private judgment on the ground that private judgment is the only sure basis to rest upon!

But lest this should somehow frighten the public above measure, he is induced to soften its rugged front by one of those interlocutory paragraphs often used by strong writers to save their opinions from extravagance.—“The *general* exercise,” he says, (p. 7-8,) “of private judgment and of the freedom of the will, is indeed the natural and inalienable right of every man. But he is responsible to his God, and in a minor degree to his fellow men, for the manner in which he exercises these faculties. He may not *rightly* set them up in opposition to the word of God. He may not rightly exercise them in a spirit of perversity or of self-conceit. He may not rightly exercise them in a way injurious to the peace and order of society, nor without a due veneration for the judgment of the church and its ministry—so far as that judgment is supported by primitive tradition and usage, and is in conformity to the divine word. We deem him self-sufficient and conceited who pays no respect to public opinion, even though that opinion may perhaps be founded on the caprice of the day. Much less is he to be commended who sets at naught the opinion of the wise and the

good—opinions which have stood the scrutiny of ages, and which have for centuries received the sanction of the church.” Amen to the Bishop, as true as if it were a response of the liturgy. This is exactly our opinion, and the opinion too of all sensible Christians in the Protestant world. Again we say, let the Bishop quit his discretion; for if discretion is the better part of valor, it is no part of the church madness he emulates. If he wishes to be even with the times, he must let his discretion go. It is not enough to hold a place among his peers, that he should charge against the mere phrase “private judgment,” and then assert the doctrine—they will require him to deny that too!

We also think that if he had been able really to assume the boldness he emulates, he might also have maintained a better show of ingenuousness. The Bishop of Connecticut knows perfectly well that we hold no such opinions on this subject as his phraseology intimates. We claim no right to “interpret by the wayward fancies of individuals,” or in “opposition to the word of God,” or in “a spirit of vanity and self-conceit,” or to disrespect the “judgment of the church and its ministry,” or to dispense with that “first rule of evidence requiring us in the investigation of a fact to examine it by the light of contemporary history.” Our principle is, and he well understands it—**HEAR, THEN JUDGE**—hear every thing—listen to every voice—follow every clue in the church and out of it; then with a spiritual mind and a sense of accountability to God, judge. He knows that our commentators, and even the writings of the early Puritans, abound with references to the Fathers, and that so far from despising or setting at naught the first two centuries, we claim them on our side in every question between us, though without any such opinion of their infallibility as to bind our-

selves to an implicit submission to their authority. When he intimates with a sneer that we set up the Bible alone, "without note or comment," as our "only standard of faith," he knows perfectly well that these words, "without note or comment," were never used by any one as having reference to a standard of faith at all—that we simply associate on this basis, associate with many of his own church, in a great and holy effort, than which nothing in this age is more truly catholic, to spread the gospel of life through the dying nations of mankind.

We charge the Bishop with no jesuitical intention. But if these things result from no moral infirmity, they must from infirmity of some other kind—that perhaps of his position. He really holds no doctrine opposed to private judgment and has asserted none. But in this day, when all aspire to be champions of Episcopacy, he must needs be one among them. So he goes into the field hoisting the high church flag—"NO PRIVATE JUDGMENT"—but yet with a courage so unequal to the war, if not with a discretion superior to it, that while he seems to be even with the times, he is actually, shall we say unwittingly, found maintaining our opinion against us! And it is only a part of his mistake that having taken our opinion for his own, he should give us one that is nobody's. Whether it is most deferential to acknowledge his sincerity or to deny it, we can not so easily judge, and therefore leave him to choose.

Undoubtedly the mere expression by which he declares that "the interpretations of the church in the first two centuries constitute the only sure basis to rest upon," may be taken in a sense to which we do not agree. But when he praises the English reformers (p. 7) for having ascribed no "Popish infallibility to the early Fathers," and for having used them only as a "most useful

guide," he declares, as plainly as he can, that he himself receives no teaching of the first two centuries with implicit submission, and reserves the right of private judgment *against* the "only sure basis of the church"—which is exactly our opinion. True, he intimates an opinion that the early Fathers had some peculiar advantages for knowing the truth, which we might choose to offset by some peculiar disadvantages resulting from the rawness of their experience, and the Judaizing or paganizing propensities of their mental habit, as well as by the fact that we of a later age have seen so many errors, Episcopacy among the rest, tried out and made to display their pernicious effects in actual history. He might cast the balance in favor of a father of the second century, and we of a father of the nineteenth century. Still we are both upon the *common principle* of private judgment—we only judge differently. If we are wrong in this, if the Bishop truly means to waive *all* private judgment, and bow to the first two centuries as conclusive authority, why does he not say it, and go to work like a bold-spirited man and a scholar to maintain his position. We are ready to meet him with volumes of patristic absurdities, and show to the satisfaction of reasonable men that "the wayward fancies of individuals" were never more rampant than in the first two centuries. Why did he not prove the contrary, or if it is too much for a Bishop to prove his declarations, why does he not assert the contrary?—that when Clement, the first and most sober of the Fathers offers his ridiculous argument for the resurrection drawn from the silly fable of the Phoenix, and interprets the scarlet rope which the harlot Rahab let down from the wall, as representing the gospel scheme of salvation, it is good infallible truth—that the fanatical and anti-Christian sentiments that strew

the epistles of Ignatius are the very doctrine of Christ—that the silly vagaries of Barnabas are to be received as sound exegesis of the Old Testament—that the vituperations of Tertullian are the spirit of Jesus, and his declarations against early baptism, and against the morality of second marriages, a sure basis for the canons of the church—that when Bishop Papias declares a millennium to come so fruitful that every single grape will yield more than two hundred gallons of wine, he is better authority than Bishop Miller.

It is barely possible that the Bishop may have misunderstood the doctrine of our churches on this subject. The early Puritans took strong ground, we know, in behalf of the Scriptures as the only and conclusive authority in matters of faith. We do the same, though not excluding any collateral evidences or subsequent explanations which are aids to the discovery of their meaning. And does not the Bishop himself declare, (p. 6,) that “the English reformers maintained the *supreme authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures?*” Possibly the early Puritans may have used stronger language than this, though we know not the instance. And as to the church forms—“those catholic and primitive usages *which were in accordance with Scripture,*” (p. 6,) and which the English reformers are said to have reverently sifted out by this test and retained, if the Bishop will tell us how they ascertained what usages *were* in accordance with Scripture, we will tell him how the Puritans rejected them, viz. because they were *not* in accordance with Scripture, violations of its spirituality, pomps hostile to its power; both by private judgment. For though the English reformers stoutly rejected private judgment, in words, they did not altogether renounce their wits, and under that form took it back again. In which

respect they somewhat differ from the Bishop, who renounces his wits, at the beginning, in a futile endeavor both to retain his private judgment and to let it go.

But while we require of the Bishop, with all due reverence, that he will give us back our opinion and dare to take one with the church champions he emulates, we have no disposition either to claim his facts or his arguments. After laying down his “only sure basis” in the interpretations of the first two centuries, he vindicates the English reformation as coinciding in sentiment by the following exquisite proof, (p. 7)—

In the “Necessary Doctrine of a Christian Man,” agreed upon by the whole church of England, in the year 1543, it is declared that “All those things which were taught by the apostles and have been, by an whole universal consent of the church of Christ, *ever sith that time,* taught continually ought to be received,” &c.

Now if the reader will suffer a little amusement, let him turn to Palmer on the Church, (Vol. I, p. 456,) and there also he will read—the “Necessary Doctrine of a Christian Man,” agreed on by the whole church of England, in 1543, says, &c. giving the same extract above recited. But Palmer gives it to prove that the stout old Romish doctrine of church authority was the doctrine of the English reformers, where it has a reasonable application. But the Bishop of Connecticut thinks that if it will do for Oxford, it will certainly do for any true Bishop, and so he puts it down by the side of his little “only sure basis” in the first two centuries. The English reformers boldly said—“*ever sith that time,*” stretching their only sure basis down through the Roman apostasy and through all the filth of church history. The Bishop looks out from his skulking-place in the first two centuries and

discovers a pleasant confirmation of his valor against private judgment—he and the reformers are one! Now if this be a somewhat ridiculous figure, it is not our fault, for if any one will suffer the ambition to use Oxford arguments, without courage to hold Oxford opinions, it may naturally be expected that some fault of dignity will appear.

Again; immediately after the Bishop's interlocutory paragraph above quoted, in which he declares our doctrine of private judgment, with as much clearness as will do in these flagrant times of Episcopacy, he goes on directly to say, (p. 8)—“It was under these views of PRIVATE JUDGMENT, that the reformation of the church of England was conducted. The result is embodied in our book of COMMON PRAYER.” What! a *general* exercise of private judgment—(we do not stop here to ask what a “*general exercise*” may be which excludes *particular* exercises under it, for the Bishop is averse to “metaphysics”)—a general exercise of private judgment acknowledged to be “the inalienable right of every man” in the English reformation! And that in a time, when men were going to the flames every month for their opinions! when it was a decree of the church that “whosoever through his *private judgment* doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, ought to be rebuked openly,” when the convocation of the church was solemnly enjoining it on the clergy, “above all things, to be careful never to teach aught in a sermon to be religiously believed, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and which the catholic fathers and bishops have collected from that very doctrine!” (A magnificent and brilliant work to preach in that day!) Yes! this is that “*general* inalienable right of private judgment” which prevailed in the English reformation! And

the book of *common prayer* is “the embodied result,” says the Bishop. Well does he call it the “*monument*” of the Reformation. If he had found a mausoleum for it too, the discovery would have been equally appropriate. The truth is, that the English church, in what is called its reformation, was and continued to be a Romish church, in every thing but the accident of a monarch's lusts and a leaven of Puritanism, (the thing existed long before the name,) which made itself felt, till it could be endured no longer. And Palmer, who knows how to make his arguments meet his conclusions somewhat better than the Bishop of Connecticut, has shown by a full investigation of facts, that the English reformation made no infringement on the doctrine of church authority, as it stood under the Romish rule. It is now, he maintains, the true doctrine of the English episcopate. Let our countrymen understand, where the sympathies of this Anglican religion lie. Is this the faith for Americans? Above all, men of New England! is it the faith for you?

Having settled his doctrine by these inimitable arguments—our doctrine by the arguments of Oxford—the Bishop proceeds to congratulate his church on the blessed effects of church authority, as contrasted with the manifold desolations of Protestantism, in other forms and families.

“The communions,” he says, (p. 8,) “planted by Calvin and Zuinglius have become deeply imbued with Socinianism and infidelity. Those founded by Luther and Melancthon have been corrupted by rationalism and every species of vain philosophy. The stern church of John Knox has shared, to a great degree, a similar fate, and is moreover rent by internal divisions. Has Puritanism enjoyed a happier destiny, either in Europe or in this country? Let the schisms, the heresies,

the infidelity, the fanaticism, which have every where sprung up from its distractions, answer the question."

Then behold the contrast! "Surrounded by all this desolation, the Protestant Episcopal church in this country appears as an 'oasis in the desert!'"—(p. 9.)

Our unclassical readers may not understand, how beautifully primitive the Bishop is, in this allusion. He refers to that famous oasis in the Lybian desert, made known to literature and consecrated as a poetic symbol, long before the only sure basis was laid. There was the more than primitive church of Jupiter Ammon, bowered in verdure in the midst of an ocean of sand. Alexander caught the rumor of its gorgeous rites, turned aside from the conquest of the world, and marched his sweltering legions thither to see so great a sight. There the priests had it according to their will, and a most saintly place it was. Being a sacred caste by themselves, having the people to be servants of their will, and one of their number set on high to preside in "*exact conformity with ancient rules*," (so says the book,) nothing could excel the condition of elysian splendor in which they moved, the order and priestly pomp of their forms, or, if report be true, the wondrous effect of their magic rites. It was in fact the paradise of ecclesiastics! But if we can not praise the acuteness of the Bishop's argument, we must certainly concede the propriety of his imagery.

We descend then from his poetry to his argument. And what if the churches of the German and Swiss reformations have become a prey to rank and dismal errors? To bring the matter home at a stroke, we affirm without scruple, that with all their heresies and frigid neologisms, their state is yet greatly to be preferred to that of the Anglican Episcopal church. And if we were this day to import a religion, we

should not hesitate, a moment, to make out an order on Germany in preference to the English episcopate. This, we suppose, is not the general opinion of our friends, but we have our reasons. As far as we can discover, the sense of religion is much stronger in Germany, and the attendance on Christian worship more general, than it is in England. We verily believe that there is more of the power of Christian truth in Germany, than there is under the twice dead formalism, which reigns in most of the English churches. The German religion gives the key of knowledge to the people, and holds, at least, a friendly relation towards them. Anglican Episcopacy, on the other hand, has ever been a jealous enemy of popular education and of every effort to elevate the masses, and has thus made the very name of religion odious to them—justly odious. The German ministry retains more of the true Christian simplicity; it is not so corrupt and secular—certainly not so rapacious as the ravening wolfhood miscalled by the epithet *clergy* in England—the lord bishops acting Dives in their fine linen at the rate of three hundred thousand a year—the younger sons of noblemen parceled off to their riotous "*livings*," acting the prodigal without either acting or teaching his repentance, and escaping the husks by tithing the corn—a race of priestly extortioners in the name of Christ Jesus, hunting, drinking, gaming and swearing under cover of the apostolic succession—not novices in doctrine, because they have not advanced so far—stealing their sermons to supply the want of their head, and plundering the poor to fill the want of their body—piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, not by their arguments, but by their extortions—examples to their flocks, only as they show them, by example, how to wear the fleece. The picture holds with many honorable

exceptions—it nevertheless holds. There is not such another spectacle on earth—no, nor ever has been, whether in the Romish church or any other—of a priesthood in total opposition to the simplicity and spirituality of the gospel; for the Pope of Rome has this reasonable apology for his princely estate, that he unites the office of a temporal ruler. And this too, it will be observed, in a church where the ministry is every thing; for when you have named prelacy, succession, ordination, orders, tithes, you have made an inventory of the topics which alone are treated, by the English clergy, as a *body* with real earnest. To prop up the system which feeds so much of pride and rapacity, is of course a prime object, and the priestly prerogatives are valued for what they are worth. Besides, there is in the German churches, in the worst estimate we can make of their faith, a spirit of freedom and intellectual activity, which will soon be moved to seek some corrective for their errors, because of the spiritual poverty they suffer under them. But a church bound up in formalism, having the whole interest of its priesthood arrayed against its purity—a church which has made itself strong by making religion itself contemptible—the reformation of such a church must be a slow and possibly a hopeless work. And we are of opinion, much as we love sound doctrine, that it is better to suffer a bad heresy for a few years, than a Pharisaism equally bad for as many centuries. What then does it signify for the Bishop and clergy of Connecticut to shed their tears over Germany? Let them go back and pour them into the polluted lap of their mother. She that conceived them hath done shamefully; for she said I will go after my lovers that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drinks.

But the Bishop is afflicted also by the miserable distractions and

schisms of Puritanism, particularly in this country, while his own church, compacted into unity under “the standard of faith” in the book of common prayer, is a beautiful oasis, in the moral desert, created by others round it. Had we said as much, it would most assuredly have been set down for a specimen of that cruel irony and sarcasm in which we are supposed to abound. A standard of faith in the book of common prayer! Doubtless the Episcopal churches and bishops agree in receiving the book as a standard, and so do all the families of Puritanism agree in receiving the Bible for a standard. And what is more, these families, if we include the greater divisions, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, the Baptist, and (if they will suffer the classification) the Methodist, hold a real and *substantial* agreement of opinion, as a generous and philosophic criticism would amply show. Nay, we do, at this moment, hold the articles of faith in the book of common prayer more substantially, uniformly and consistently than the churches and bishops of the Anglican episcopate, whether in England or in the United States. Every person of only tolerable information, in respect to church matters, will recognize a true picture in the following passage from Hill’s “Sale of the Curates,” a satire in which he lays open the rottenness of his church, in regard to the articles and other matters most faithfully.—“Some suppose that though the reformers [in the articles] wrote in one sense, [the Calvinistic,] it might be taken in another, [the Arminian;] others, that they were meant in two senses, the direct opposite to each other, [i. e. to unite the Calvinists and Arminians;] others, that the sense of them is but one, [Arminian,] but the direct opposite to their obvious [Calvinistic] meaning; and a fourth set have made it out that they mean every

thing or nothing, as all may like best." Now whether this be a true account of the articles or not, is of no consequence to our present purpose to inquire;—that it is an exact and literal account of the manner in which they are and have been treated in the church, no Episcopalian can deny. It is the testimony of whole libraries of debate and controversy. Equally clear it is that the book of common prayer is a shell of sects and schisms in its own composition—articles and homilies from Geneva—rubrics and forms from Rome—Calvin and the Pope—a patchwork of discord and moral confusion. Or if this be denied, it can not be denied that the church has so received it, and has in every age been divided into parties, between those who have followed the articles and those who have clung to the rubrica. These parties and clans have ever been contending against each other,—as opposite, in their spirit and in all their practical views of religion, as Christ and the Pharisees, and the more cordially hating each other because of their proximity. The church has been and now is but a band of discord and confusion—a synod of foxes united by firebrands—Calvinistic ministers, priestly drones and nothingarians—Arminian bishops, who have not so much as learned from Arminius the notion of a spiritual religion—sentimental formalists, formalists without sentiment, (save the love of money and good living,) Oxfordizing and Romanizing doctors—all kennelled together under "the standard of faith and worship in the book of common prayer!" Whether it is better for so many creatures of so diverse instincts to be forced into a common receptacle, we will not stay to discuss, though we think the example and law of nature, forbidding that lambs and doves should live together with wolves and vultures, has clearly enough decided. It certainly realizes to the full, and

a little more fully than Christ ever imagined, the declaration of his parable, that the net should gather of every kind.

We have also to say that in all that sweet peace and unity, in which the American episcopate has blessed itself in years past, while it has been hushing itself and saying, "Behold the charm of order in our true catholic church!" we have known by many private facts, and by others not private, that a large and truly pious body of ministers have been groaning, in secret bitterness, for the contempt and spiritual oppression continually heaped upon them, and listening to the hymn of peace, as impatiently as the roasting cockles did upon their embers. And when the Bishop of Connecticut wrote his charge, he well knew that there were other bishops in the American church giving forth opinions to the public, between which there is an opposition as flat as between a Romish cardinal and a Presbyterian elder! Possibly he had seen a large pamphlet, made up of extracts from the written opinions of two living American bishops, side by side in twin columns, in which they are at issue on almost every head in the index of Christian doctrine—agreeing in nothing, but to hold their prerogative and bless the book of common prayer. And this, the Bishop of Connecticut probably thought, was unity enough, because it was as good as there ever had been. But alas for his beautiful oasis! the sheets of his charge are scarcely dry, before an outburst of war is heard, and the rumor of Episcopal strife fills the land. The priests have turned their back on their bishop in the very act of reading "common prayer"—the poor laity wake up astounded to find that their bishop is a Pope and their seminary a school of Jesuits—one diocese denounces the proceedings of another—one bishop traverses the breadth of the land, to see if some leaven of the true gospel may not

possibly be saved in the diocese of another—and it is proved to the satisfaction of every body, what every body ought to have known before, that the Episcopal peace and unity is only a solemn imposition!

To sum up all, there are as many “heresies and schisms,” and those every way as bad—as many types of “fanaticism,” and those as malignant, ranging from church-mad bishops down to public praying women and exhorters, (these latter we need scarcely cross the borders of Connecticut to see)—as many “quibbles,” and those as much more flat as they are more scholastic and opposite to common sense—as many “impostors,” if it makes an impostor to pretend to magic powers and functions that are not possessed—as many of all these, in the bosom of Episcopacy itself, as in all the Puritan churches in the world, with the advantage of more profligacy by several thousand times. It is in fact a true Lybian oasis, whatever we may say of the desert round it.

But we have yet another thing to say, which the Bishop omitted. If private judgment, as held by the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Puritan churches, has refuted itself by its disastrous results, let the argument be carried through impartially. How began, whence came the great Roman apostasy? What does the Bishop himself tell us, but that Episcopacy preceded Romanism, and is it not the universal doctrine of his church, that Romanism is now Episcopal, and within the true catholic Episcopal church of Christ? And what was the Romish apostasy, if we consider the moral infirmities of human nature in connection with it, but a natural and proper development of Episcopacy? What was the Pope but a metropolitan bishop, and how did he secure his bad eminence but by the assistance of his Episcopal prerogatives? Doubtless there was much of wicked ambition, usurpation, sycophancy,

mendacity, and rapacity, concerned in the transition, and so it may be said that the papacy was a perversion of Episcopacy. Very true—but Episcopacy was the thing to suffer such a perversion. Had the original equality of pastors been preserved, or if not original, had it existed, no such perversion had been possible. It was also by and through Episcopacy, that the church became admixed with the civil state, and so the doctrine of persecution was born. Bad bishops (and none are too bad to carry the succession) having lost the character of ministers of Christ, and become ecclesiastical lords over their flocks and their minor clergy, attracted the attention of the civil power by their importance, and were at the same time base enough and ambitious enough, to suffer a coalition which flattered their vanity and strengthened their prerogative. They, on the one hand, engaged to farm the civil obedience, by wielding the superstitions of the people; and the civil power on the other, gave them stakes and fires and thumb-screws, and, if necessary, armed men, to enforce their dogmas and keep safe their ghostly prerogatives. Thus entered the doctrine of Christian persecution—a doctrine which wove itself into the religious opinions of the world so ingeniously, that even Puritanism itself was slow to unlearn it. Nothing could have been more totally opposite to persecution, than the peaceful, forgiving, and brotherly gospel of Christ. The lamb and his butcher are not so unlike. Had the original equality of pastors remained, no such result could ever have been reached. And now, if this same equality of pastors were introduced into the Romish church, how much of the Roman apostasy would remain, five days after the event? We do charge it then upon Episcopacy, that Romanism exists, and that persecution got a footing and became

the doctrine of the Christian church. This foulest and most dreadful scourge that ever visited mankind, the desolator of kingdoms, the corrupter of virtue, the destroyer of the true doctrine of Christ, the extinguisher of light, the enemy of freedom, filling the earth, age upon age, with scenes of woe and degradation which we shudder to remember—Romanism with the sword of church authority reeking in blood—this we say is the result of Episcopacy. We say this not in declamation, not to retort an argument, not to fill a period in controversy, but as the sober philosophic truth of history. Why, if our doctrine of private judgment has made all the “heresies,” “schisms,” and “sects,” so industriously imputed to it, Episcopacy has only to cast one glance at what it has done, and *now is*, to behold a sweep of desolation revealed, which a thousand centuries of such like petty evils could not match! Will the American people look at this!

We have prolonged these strictures on the first head of the charge beyond what we intended, but the exquisite absurdity of the matter was a temptation we could not resist. What he says in his next head, on the “nature of the Christian church,” or the “apostolic succession of Episcopal bishops,” (for in his view the church and the bishops are scarcely different one from the other,) we shall dispatch more briefly, not because the temptation aforesaid is discontinued, but because we must.

“We are surrounded,” says the Bishop, (p. 9,) “by a multitude of distinct associations professing to be Christian; a great portion of them refusing all communion with others, and each claiming to be more pure, more scriptural, and more holy than the rest.”

And this to open an argument, the very object of which is to set

forth the Episcopal association as the only true church! And what is more, only fifteen lines before, he was boasting his church as an oasis in the desert! If we could write in this way, we should certainly be opposed to private judgment ourselves. Could any one believe it possible, that a human being, gifted with the ordinary attributes of discernment and intellectual harmony, could weave such a patchwork together, and suffer no sense of absurdity, even though its terms were two full pages asunder! And yet the Bishop is a man of understanding. He only gives us here an amusing illustration of that total incapacity of self-understanding, which is the affliction of Episcopacy, and especially of Episcopal bishops. The natural inflation of official consequence, aggravated by the casual inflation, at this time, of rising hope and a certain inspiration of fanatical extravagance, induces a degree of self-ignorance truly inimitable. “Refusing all communion!” Could the Bishop possibly understand us if we should say, that every body, out of the Episcopal church, really supposes that exclusive assumptions and a refusal of communion is the distinguishing feature of Episcopacy? Not one of all the other leading denominations in the country, refuses communion in the sacraments or in the interchange of ministers, save the Baptists, and they only in the former respect, which they are willing to atone for by a more free communication in the latter. And there is not one of them that would not sooner go to the stake, than to hold the high church dogma now asserted in the dominant school of Episcopacy, (and *only not* distinctly asserted by the Bishop of Connecticut,) denying, unqualifiedly denying, the possibility of salvation to all who are out of the church! We unite as brethren in a great many important enterprises for the

spread of our common faith, and the propagation of that same experimental, practical religion held by us all. We agree in some sense to differ, and differ only within the circle of Christian agreement, that there may be no schism in the body. We look for our Episcopal brethren in this great circle of agreement. A few who are willing to endure hatred and persecution from "the church," for the sake of the love they bear toward us as the common disciples of Christ, endear themselves to us by a partial co-operation with us in the gospel. But not even these can suffer any communion with us in the sacraments, or the ministry of the word. "The holy church" itself, is in fact a close corporation, farming the Holy Spirit as rigidly as if it were a stock subscription—a miser's box, into which the money of the world may drop, but not a cent may ever go out to mingle in the common circulation of Christian activity and communion. We do therefore agree in regarding it as a most arrant and preposterous schism, offensive to God, and to every principle of the gospel. And yet our good natured schismatic, in the diocese of Connecticut, is so happy in the complacency of his prerogative, suffers such a sweet incapacity of self-understanding, as really to suppose, in the very moment when he is boasting his church as "an oasis in the desert," that it is the peculiar weakness of Christians under other names, to think their church the best in the world!—and what is even more beautiful than this, when he is in the very act of maintaining the exclusive right of Episcopacy, of thinking that other churches are distinguished by refusing all communion!

And he is not less happy in the central position of his church, than he is in its modesty and its fraternal spirit. It is always a central figure—an oasis—surrounded in his im-

agination by clouds of dust and waves of sand. Twice on a page he tells how it is "surrounded." "Surrounded by all this desolation." "We are surrounded by a multitude of distinct associations." But he is not so happy in his grammar, for he undertakes again to tell his clergy, only three pages after, (p. 13,) how the church is surrounded, and flats down, in the infirmity of his English, into the humblest concession any true bishop ever made. "Of all the multitude of religious denominations which surround us, (with the single exception of the Romanists,) we alone lay any claim to this apostolic succession." Really, since the bishop has become one of us who surround him, we are half persuaded to take back all we said of the schism; for if he is not converted to charity by his Bible, we may certainly hope that he will be by his grammar. In the mean time let all bishops beware, lest by not observing the canons of their mother tongue, they break all the canons of the church.

But the Bishop goes on to show, that the Christian church was designed to be perpetual as a bond of catholic unity, and a vehicle of grace to all future ages, which we could prove, we think, quite as strongly ourselves. We certainly should not use the old proof-text of persecution to establish the point, even if we had to let it go. "If any man abide not in Christ, [i. e. the church,] he is cast forth as a branch and is withered, and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they are burned." So reasons the Bishop, (p. 11.) It will be news to many of our readers, that *Christ* in this passage means the church. Old news however; for this construction has been dreadfully proved. Standing doctrine has it been that Christ is the church, and "men," called bishops and inquisitors, have faithfully fulfilled their office in gathering and casting

into the fire, and burning! To argue here against the shocking perversion, by which the Bishop has stripped this beautiful passage, in the fifteenth chapter of John, of its high spiritual meaning, is only to protest, in a single instance, against a wrong, which the whole Scripture must needs suffer, when the idea of a spiritual piety is lost.

But, while we agree with the Bishop, that "the church is the great instrument devised by infinite wisdom for the extension of God's mercies to mankind"—a perpetual or permanent instrument—we must yet ask, how an instrument? He seems after all to regard it as an instrument of measure, not of diffusion—a contrivance to limit grace rather than to extend it. The "revelation of God," he says, in connection with the reasonings we are noticing, "offers salvation *only through the church*, and in the name of Christ." This too he declares, was the doctrine of "all the early reformers," quoting Calvin as proof when he says, "Beyond the bosom of the church no remission of sins is to be hoped for, nor any salvation." And now as we write, a paper is thrown upon our table, fresh from the metropolis of American Episcopacy, declaring, that "a ministry of the apostolic succession is the divinely appointed *limitation* of the blessings of salvation and the gifts of the Holy Spirit!" A most adequate limit we agree. If God were devising a plan, to make the measure of grace to man as narrow as possible, he could hardly do it more effectually. But we Congregationalists have a way of thinking, that God in the gift of his Son devises liberal things. We believe that God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. And that when he dies the just for the unjust, it is that he may draw all men unto the Father.

We believe that there was in the heart of our Redeemer, when he left the glory of the Father, a volume of grace and love more bountiful than heaven could hold, and we shall not easily be convinced that He has now shut up his grace within the stringent limits of Episcopacy. We think we have seen some indications that the Holy Spirit dispenses grace in many bosoms in the United States, and blesses the ministry of many teachers, who are not impounded in these limits. And the very first man whom the Savior of the world took up to his heavenly glory—the man to whom he said, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise, we discover was an unbaptized believer, and of course was never a member of the Christian church. What conception must a man have of the spirit of Jesus Christ and the measure of his gracious designs, who can suppose that he accepts Episcopacy as the boundary of his mercies to this lost world! To suffer a personal offense, where Christ and his gospel are offended by a crime so shocking, and, if we look at the subjects themselves, so pitiable, would be scarcely less pitiable in us.

We are glad to see by various expressions in the charge, that the Bishop of Connecticut has some sense of the narrowness and absurdity of this impious doctrine of limitation. He ought to have had enough to open his eyes to its fallacy and wickedness, and send him forth unshackled in the boundless fullness and freedom of the gospel, to call his church to repentance. It is not enough that he will not undertake to say, "how far any particular association may depart from the organization established by the apostles, before it shall cease to be a true church," (p. 12,) and then go on in all his subsequent reasonings, to show that there is no true church out of the apostolic succession. Let him have courage

enough to hold what he proves, or principle enough to repent of it. Neither is it enough to say, (p. 11,) "it is not for us to know," what will become of those who are out of the church, and then approve the declaration, that "beyond the bosom of the church there is no remission of sins to be hoped for, nor any salvation." Calvin means no such thing as he thinks to prove by this declaration, and it is a cruel perversion thus to offer him to the world. In the very same discussion, a little farther on, he says, "according to the secret predestination of God therefore, as Augustine observes, there are many sheep out of the pale of the church and many wolves within." And when the Westminster divines declare, that there is "no *ordinary* possibility of salvation" out of the church, the very term *ordinary* ought to show him that they assert no absolute limit of grace, within the bosom of the church. How easy is it, if a man will descend to gather scraps and patches from the writings of past ages, and will totally neglect their meaning and connection, to prove upon their authors the most pernicious and wicked dogmas ever conceived. Little does such an one understand what is a decent reverence to the past, even though he should renounce the attribute of private judgment, a hundred times an hour.

Doubtless it is true that God appoints the church, and requires of those who will be saved that they give heed to His appointment. This we preach ourselves as earnestly as the Bishop—not however because there is no grace out of the church, but because they who refuse to meet God's appointment give evidence, in that fact, as far as it goes, that they have it not. They claim with the heart to believe unto righteousness, and excuse themselves from confessing with the mouth, which latter, we tell them, reflects against the

former, and shows that they do not really believe unto salvation. There is no such "ordinary possibility" as they rest in, no highway that men may open in contempt of God's appointment. But if they doubt concerning their fitness to enter the church of God, or concerning what is requisite, or can not decide in a moment what and where it is, we believe that there is grace for them where they are—that God will cherish and love them, and help them to see the path of duty before they come under the hands of an Episcopal bishop, or enter the church in any of its forms.

In such an article as this, we have not room to go over the whole argument of Christian ordination and of church order. It is an easy thing, our readers will see, within the limits of a very few pages, to assert as many false positions and advance as many groundless arguments as may require a volume to remove them. It is taken for granted, in the charge, that the church was designed to be perpetuated by a succession or derivation from the apostles of the ordaining power, which we deny. It is inferred from the fact that the church was designed to be permanent, that its mode of organization must continue unchanged; which no more follows, than that the permanence of any civil government forbids a modification of its structure. It is argued that because a ministry is necessary to the being of the church, there must be a continuation of the same ministry, else the church ceases to be; which no more follows than, if we should grant the necessity of breathing to the maintenance of life, it would follow that we can not live, without breathing over the breath of the apostles, and the line of popes, in regular succession. Opinions are imputed which are not held, facts stated which are not true, interpretations of Scripture given which have so many times been refuted

that we are almost tired of the truth itself, authorities arrayed to establish what no one denies, and others which are known to signify no such thing as they are cited to prove.

On pages 15 and 16, a series of extracts from Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers, is advanced, to show their preference for Episcopacy, and their commendation of the English episcopate. We began to test these extracts, with a view to expose their significance, not doubting that some of them, at least, were wrested from their true meaning. So we had proved. But we find that these quotations are a kind of Episcopal coin, circulating in Bishop's charges and other like effusions, and that they have already been sifted over, as many times as the public will desire. Besides, if they are allowed to pass, what wonder is it that men who were loosening all the old fabrics of opinion and prescriptive order, and scarcely knew whether to be frightened by the confusion they had wrought, should have expressed the opinions so industriously raked together. What wonder is it that Luther should declare his willingness to submit to the Popish "bishops if they would cease to persecute the gospel," or even that he could "find their authority supported by the word of God?" How many times did he offer to submit to the Pope himself on the same conditions, and how many opinions, offered in the transition state of his mind, did he afterwards reverse? And so we may say of Melancthon, Calvin, and all the others. The transition period of the Reformation is now passed, and we have seen a great deal more of Anglican Episcopacy than they had, to say nothing of the riper state of the question of church order, as developed by the investigations of three centuries. Nor is it any strange thing for God to show, that men were wiser and nearer the truth, than they knew themselves.

We have done little more, it will be seen, on this second head of the charge, than to sketch an outline. Happily nothing more is necessary. It is one of those ecclesiastical jumbles of scrap reasoning, which we confess our inability to handle. The difficulty is to give it substance enough to sustain an argument—to arrange, describe, or define it, so as to bring it within the range of any logical function. As with the sweepings of the streets, the only fit instrument of removal is one that may be used with the hands. The only thing in this head which we can distinctly see, is the figure of a Bishop asserting his prerogatives, and proving to the world that there is a virtue in him, which goes out neither from the sanctity of his character, nor from the power of his doctrine, nor from the wisdom of his rule, nor from the hem of his garment,—but the magic potency of which, discharged, at will, from his fingers, can make the only true priest, and impart the requisite power to Christian sacraments. If it were not the perpetual custom and prescriptive right of all bishops, to expend the force of their office in glorifying the same—if they did not seem to think it an essential element of the apostolic succession to become a fool in glorying, we would venture to suggest, whether it might not be more consistent with Christian modesty to yield to the common law of decency, in this respect, and suffer others to sound the trumpet for them. Or if the Christian Pharisees must emulate the Jewish, let them sound a trumpet before their charities and not before their prerogatives. Or a little better still, and withal a little more apostolic, if they must needs glory, let them glory of the things which concern their infirmities. The pedlars of quack nostrums and drug-magic may well enough boast the potency of their spells, but ecclesiastical nostrums and incantations ought to be pro-

claimed with at least some feint of modesty.

Before we pass to the head on baptism, we have a grave question to propound for the consideration of all sober Episcopalians. The Bishop, in this head on the succession, has shown to his own satisfaction, and we understand to the universal satisfaction of his clergy, that his is the only true church. In his next head, he maintains quite as much to their satisfaction, that baptism is that rite which introduces to the church. But it happens, that the Bishop himself was baptized as a Puritan, and therefore, unless we are in the church, neither is he; and the sad consequence follows, that this unhappy diocese is ruled by a Bishop who is himself out of the church! If it be replied, that he was confirmed by a true Bishop, and thus introduced into the church, then it is because the confirmation of *nothing* makes it a sound and potent reality—a feat of magic, which surpasses all others yet heard of under the succession! And if there be nothing in this argument, if, simple and strait to the mark as it is, it must yet pass for “metaphysics,” will our Episcopal friends answer the following question, predicated on the fact that we, who take the singular plural in our office of review, were baptized by Episcopal hands—is it more likely that we, with our Episcopal baptism and Puritan ordination, or the Bishop of Connecticut, with his Puritan baptism and Episcopal ordination, is in the true church and a true officer in the same? Are we not at least in the church? And is it not as clear as the Bishop’s own doctrine that he is not even that?

We come now to matters of more gravity, even to the practical views of Christian piety itself. And here first of all, we desire to gather from the charge and offer to our readers, if possible, a clear and definite con-

ception of what it is, in the view of Connecticut Episcopacy, to be a true Christian and an heir of eternal life in Christ Jesus—the means and requisites of salvation, and the grounds of Christian hope.

“The true economy of the Christian religion,” he says, (p. 21,) “regards men as by nature children of wrath.” Very well—here we begin together. How do they become any better than children of wrath?

“It” [the Christian religion] says the Bishop, (p. 21,) “takes them from this state, which is called in Scripture the kingdom of Satan, and transfers them, by baptism, into the family, household and kingdom of the Savior—where they are called ‘children of God,’ ‘members of Christ,’ and ‘heirs of the kingdom of heaven.’ From adults, repentance and faith are required as qualifications for baptism, and from infants there is required a subsequent repentance and faith, which stands in the nature of a debt, and which they are bound to discharge when they come to years of discretion. After baptism, the person is regarded as in a *state of covenant relationship with God*; becomes entitled to the aids of his Holy Spirit; and through the instrumentalities provided in his church, is daily set forward in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. This change of state effected in baptism is called in Scripture and in the language of the baptismal office *regeneration*.”

Again, (p. 31–2,) showing his clergy how to preach the true doctrine, he says—

“Let them be assured that those who are sacramentally baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, become by that act, (not in name only, but in deed and in truth,) ‘members of Christ,’ ‘children of God,’ and ‘heirs of the kingdom of heaven’—that, by the renunciation of the dominion of Satan and their adoption into the kingdom of Christ, they are restored to a state of favor with God, and brought within the sphere of the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. And this is not to be regarded as a mere temporary act, but as the initiation into an abiding state. * * * It is on this sure ground too that parents may be encouraged to bring up their children, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They should raise their own minds to the high and gracious relationship in which their children are placed; and the first sentiment impressed upon their youthful hearts should be, that they

are in very deed 'children of God.' As they increase in stature and in wisdom, and become capable of comprehending so high a mystery, they should be made to understand that in the sacrament of baptism they received 'the spirit of adoption,' by which they are enabled to address God as their Father, to regard Christ as their brother as well as Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost as their indwelling companion and sanctifier. They should be taught to regard their bodies as temples of God—that the Spirit of God dwelleth in them, and is ever ready to guide, quicken, and assist them in their duties; unless through their own depravity and perseverance in sin, they obstinately resist or quench, or grieve away the heavenly Guest."

This language seems to have a meaning, and some would say a strong one. It seems even to assert the fact of a spiritual change, in all baptized persons, answering to that which we call regeneration. If they are "not in name only, but in deed and in truth members of Christ, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven"—if they have the "Spirit of adoption," what more, in kind, can they have till they enter heaven itself? But we must know that all these terms which, to us, have so high spiritual significance and power, lose every thing but a mere formal import in the uses of Episcopacy. The church is Christ—the church is the kingdom of heaven. To be members of Christ, therefore, is only to be a member of the church by baptism; to be an heir of the kingdom of heaven, is only the same thing. And what is yet more flat if possible to us, to have "the Spirit of adoption" is only to be in the church, where the subject is entitled, as by covenant, to the adopting mercy of the Spirit, if he will only suffer it. For the reader will observe, that the person who has received the Spirit of adoption is likely not to know it, unless he is informed of the fact. "They should be made to understand that they received the Spirit of adoption"! A kind of adoption, it will be perceived, after all, which makes them bastards on-

ly, not sons. And that we are right in this conclusion, is further evident from the fact that the Bishop sneers (p. 20) at our notion of a "sudden change of heart, wrought by the operation of the Divine Spirit;" which would be too absurd even for a bishop, if he must substitute a change of heart equally sudden wrought under the hands of a priest. He also speaks with contempt (p. 30) of such a change as wrought in a "passive" subject; and it is scarcely to be believed that a writer as loose as the Bishop himself, would still maintain that a mere passive infant undergoes an internal or spiritual change, and passes from death to life, under the manipulating agency of a priest.

The true meaning of the Bishop, in regard to the efficacy of baptism, will be seen in expressions like these in the passages just quoted:—"After baptism the person becomes *entitled* to the aids of the Holy Spirit, and through the instrumentalities provided is daily set forward," &c. "This *change of state* [not of internal state but of personal condition] effected in baptism." "Brought *within the sphere* of the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit." "Ready to guide and assist, unless through *their own depravity and perseverance in sin*, they grieve away the heavenly Guest." He also quotes a passage from Augustine, in which he distinguishes between the moral change as gradual, and the change of state effected in baptism as instantaneous.—"The renovation after the image of God is not effected in a moment like regeneration in baptism, which is done in a moment, by the remission of sins."

So far then we have arrived in tracing the Bishop's scheme of salvation. The subject is brought into a new state where his sins are remitted, [we suppose;] where the Holy Spirit is a covenanted mercy; where the warm bosom of church nurture is offered him—he is regen-

erated into a salvable state, or a good opportunity for salvation. He is still the same man, but in a different case—no more a child of wrath, but still, if we look at his heart, a child of the devil.

Is he now safe? Will the Holy Spirit certainly renovate his nature and bring him unto everlasting life, now that he is in the church? No, that is not affirmed. For the Bishop says, (p. 22,) "After all this, it is to be feared that there will be but too many who will have received the grace of God in vain." And again, (p. 23,) "The sacrament of baptism will always prove efficacious, unless hindered by the *unworthiness of the receiver*." He also anticipates the danger, in a passage already quoted, that some "through their own depravity and *perseverance in sin* will grieve away the heavenly Guest."

What then? The man is regenerated, he is a child of God, but the question still remains—*what shall he do to be saved?* The answer is, that he is now "daily set forward in the nurture of the Lord"—that being "within the sphere of the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit," he must "pray to be renewed day by day in the spirit of his mind, through the covenanted aids of the Holy Spirit." In a word, he must grow holy. Then and thus he shall be saved.

But how holy must he be? This is a very important question—a question still of life and death. He must undergo no sudden radical change of motive and principle, which shall make him a new man in Christ Jesus—this is New Light theology; but he must begin and grow better, continually better and more holy, till he is holy enough. There must of course be some point where he passes over the equinoctial line into a state of salvation, and if he should fall short of it but a hair's breadth, it will of course damn him forever. But let him go on a

hair's breadth farther, and eternal life is his. A most sudden, momentous and blessed change! only it is wrought by a hair's breadth of human worthiness, instead of a great spiritual revolution from darkness to light by the Spirit of God!

But suppose a man is dying—for the gospel is given to bless even the dying. If not baptized, that must of course be done. The patient will then ask, whether that is enough? and he will have a serious meaning in the question. No, he must be told. He is only brought into the "sphere of the Holy Spirit"—"set forward in the nurture of the Lord;" and that he may not "receive the grace of God in vain," he must "pray to be renewed day by day"—he must grow in grace. But alas! he has not much time to grow, and is dismally afraid that he can not grow enough! "Is there nothing better that you can tell me? Give me, if you can, some terms of hope that will answer for a dying man—a sinner who is all guilt and has no 'worthiness' at all. Did I not read of a certain thief whom the Savior pardoned on the cross?—is there not some possibility of a great and momentous change, whereby a sinner like me, without merit or the possibility of merit, may truly become a new creature in Christ Jesus, and pass at once from death unto life?" "No," is the reply; "we do not believe in sudden changes—this is the New Light theology. You must grow!" Now it may be true enough, as the Bishop intimates, that many are entering the Episcopal church to find "repose," but there is, alas! no repose there for a dying sinner!

Or if a man is sorely pressed by a sense of his sins—for such there often are, whether it be an infirmity or not—if he cries with David, "Mine iniquities have gone over mine head, as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me," what shall this Episcopal gospel do for him?

He was baptized in infancy, but as yet has never found the "Spirit of adoption" in him—never prayed—does not know how to pray. Of course he is reminded that he was "regenerated" long ago, and made to be, "not in name only but in deed and in truth an heir of the kingdom of heaven." But he asks what he shall do to be saved, and, fool that he is, can not be convinced that his regeneration has done him any good. "But you have not *persevered in grace*," the Bishop tells him. "Well, can you give me the grace again?" "No; but you must grow—grow in grace; this will ease your burden!" "I could if there were any principle of growth in me, but I am dead—my mind is dark—my way is hedged up—what I do brings me no peace—I do it in the spirit of a slave. Can you not show me some provision in the gospel that will bring me into liberty?—will not God somehow *begin* a good work in me? Is there no distinct operation of God, which grafts men into Christ and makes them live in him as branches in a vine?" "Yes, this was done in your baptism. Remember your baptism—read your prayers—we have many excellent prayers in our holy liturgy—read these and grow!" The poor man retires doubly lost and confounded, and with eyes too full of tears to read, tries vainly after a Savior in his Prayer-book, which the Bible would give him free as the air and powerful as omnipotence.

But if this Episcopal faith is not good for the dying or the serious, it is yet, for the proud and the thoughtless, for those who have too little sense of religion to suffer any critical attention to its fearful requirements, the best that can be devised. Are they not "regenerate," are they not "children of God?" The stiff requisition of a new spiritual birth, and a sudden renunciation of all sin and the principle of it, they do not like.

Abrupt changes are mortifying and odious. They wish to quit sin gradually. They *prefer* to grow. As to the fear that they may not grow quite enough, this to them is a matter of no concern, for practically and really, they do not believe that any thing depends upon it. These will love the Bishop's religion, and flock to his church as flies to the ointment in which they perish. Some will love its imposing formalities, and praise it as a tasteful religion; for the dress which the wearer is ever admiring himself must needs be tasteful. Some will wish to figure in the official pomps that others are willing to look at. All, as the Bishop very frankly admits, will come seeking "repose." Repose from the din of an active and serious religion—repose from the disgusts that are incident to a faith which has power enough to stir a ferment in the baseness of human nature—repose, especially, from thought and the rugged teachings of a system, which addresses intelligence and operates by the power of truth.

*Parva magna Italice est, si verum admittimus,
in qua,
Nemo togam sumit, NISI MORTUUS.*

We do not say that spiritual death must of course reign universally under such a faith. There are some good men in a faith that is much nearer to Italy than the Bishop's. And we know that there are many, who truly love God and walk by faith, in the church over which he presides. We only say, that the Bishop's gospel is as good a one to quiet sin, and satisfy the gay, and guard the empire of spiritual death, as a Swiss regiment to keep the peace of another Bishop's diocese on the Tiber.

The vice of this scheme, and it is about as great a vice as it can have, is that it sets up no distinct ground of salvation. It blurs over

all the energetic and piercing demands of the gospel, and hides them from the sight. It tells the subject distinctly enough, that he must come into the church in order to be saved. But it does not say that he will be if he comes. And yet it does not tell him any precise thing he must do, or change he must suffer, in order to be. To the dying sinner it can offer no definite direction, only to tell him that no sudden change can prepare him for heaven. Upon the thoughtless and gay, it enforces no such stiff demand as may arrest them in the ways of folly. But it trusts to the gradual and sentimental effect of forms—to bows, genuflections, responses and Christmas pomps, mingled with homilies, as indefinite and pointless as the scheme requires them to be, and interspersed with sacraments of a mystic power—for whatever something of some kind is necessary to fit a soul for heaven. We do not say that it artfully hides the gospel. No art could do it so effectually. It is the more to be reprobated, because it unites so much of the letter of the gospel, with so little of its power.

But it may be said after all, that we have done the Bishop's doctrine injustice. If so, we should rejoice to know it. We doubted ourselves, whether he did not possibly mean that something more than a change of state or condition, is accomplished in baptism—some change in the subject himself—some incipient grace in the temper—some beginning of a good work. We took up this conclusion three or four times, and were obliged as often to dismiss it because of its insignificance. If by such a beginning he would intend a quickening unto life eternal, the introduction of a new aim and principle reversing the aim of nature, that is all we mean by conversion or spiritual regeneration. It is, in our view, the beginning, only the beginning of a new law in the

heart—the law of the spirit of life. But this he can not mean, as we just now said, because he would then hold to a change of heart as “sudden,” and much more “passive,” than any that was ever inculcated by us. Besides, if he should expressly assert such a change in the subject of baptism, it would come to nothing, because he has no confidence in any “persevering grace” or permanent effect, which differs the subject radically from the unregenerate. The only permanent thing he believes in, is church membership and the church. The subject he declares is initiated into an *abiding state*, i. e. into the church, the “sphere of the Holy Spirit,” but “perseverance in sin” is yet the only *moral* perseverance he recognizes.

Possibly the Bishop would endeavor to make out, that baptism is the beginning, in every subject, of some moral and internal change, which is *gradually* begun, and yet involves no radical and sweeping change of principle—a kind of seed implanted which is afterwards to grow. But such a beginning, if it has any meaning, is the beginning of something instead of nothing, and a gradual transition from nothing to something, it will somewhat puzzle his ingenuity to conceive. And if the seed implanted is truly vital, a seed of spiritual life, it is all we mean by conversion. If it is a dead seed, or is killed a day afterwards, as he seems to suppose it will be, then it may rot in the soul, but it will never grow. The subject may be still in the “sphere of the Holy Spirit,” in the church—but he is there as dead in trespasses and sins, and the seed, the quickening of spiritual life, is yet to be imparted again, that is, he must experience a second time all that we mean by conversion; and as the transition from nothing to something must be sudden, it must be a sudden conversion. The dif-

ference then will be, that he maintains a hundred or less, sudden changes from death unto life, instead of the one maintained by us. That he ever pushed his mind so far into the import of his own scheme, we, of course, do not suppose. This he would say, is "metaphysics." Every teacher of religion who is too impatient of thinking, to ascertain what he means by his own doctrine, has this short answer. With the sick child he cries, "my head! my head!" to every argument which thoroughly sifts his meaning.

But if we allow the Bishop his gradual beginning, of something or any thing, just as he or any other will have it, still our description of his scheme will remain *practically* true as already given—a *mere change of state without a change of character*. Practically, the church will consist of persons who are distinguished, not in *kind* but in *degree* only. Being a net which gathers of every kind, no line of doctrine will be drawn to separate the kinds, for they are not distinguishable in kind but only in degree. But the great net will drag them on toward the shore, in a promiscuous haul, to be sorted there as they may. Some in the church will be grown a little more than others, as they make their responses more devoutly, and do good works more carefully; but they are all "regenerate," all "set forward," all "heirs of the kingdom of heaven." They will be addressed as persons that differ in degree, but never in kind. Salvation will be hung on no broad intelligible distinction of principle, as between death and life, but on the question of more or less. They will be saved or damned, as more or less—more church-wise or more wicked—more upright or more profligate—more punctilious in observing the sacraments and saints' days, or more backward and careless. In the

mean time, no effort will be expended in this question of degrees, to show how much is necessary, or how little will do. In the nature of the case, no human penetration can solve such a question. In this view, the Bishop's faith is a most cruel one, and its teachers, who thus blur over the great distinction of life and death in the gospel, and blind their people to what is necessary to their salvation, will have a cruel work to answer for.

But the Bishop undertakes to show, that his doctrine of baptismal regeneration is one that has been held, substantially, by all the Protestant families in the church. He brings together (p. 25) four distinct passages from Calvin, which, taken apart from their connection and the subject matter he was discussing, give him a show of countenance. Whereas it will be found, that Calvin is only discussing baptism and its advantages, in bringing us into a covenant relation to God. That Calvin means no such thing as he is made to affirm, in this disingenuous and garbled compilation, is clear enough from other passages. When discussing the force of sacraments, he says, (book IV, chap. 14,) "There are others who attribute to the sacraments I know not what latent virtues, which are nowhere represented as communicated to them by the word of God. For the sophistical schools have maintained, with one consent, that the sacraments of the new law, or those now used in the Christian church, justify and confer grace, *provided we do not obstruct their operation by any mortal sin*. It is impossible to express the pestilent and fatal nature of this opinion. Indeed it is evidently diabolical." Now the Bishop (p. 23) gives it as the opinion of his church, that "God's sacraments have their effects where the receiver doth *not put any bar against them*," and that they will always *prove efficacious, unless hindered by*

the unworthiness of the receiver. The very thing that Calvin calls a "pestilent, fatal, diabolical" error! Besides, Calvin, on the third of John, defines regeneration to be a pure work of the Spirit, and does not even allow, as we certainly think he ought, that the water mentioned in connection with the Spirit, has any reference to baptism. "To be born of water and of the Spirit, is no other than to receive that influence of the Spirit, which does in the soul what water does on the body." And again, the language of Christ, "born of water and of the Spirit," he declares is equivalent to saying, "By the Spirit, who in the ablution of the souls of the faithful performs the office of water." (Book IV, chap. 16.) Nor does Calvin any where suffer himself to call baptism regeneration, unless possibly he may do it in the sense, that it signifies or symbolizes regeneration as a work of the Holy Spirit.

Luther is also quoted in a passage, which, taken in the mere words, seems to assert the Bishop's doctrine of baptismal regeneration. And yet he means no such thing, nor any thing like it. He is commenting on Gal. iii, 27. For all ye that are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. The language is addressed to believers as such, in the second person. As such he explains it. And as baptism is the *formality* of Christian experience, he so speaks of it as one or identical with it. In this same commentary, he says, "A man therefore is made a Christian by hearing"—"the hearing of faith." And when upon the text—For, in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision, but a new creature—he speaks of regeneration as a spiritual change wrought by the Holy Spirit, without any reference to baptism, and in terms every way coincident with what the Bishop calls New Light theology. Is it

possible for the Bishop of Connecticut, or any other bishop on the face of the earth, to be so ignorant of Martin Luther's doctrine, as not to know that he held the absolute bondage of the human will, and a doctrine of decrees and election, stiff enough to satisfy a Mohammedan? And yet he expects to find Martin Luther asserting his doctrine of baptismal regeneration, by which every subject of baptism is declared to be introduced into a salvable state, nay, a state of salvation, if he does not hinder the blessing by his "unworthiness"! And when Luther goes on to say—"there is kindled a new life and flame, there arise new and holy affections, fear, trust in God, hope, there ariseth a new will," language that he would not dare apply to the subjects of baptism himself, the Bishop is nowise startled by the terms, but still thinks that Luther is saying this of all the baptized nations of pollution, the ungodly priests, and the legions of enmity hunting for his life—these all have "righteousness, peace, consolation, joy in the Holy Ghost, salvation, and Christ himself"!

The Bishop goes on (p. 26) citing from the standards of the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches, and from our own Saybrook Platform, to the same effect, viz. that baptism is regeneration. But it is manifest to any theological reader, nay, to any reader of merely common intelligence, that the extracts, on their face, assert no such thing, but simply that baptism is a *sign or symbol* of regeneration, which, so far as we know, no Christian has ever denied. And the Saybrook Platform, under the very same head, and only five sentences distant from the passage quoted by the Bishop, says expressly—"Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed to it, as that no person can be regenerate or saved without it, or that all

that are baptized are undoubtedly *regenerated*." And if they are not undoubtedly regenerated, can any thing be more certain than that something else than baptism was necessary, in their opinion, to regeneration? But the marvelous thing is, that the Bishop of Connecticut, before opening these confessions of faith, should expect, that so many churches holding, as they certainly did, whatever they may do now, the doctrine of special grace, absolute election, and even limited atonement, and known to all history by these distinctions, should yet assert a doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which brings every subject into a state, where, "*if he puts no bar*" to the covenanted grace, he will certainly be saved! Could he understand what figure he makes, as a theologian, here, we should not envy him.

And now, if the public will believe it, this marvelous chapter of theological criticism is introduced by a preface, not less modest than the following: (p. 24.) "It is not a little remarkable, that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is the *authoritative teaching* [the italics are not ours] of the chief Protestant denominations of the world. This fact demonstrates the little regard, that is paid to their standards of faith. It may well be questioned, whether the great mass of dissenters know much about their authoritative standards!" Truly we thank him! What an extreme pity it is, that we could not have a successor of the apostles to expound our standards to us! We are not sure, that he would not be able to extract the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, from Calvin's dogma of unconditional reprobation!

But the Bishop has made other discoveries equally remarkable—and especially that our New England churches, at the close of the first century, had undergone such a change, that "their religious views

seem not to have greatly differed, from those of the church of England." (p. 27.) And this relapse towards the church of England, according to the Bishop's own showing, (see the note,) begun fifty years earlier, in "a sensible decline as to the life and power of godliness," in a decline "in their zeal and strictness of morals," in a general inattentiveness "to their spiritual concerns"—language that he quotes from Trumbull, to prove, according to his own construction, that "their Calvinism had lost its asperity, and their fanaticism had moderated its extravagances." We accept the authority but not the construction. There was just such a decline. And the synod convened in Massachusetts, in 1679, to consider the mournful state into which the cause of virtue and religion had fallen, specify, among others, the following significant particulars—"a decay of godliness and secret apostasy among professors," "pride and contention," "profane swearing," "a common practice of traveling on the Sabbath day," "a neglect of family prayer," "inordinate passions," "intemperance," "unlawful gaming, light behavior, and breaches of the seventh commandment," "a want of truth, and promise breaking." A most excellent preparative, doubtless, for Episcopacy. Or if it be taken only as a proof, that "Calvinism had lost much of its asperity, and that fanaticism had greatly moderated its extravagances," as the Bishop declares, no very bad compliment is it to their Calvinism, or their fanaticism.

Another proof of this relapse towards Episcopacy, is found in the fact, that a synod holden in Massachusetts, in 1662, decided, that persons baptized in infancy, "understanding the doctrine of faith and publicly professing their assent thereunto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly *owning the covenant*

before the church—their children are to be baptized.” And yet the synod which made this decision, declared expressly, that they saw “no cause to recede” from the Platform of Church Discipline established in 1648, and only *designed* to give “a more particular explication of principles” included therein, which “needed yet a more explicit stating and reducing unto practice.” And only eighteen years after, in 1680, in another synod, they adopted a confession of faith, which asserted, among other things, that the baptized are “not of course regenerate,” and is the original, in almost every respect, of the Saybrook Confession. How much this looks like a relapse towards Episcopacy, the public will judge.

A third proof of this relapse is found in the fact, that in 1664, it was declared, “that the children of the church be accepted as *real members* of the church; and that, when they are grown up, being examined by the officer, if it appear that they be duly qualified to participate in the Lord’s Supper, such persons be admitted to full communion.” The very doctrine intimated in the Platform of 1648, which speaks of those who “received their membership in infancy,” coming “to their trial and examination before they are received to the Lord’s Supper”—the very doctrine of our churches at this moment!

Last of all it is given as proof of our Episcopal tendencies, at that time, that the Saybrook Platform, adopted in 1708, accounted it sufficient to hold “the doctrinal articles of the church of England;” when it is a well known fact that our churches never dissented from those articles, but always, on every occasion, expressed their hearty satisfaction with them as we do now! With the exception of the Plymouth ministers, all who came over, came as non-conformists of the church of England, not as separatists from it;

and their language ever was—“We, who are by nature Englishmen, do desire to hold forth the same doctrine of religion which we know to be held by the churches of England.”

But now, alas! after we had come so nearly back to the church of England, when baptism was thriving, and “morals declining,” and Christians “growing inattentive to their spiritual concerns,” and it really seemed as if we were just about to fall into the lap of Episcopacy, the New Light theology came into the field, and the fair promise was blasted. Since that time, things have been growing worse and worse. Sects have multiplied, and baptism declined, and “practical religion,” so says the Bishop, has been nothing but a “change of heart wrought by the operation of the Holy Ghost!” (pp. 20 and 29.)

Now this “New Light theology,” according to the Bishop, was “introduced by Wesley, Whitefield and Edwards.” But Wesley and Whitefield were both presbyters of the church of England, one from the Arminian side of that church, and the other from the Calvinistic; both illustrations of that rank combustion which must ever be expected, when a fire is once kindled in the body of spiritual death, and when legions of enmity, startled and crazed by the glare of so strange a light, combine to exasperate the warmth of the occasion. Wesley, however, never came to New England, and Whitefield, when he came, was so carefully admonished by Edwards, in regard to his censorious and fanatical tendencies—the church of England man by the wise and sober teacher of New England—that a degree of coldness ensued between them. Nor is there any doubt that, if he had taken the advice which Edwards and a great many of our wisest men gave him, the wretched scenes of fanaticism enacted under Davenport and others who took his lead, would never have been heard of. The

truly dreadful storm that swept through our churches, in that day, actually began in the bosom of the Anglican church itself. A presbyter ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester, and warmly commended by him, was the moving cause of all this fury and disorder!

But what is the New Light theology? "It appears," says the Bishop, "to be a compound of excited feeling with some of the subtleties of Calvinism." (p. 20.) A compound of feeling and Calvinism!—and this for a theology!—and this, yet again, for a description of Jonathan Edwards! Is it necessary for us to inform the Bishop of Connecticut, that New England theologians have another way of making theology, or, if it please, New theology, than by stirring up mixtures and compounds? The witch-broth style of Episcopacy—patches and scraps—a lock of St. Ignatius, and a finger of St. Cyprian, and a tooth of Laud, and dead men's bones from every region, simmered and stirred by the anointed wisdom and magic authority of a successor of the apostles—this is not our way of making theology. Least of all is it the way of Jonathan Edwards, a man renowned all over the world, and among all rigid thinkers, and in chairs of philosophy, for his analytic keenness, his cool and demonstrative logic, and the intense vigor with which he grasped the most difficult and abstruse subjects within the range of human thought. And yet the Bishop of Connecticut verily believes that the theology of Jonathan Edwards is made up of a compound of excited feeling and some of the subtleties of Calvinism! We profess no implicit assent to the speculations of Edwards; but that any intelligent person should thus conceive the man, exceeds our understanding.

But wherein is this theology new? According to the Bishop's own conception, it is nothing but Calvinism, with a little excited feeling stirred

in, to give it action. And as Calvinism is older than the thirty-nine articles, and as the feeling stirred in is not doctrine or theology at all, it follows that our New Light theology is a little older than the theology of the church of England. And so it verily is; for the doctrine of a great spiritual change, wrought in the heart by the Spirit of God, developed by Edwards in his own way, and by other New England theologians before and after him in theirs, is still in radical agreement with that of Calvin. But the Bishop shall give his own view of this theology.

"According to the popular apprehension of this scheme, (p. 20.) the essence of religion consists in a sudden change, wrought by the Holy Ghost, without the instrumentality of means;—perceptible to the mind, but independent of the co-operation of those who are the subjects of it. Connecting this experimental change with the Calvinistic doctrine of perseverance in grace, the work of salvation is completed. There seems no further need of the aids of divine grace, nor of any of the instrumentalities which God has appointed for the salvation of men;—no need of a church; no need of a ministry; no need of sacraments. *The work is finished!*"

To the eloquence of this ecclesiastical sneer we are duly sensible. But the utter dereliction of truth, in every sentence of the passage quoted, is but a fit accompaniment. If it were said that our hearers do misconstrue our doctrine through their perversity, and do many of them *practically* hold, that nothing more is necessary for them, after they have once become satisfied of their conversion, we agree it may be so. And do none, in the Episcopal church, stay content with their baptism in the same way—resting in it and deeming it enough thus to be "regenerated" and made "heirs of the kingdom of heaven?" Man is a creature all perversity, and he will try for a resting place in sloth and self-indulgence under any and every doctrine. But if the Bishop means to say, that our hearers have a right to any such impres-

sions under our preaching, or that they are not guarded against them most earnestly and by reiterated expostulations, it is unqualifiedly false. Nor again do we teach, that the change of heart, which is wrought by the Holy Ghost, is "*without the instrumentality of means.*" Such language can be found most abundantly used, but always in reference to the change most analytically and immediately considered as a work of the divine agency—always in connection with means more remotely insisted on—hearing the word, prayer, reflection, and striving to enter in. Neither do we say that this change is "*perceptible to the mind.*" That is a Methodist doctrine, regarded by us as a superstition. We only say, that if so great a change is wrought in the dispositions of the soul, the subject is likely to discover it by appropriate evidences; though he may be so confused, or so distrustful of himself, as to go through life in doubt of his good estate. No recent school among us declares that man is "*the efficient agent in the work,*" (see note, p. 20.) On the contrary, the school alluded to expressly and uniformly denies it. We do not say that there is now "*no further need of the aids of divine grace*—no need of a church, no need of a ministry, no need of sacraments,—the work is finished." On the contrary, it is expressly taught, and solemnly insisted on, by every teacher in New England, that regeneration is only the *beginning* of the work of sanctification, the mere seminal power of a new life; and that if they do not go on to make their calling sure, by lives of obedience towards God and charity towards their fellow men, their confidence is the hope of a hypocrite. We have a church, and, what is of some consequence in our estimation, we have discipline in it. We have a ministry, which is not a priesthood, which also we think of some consequence—no people ever loved

their ministry more, or followed their ministrations with more avidity. We have sacraments—and that too, clear of all priestly magic and incantation; and in these sacraments we seek our edification. And if we do not think it essential to an affectionate and persuasive remembrance of our Savior's death, that we should eat him, perhaps the intelligent Christians of some future age may not the less respect our piety or our understanding.

In regard to the disuse, or the little improvement that is made of infant baptism, charged upon us by the Bishop, under cover of a somewhat exaggerated picture from the late Dr. Dwight, (p. 19.) we have yet to say, that there is more truth in the charge than there should be. Though if we were called to choose between our own deficient improvement of the rite, and the rank papal delusion, by which the Bishop and his church make it nearly the whole matter of practical religion, we could not long hesitate. We have no wish to parry the Bishop's strictures on this head. Here, for once, (and it is the only instance in his charge,) he has hit his mark, and we are willing that our churches should see it. At the same time, what conception of practical religion has the man who can say, upon the simple discovery that we make too little of infant baptism—"This is a pitiable account of the state of *practical religion* among one of the largest bodies of Christians in New England!" (p. 19.) How could he say more significantly that, with him, baptism and practical religion are one and the same thing! And it is our jealousy of this most unevangelical and monstrous error, which has induced the neglect of which the Bishop complains—not any new views in theology.

In our own little diocese, we have always aimed to make this rite significant, and secure its legitimate effects; and many others, we know,

are endeavoring to do the same. We hold that baptized children are members of the church, confided to its watch, and entitled, when they evince the necessary qualifications, to the Lord's Supper. We collect them in a body, with the whole church, for familiar counsel, instruction and prayer, as often as we go to the table of Christ ourselves. We consider them in this rite as *presumptively* included in the faith of their parents; and the rite is permitted, we believe, on the ground of a presumption suffered that they are to grow up as spiritually regenerate persons, and have therefore a right to baptism as regenerate persons, even before they have the discretion to ask it. There is no reason why a principle of divine life may not be imparted in infancy, as well as after sin has hardened the sensibilities and bronzed the soul in guilt. If it be not true, if they can be brought to newness of life only after they begin to press the confines of manhood, then are they, in the interval, the most unprivileged of all beings. Whether this presumption, which God beautifully offers in the rite of baptism, shall be realized, will depend on parental and church faithfulness, (coincidentally with a divine influence,) where it ought; not on some official magic in the rite itself. And therefore, as the gospel clearly teaches, we baptize only the household of believers, and do not suffer the rite to be made as insignificant as it can be, by interposing the absurd fiction of sponsors, to thrust them out of their place and make their faith of none effect. Whether they become really regenerate persons, is to be decided afterwards, by the same tests which discriminate the faithful of later years; not by the discovery of some particular exercise, mental or bodily, through which they have passed, but by the evidence they give of love to God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, their repentance of

sin, and their desire to fulfill God's holy will in acts of communion, prayer, self-denial, and charity. They are to be distinguished in kind, not in degree only. In this view, we make no breach upon the great doctrine of regeneration as a *spiritual change*, necessary to all men as a quickening of the dead. But we do give a real significance to household baptism, as a beautiful rite of the church, and one in the due improvement of which—never without—the church may expect to receive the promise made to her, and to her children, and become the organ of power which God designed her to be.

And now, as we have spoken somewhat severely of the Bishop's charge, which we regard as a tissue of errors, at once feeble and pernicious, it may be well enough to show his adherents how little we are moved, in our criticism, by mere words. Our opinion of the third of John does not correspond with that of Calvin. We believe that by water, in connection with the Spirit, he does intend baptism. Baptism was in use before Christ's day, as a rite of political regeneration, in which the Gentile proselyte and his household were accounted to be cleansed of their pollutions and born over, so as to become the descendants of Abraham. We mean the same by our ceremony of *naturalization*, accounting the subject therein to become a natural born American. Having a kingdom to establish both visible and spiritual, Christ takes up the current rite and applies it over, as a seal of initiation, we may suppose, into his twofold kingdom;—saying, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he can not see the kingdom of heaven. Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not these things? He is thus brought, we may suppose, into the visible church, and if the seal has its true import fulfilled, is also

inducted, as one *spiritually* regenerated, into that higher kingdom of which the other is only the husk or sign. If, therefore, our Episcopal brethren will call baptism regeneration, in the sense that it introduces into the church, we shall not quarrel about the word, provided they will also speak of a higher and spiritual regeneration distinct from this and shadowed by it. Whether Christ intended to use the term in this double sense, is a question not easily decided. But this at least is plain, that he *did* intend to discourse of spiritual regeneration as the **MAIN THING**—a thing of as much higher consequence, as the quickening of a divine life is of more consequence than a formal introduction to the visible church. This was his subject at the time, about which all his arguments and illustrations spent their force. As flesh is born of the flesh, he was urging, so there is a spirit which is born of the Spirit. And, instead of descending from so high a subject to say that the water of baptism falls where it is sprinkled, he says—The wind—that lively symbol of God's unseen agency—the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit. This is **THE** regeneration, on which the Savior's mind was specially if not exclusively fixed. And now, if our Episcopal friends will not deny this

great and marvelous change; if they will hold it up as the summit of Christian truth, and the beginning of Christian experience; if they will speak of it as often as fifty times, where they name the other once; if they will expend the stress of their ministry in the inculcation of this great doctrine of spiritual regeneration, as a distinct matter, and give to the husk what value a husk is worth;—we will utter no word of complaint.

Here we leave the subject, expressing our profound regret, that so many of the nominal Christians of Connecticut are doomed to see the truth of Christ exhibited in a manner so pointless, unintelligent and frigid, as this charge of their Bishop indicates. Woe unto such among them, as can be saved only so as by fire; for there is no fire here. Were we doomed to preach this kind of doctrine, we should feel that we were dulling the wits, and blinding the consciences, and, if they have any, starving the graces of those whom Christ sent us to feed. There is no quickening vigor here—no divine energy. Such doctrine pierces to no dividing asunder—pushes the lost man to no determinate result. No light shines through it, save what is refracted through the water of baptism. It is a paralytic gospel, waiting by the pool, to which, if Christ could stretch his compassion so far, he would say, Rise, take up thy bed and walk.

REVIVALISM AND THE CHURCH.*

WE have little time to spare, and yet we must take time to stick a pin

* *Revivalism and the Church*; a Letter to a Reviewer, in reply to several articles in the New Englander. By a Presbyterian of Connecticut. "Try the spirits whether they are of God." Hartford, Henry S. Parsons, 1843. 12mo, pp. 46.

through this entomological specimen—genus *Papilio*—and to give it a place in our cabinet. Should we take no notice of it, we fear there would be some disappointed feelings at the "Rectory of —," where as we are duly informed, the gaudy thing emerged from its chrysalis,

and spread its powdered wings to the air of this dissenting world, on the "Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1843." We would handle it gently, as becomes a thing so slightly put together. To dissect it would be tedious; and it would make no great show if taken to pieces. All that we can do then in respect to its natural history, is just to indicate some of its most obvious external characteristics.

The "several articles" to which our "presbyter of Connecticut" makes a show of replying, are two, both contained in the *New Englander* for October. One of these, as might be expected, is the article on the "Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church;" the other is—not the article on the ordination of Mr. Carey, to which our presbyter refers with unmixed commendation—but that on "Whittingham's Charge to his Clergy." On the first he bestows five pages of reply; on the other, thirty-six. In what style and spirit he replies, is all that we propose to show.

He opens upon the first article with an affectation of astonishment at our having called the "Prayer-book" of his church its liturgy. We are well enough aware that there is a restricted use of the word 'liturgy' among Episcopalian clergymen of a certain class; but at the same time our presbyter is equally well aware that the prevalent use of the word in the English language is the same with the use of it in our article. In Webster's quarto dictionary, which happens to lie upon our table, we find the word thus defined. "In a general sense, all public ceremonies that belong to divine service: hence in a restricted sense, among the Romanists, the mass, and among Protestants the common prayer, or the formulary of public prayers." We turn to the *Encyclopædia Americana*. Here the same word is defined, "A precomposed form of public worship." The au-

thors, in "mentioning some of the most important liturgies," tell us, "There are various liturgical books in use in the Roman Catholic church," and they enumerate "the Breviary," "the Missal," "the Ceremonial," "the Pontificale," and "the Ritual." Suppose now we had said "common prayer" instead of 'liturgy,'—would not our "presbyter" have been equally astonished? Is the "ordinal and all" common prayer? Then why is not "ordinal and all" liturgy? What means all the talk, continually iterated, about "our excellent liturgy?" Is it not universally understood as eulogistic of "the whole Prayer-book, as printers and bookbinders have set it forth, ordinal and all?" How shrewd then—how imposing is the affectation of astonishment at our using this word 'liturgy' in its most intelligible and most authorized sense.

Nothing in the article now referred to, seems to have touched our presbyter's sensibilities so deeply, as the note in which some rhetorical and grammatical criticisms on the Prayer-book, were briefly hinted. He tells us that the Prayer-book, "next to the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures, has received the suffrages of the world, as the glory of the English tongue." The "authorized"—that is, King James's—version of the Bible,* has its merits, from which we would by no

* We take this opportunity to acknowledge the slip which the author of this pamphlet has pointed out, in our allusion to the older English versions.—(*New Englander*, Vol. I, p. 550.) Writing in circumstances in which we were constrained to trust the impressions on our memory, instead of referring to authorities, we were careless enough to name the Geneva version as one in which the word 'congregation' is used instead of 'church.' This is not exactly true of the Geneva version, though it is true of other versions which King James's was designed to supersede. 'Church' stands in the 'authorized' version instead of 'congregation,' by his majesty's express command. Horne, *Introd.* Vol. II, p. 247, ed. Philad. 1836.

means detract. Yet it has also its archaisms,—its infelicitous expressions,—and here and there a phrase which is not and never was good English; all which may be pointed out in minute criticism without “stamping” the critic “in the silent commiseration of all men of taste and discrimination, as either too stupid to appreciate, or too mean to admit” its excellence. To a devout Romanist, we dare say, some of the old monkish hymns, so justly celebrated, may seem the glory of the Latin tongue. Yet we can not but think that a scholar, familiar with the style and diction of the Augustan age, might criticise the Latinity of the *Stabat Mater*, or the *Dies Ira*, and be forgiven even at Rome. But on this point the author before us is perfectly unrelenting. He even stigmatizes the unfortunate note as an “attempt

To gild refined gold; to paint the lily,
And throw a perfume on the violet,”—

an attempt which was certainly very far from the thoughts of the writer, and the imputation of which to him is little short of “flat burglary” committed upon Shakspeare.

But we must make haste, or we shall have no time at all to notice the main division of the pamphlet, on which the presbyter seems particularly to value himself. This might be an interesting study, as showing what kind of reasoning, on and from the Scriptures,* a young man not particularly deficient in native capacity, may be trained to in an Episcopal theological seminary. It might be interesting also, as showing how the entire Episcopal controversy is conceived of and comprehended by a zealous young

Episcopalian presbyter—young, we call him, for the remarkable efflorescence of his diction shows him not very mature;—and zealous, for his writing is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi, when he said, Come, see my zeal for the Lord. To him in his youthful ardor, the whole matter is so completely in a nut-shell, that we can not but imagine how much like grasshoppers such archbishops as Whately and Usher must be in his sight; and with what pity he must look down on the ignorance of such prebendaries and *quondam* Oxford professors as Milman. We must remember however that we have to do with a professed “reply” to our article on Whittingham’s charge to his clergy.

In that article, to which we beg leave to refer the reader distinctly, we attempted to set forth, on the authority and under the guidance of Bishop Whittingham, that system of religion, which, under the name of “church principles,” is held in various degrees of distinctness and consistency by the great majority of the Episcopalian clergy; and which we hold to be, for the most part, the system of their “liturgy and offices.” In what point—if in any—we failed of giving an exact representation of the system, our “presbyter” does not deign to tell us. There is indeed a single sentence (p. 14) where he seems to charge us with drawing some “inference”—we know not what—which he utterly denies; but the scope of his letter from first to last, seems to recognize the fairness of our statement. At the same time he does not distinctly meet the positions which we defined as contrary to the system of Oxford “Catholicity.” Let the reader then look once more at the four propositions in which we summed up the system held by Bishop Whittingham, and remember, that not one of them is called in question. Let him examine again the three positions in

* For example, he holds that the cloak which Paul left at Troas was a sacerdotal vestment with “fringes,” and that when Paul sent for it, he wanted it for the performance of divine service in the Capitol! So, at least, we understand him on p. 8.

which we defined the outline of the evangelical or Protestant system. *First*, That church which is the body of Christ, is none other than the universal community of penitent and believing souls. *Secondly*, That church is Christ's body because all who belong to it belong to him, and are individually and personally united to him; and it is their union with him which unites them with each other, and makes them one body. *Thirdly*, The individual becomes one with Christ, a member of his body, simply by the personal acts of repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, to which he has been led by the grace and power of the renewing Spirit. Not one of these positions has our "curvetting" (p. 85) presbyter ventured to assault with any show of manly argument. His reply, as he calls it, turns upon other questions altogether.

He seems to suppose that we have denied the visibility of Christ's kingdom in this world; and accordingly he spends many words, to little purpose, in arguing on that point. He seems to suppose that we do not believe in any Christian organization; and accordingly he labors that point, though his labor is "as one that beateth the air." He seems to suppose that we reject the idea of means and instrumentalities in the conversion of sinners to God, and in the progressive culture and sanctification of believing souls; and accordingly he takes needless pains to show that there must be a ministry of reconciliation, and puts Paul's question, "How shall they hear without a preacher?" All these points are easily argued; and to those who are ignorant enough to believe that these are the points in question between the evangelical system and the system of Oxford "Catholicity," it may seem that the argument is conclusive against us. But let it be

remembered what the question is, and it will need no great reasoning power to see how wide of the mark are all these arguments from the "Rectory of —," by "a presbyter of Connecticut." The question is, whether the body of Christ, the true catholic church out of which there is no salvation, includes all truly penitent and believing souls?—whether it is the immediate vital union of Christ's members with him, a union like that of the branches with the vine, which first unites them with each other and makes them one body?—whether it is repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Christ, wrought in the soul by the renewing Spirit, that unites the soul to its Redeemer? Or to make the matter, if possible, still more plain, the question is, whether the church is made up by the aggregation of individual Christians; or whether men are made Christians by joining the church. It is whether a man's baptism and church connection are the sign and visible recognition of his Christianity, or the efficient cause of his being a Christian?

Perhaps the author of this pamphlet may hereafter adventure upon the discussion of the actual question. Should he do so, we hope he may learn in the mean time, that a little less of swaggering in his air, and a little less of downright insolence in his language, will by no means diminish the force of his arguments. We are not particularly sensitive in this respect. We make due allowance for the infirmity of human nature. We expect that those who believe that they are the exclusive successors of the apostles, and as such, the exclusive depositaries of grace and salvation, and who regard themselves as holding the keys of heaven and hell, will betray, in their manners and speech, some consciousness of their august prerogatives. It is not in human nature, as ordinarily constituted, not

to be lifted up somewhat by the consciousness of such superiority over those less fortunate men, who can only preach and teach and pray, and whose ministrations have no mystic, ineffable validity. We are not offended, therefore—nay, we have long since learned not even to smile—at any natural and unobtrusive manifestation of the sense of superiority on the part of men who believe themselves to be so remarkably gifted. But this “presbyter” carries the manifestations of his conscious superiority beyond the bounds of reason and good taste. Perhaps he has not worn the honors of the succession long enough to wear them meekly. When he charges us with “lying in wait to deceive”—when he imputes “blasphemy” to those who reject his notions of what the priest has to do in the matter of a sinner’s salvation—when he calls himself and his brother priests, “the house of Aaron,” and us, with the ten thousand Christian pastors on our side, “the sons of Korah”—when the air and style of his whole epistle are the very caricature of the expression of an inward loftiness—we feel that we are dealing with one so immeasurably above us in his own consciousness, that we can hardly be expected to enter into any debate with him; and we can not but think, that if there were ever so much force in his arguments, they must lose something of their legitimate effect upon those readers, however disinterested, who do not happen to agree with him in his idea of his own advantages over us. Such things on his part do not move our indignation; but—such is our infirmity—they make us smile, when perhaps we ought rather to weep.

One specimen of the courteousness of this writer seems to demand a special notice. The word ‘Evangelical,’ used as a proper name to denote a system or a party, is a

word perfectly well recognized in the current religious and theological language of this country and of England. Its sense when thus used, is as well defined, and as little liable to be misunderstood, as the sense of the word ‘Unitarian,’ when used to denote the system or the party, characterized by the rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. In this well established sense, we used the word to denote—not any peculiar opinions of our own, but the view of Christianity which we hold in common with myriads of Christians in America, in Britain, and throughout the world. To the opposite system—sometimes called the church, or high church, system—we applied a name chosen by the advocates of that system, which seems likely to acquire in the English language, a meaning as definite as that which is already attached to the name ‘Evangelical.’ Instead of calling the system, Romanism, or Puseyism, we called it Catholicity. This our “presbyter” claims as a great concession on our part. He seems to think that in using the name “Catholicity,” we admit that we ourselves and our doctrines are out of the pale of the church universal. And so he turns and tells us that we have “assumed the title of Evangelical,” but that we must not “expect him to concede the name.” No, he tells us, ours is a system which he “can call by no name more courteous and inoffensive than *Revivalism*.” Thereupon he proceeds with a fluent chapter of abuse. Revivalism, he tells us, “needs an annual galvanizing to make it live.” It is an “undefined, incongruous, and still effervescing mass of theories and opinions.” It is an “antick great grandchild of Geneva;” for “Calvinism begot Puritanism; Puritanism begot Brownism; Brownism begot New Englandism; and *it* begot Revivalism.” See what we get by the courtesy which we attempted when we used

"Catholicity," as a name to designate high church principles. We are happy to know that there are some Episcopalians in Connecticut, at least among the laity, to whom such language from one of their ministers must be exceedingly painful. Have they any suspicion that this is the way in which their clergy generally speak, when they speak out without restraint?

Shall we say any thing of that imaginary death scene which this author has dramatized, as a specimen of the death beds of New England? He describes the death of a profane and godless man—a Universalist—a low ignorant unbeliever, whose wife refuses to let a minister read to him the fifty first psalm, because she does not believe in

praying out of books, and who "dies and makes no sign." "Thousands of souls," he tells us, "go before God every year in New England in just this way." From "half the cottages scattered over the rural districts of New England," he would have us understand, the dying sinner goes to his account, utterly ignorant, utterly unbelieving. Who is this "presbyter?" Is there any New England blood in his veins? How dares he thus calumniate a land so rich in the "garnered dust" of God's redeemed? He knows that there is not another land on earth in which so large a portion of the population die in the clear, intelligent exercise of faith in Christ, as the Redeemer of their souls.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CATECHISM.*

THIS is not a Catechism for children. The author tells us, it is "designed for the use of ministers of the gospel, theological students, and intelligent readers generally." It is therefore to be classed among the learned works on ecclesiastical polity. And its distinctive character as a learned work is, that it states only the general principles and the leading facts on the subject, or merely gives the results of more extended investigations, with a brief notice of the principal arguments on which those results are based; and that all its statements are concise, definite, and in answer to a series of questions of the like character.

The system of church polity which it advocates and defends, appears to be strictly Congregational, and

accordant with the general views of the fathers and founders of the New England churches. Its chief divergence from their statements is, that it supposes the Scriptures to have left more of the details of church organization and government to the discretion of men from age to age, than many of the old writers supposed; and that it makes a clearer and broader distinction between the functionaries of the universal church, (the apostles, evangelists, &c.) and the proper officers of local churches.

In the first chapter, the author undertakes to draw out, and to establish, the general or fundamental principles of church polity, without reference to any existing system, ancient or modern.

In the second chapter, he describes the form and polity of the first Christian churches, or those mentioned in the New Testament. Here, of course, he makes frequent reference to the Scriptures. He

* The Congregational Catechism, containing a General Survey of the Organization, Government, and Discipline of Christian Churches. Published by A. H. Maltby, New Haven, Conn. 1844. pp. 137, 18mo.

moreover assumes,—as many others have done, and with great probability,—that the first Christian churches were formed and regulated very much after the model of the Jewish synagogues of that age. He accordingly gives us, from *Vitringa* and others, a succinct but comprehensive account of the ancient Jewish synagogues; and then states, in what respects those first churches differed from the Jewish synagogues around them. This, we consider, as one of the most interesting and elaborate portions of the volume.

The third chapter treats of the officers of those primitive churches. Here the author makes the broad distinction, already mentioned, between the functionaries of the universal church, and the officers of local churches. Of the first class were the inspired *apostles*, who, from the nature of the case, can have no successors; and the *evangelists* or ministers, who aided the apostles in the propagation of Christianity, and in founding and organizing the primitive churches. These have for successors the modern missionaries, and other ministers of the gospel who labor among destitute churches, or otherwise serve the general interests of Christianity. The officers of local churches were of two orders, *first*, a board of *elders*, *pastors*, or *bishops*, in each church, who were charged with the management of all the concerns of the community, agreeably to its by-laws; and *secondly*, a number of *deacons*, who were a kind of public servants of the church, and executed the orders of the elders. The author adopts the opinion of *Neander*, *Augusti*, *Gieseler*, and the recent German writers generally, that to conduct the public worship, to preach, and to administer the sacraments, was not the official work of the elders exclusively, in those primitive times; but that all competent persons, and espe-

cially those who had spiritual gifts, might perform these offices.

The fourth chapter shows how the form and polity of the primitive churches were gradually changed from age to age, till at length they were wholly subverted. The first change, as the author thinks, was called for by the circumstances of the times, and was the natural result of the cessation of spiritual gifts, the departure of the apostles, and the advancement of individual Christians in knowledge and ability for ministering in holy things. It consisted in the appointment of one able individual in each church, to be its chief pastor and teacher, to preside in the meetings for worship, to offer the public prayers, give religious instruction, and administer the sacraments; but without prohibiting the other officers and brethren from occasionally performing the same services. This change, the author supposes, took place early in the second century; and it led the way for other and less salutary changes, which he goes on to enumerate. Near the close of the second century, the idea began to be entertained, that ecclesiastical officers were a proper *clergy*, a distinct order of men, clothed with an exclusive divine right to rule the churches, and to minister in holy things, by virtue of their ordination. Simultaneously with this new idea, another was broached, namely, that the ministrations of these consecrated and holy men are accompanied by a mysterious divine influence, or have a sanctifying power on the hearts of men, either directly by their own inherent efficacy, or as the channels through which divine grace necessarily flows. As these views gained currency, the laity gradually lost all their former rights and prerogatives as members of a Christian fraternity, and became at length absolutely dependent on their spiritual lords for all their religious privileges. At the same time, reli-

gious rites and ceremonies were multiplied and relied on, till the spiritual worship of the primitive times was lost in a round of external observances. But these changes were very gradual. They only commenced with the rise of the idea of a Christian *clergy*, the progress of which merits attention. When ecclesiastical officers began to regard themselves as a holy order of men, a proper *clergy*, they very soon began to draw parallels between themselves and the Jewish priesthood; and thus originated early in the third century, the three orders of clergymen—bishops, priests, and deacons—corresponding with the high priest, priests, and Levites, in the Mosaic dispensation. The origin of diocesan churches, under single pastors, with a number of presbyters and deacons to serve the several congregations, the author ascribes to the increase of numbers in and around the mother church of a city or district of country, who wished to be considered but one church, after they had to meet in separate houses for ordinary worship. Several such diocesan churches, or clusters of confederated congregations, he thinks, were formed in the second century, and before church officers claimed to be a proper *clergy* de jure divino. Pretty conclusive proof is adduced that the Episcopal hierarchy began to manifest itself about A. D. 200; but it did not become fully matured till the fourth century. The inferior orders of the clergy, such as sub-deacons, exorcists, lectors, &c. were first known in the third century. Metropolitans originated in the same century, and grew out of the institution of pro-

vincial councils. Primates and patriarchs did not arise till the fourth century, and the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. The papal supremacy was of later date, and its commencement is assigned to the seventh century. Written liturgies, as the author clearly shows, were unknown prior to the fourth century.

The fifth chapter describes the principles of ecclesiastical polity adopted and carried out by the Congregational, Independent, and Baptist churches in this country and in Great Britain; and the sixth chapter shows how far this system of polity coincides with that of the primitive churches, and what advantages it possesses over other systems. Its chief excellence is, that it harmonizes, more than any other system, with the spirit and the fundamental principles of Christianity.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters describe the systems of church polity adopted by the Protestant and the Methodist Episcopal churches, and by the Presbyterian; and points out their deviations from the correct principles of church polity, and their contravention of the rights and prerogatives of the laity.

On the whole, we think this little book deserves to be studied, by every person wishing to acquaint himself with the principles of ecclesiastical law and polity in ancient or modern times: and especially, should every intelligent Congregationalist possess it, and refer to it as a guide in all ecclesiastical contests, either in his own community or with persons of other denominations.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

WE are able only to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications.

Bibliotheca Sacra; or Tracts and Essays on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology. Editor, Edward Robinson, D. D. No. III. A new series of this work is to be published at Andover, Mass., by Allen, Morrill & Wardwell; and at New York and London, by Wiley & Putnam. It is to be edited by Professors E. A. Park and B. B. Edwards, of Andover—assisted by Professors Robinson and Stuart.

The Despatches of Hernando Cortes, the Conqueror of Mexico, addressed to the Emperor Charles V, written during the Conquest, and containing a Narrative of its Events; now first translated into English from the original Spanish, with an Introduction and Notes, by George Folsom. Wiley & Putnam, New York and London. 1843.

Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt; with an Appendix. By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins. Published by Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, Andover; and Mark H. Newman, New York. 1843.

D'Aubigné's History of the Great Reformation, abridged by the Rev. Edward Dalton; being an abridgment of the first three volumes. Published by John S. Taylor & Co., New York. 1843.

Gardening for Ladies, and Companion to the Flower Garden; by Mrs. Loudon. First American, from the third London edition. Edited by A. J. Downing, author of a Treatise on Landscape Gardening: Cottage Residences. Published by Wiley & Putnam, New York. 1843.

Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry and Geology; by James F.

W. Johnston, M. A., F. R. SS. L. & E., Fellow of the Geological Society, &c. &c., Reader of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of Durham. Published by Wiley & Putnam, New York.

The Gipsies in Spain; by George Borrow. Published by Wiley & Putnam, New York.

The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature; by John Kitto, editor of the Pictorial Bible—assisted by various eminent Scholars and Divines in Great Britain, Germany, &c. To be completed in fifteen monthly numbers. Published by Mark H. Newman, 199 Broadway, New York.

Bush's Notes on the Old Testament—Genesis, 2 vols.—Exodus, 2 vols.—Leviticus, 1 vol. 12mo.—now published, and the entire work in progress. By Mark H. Newman.

Bush's Hebrew Grammar. 8vo. M. H. Newman.

The Church Psalmist: or Psalms and Hymns for the public, social, and private use of evangelical Christians. 12mo, 18mo, and 32mo. Published by Mark H. Newman. This work is highly recommended and extensively used in various parts of the country. It is decidedly the best work of the kind in any language.

The Social Psalmist: a portion of the above named work selected for use in lecture rooms, social meetings, and families. 18mo, and 32mo.

Bradbury's Singing School, for ladies and gentlemen: being his method of *singing by note*, comprising a course of exercises and solfeggios, interspersed with pleasing melodies. Published by M. H. Newman.

The Young Choir: or School Singing Book, original and selected, for the use of primary classes, Sabbath schools, &c. By Wm. B. Brad-

bury and C. W. Sanders. Mark H. Newman, publisher.

The Temperance Lyre, a selection of songs, chiefly original, with appropriate music, designed for temperance meetings and private use. Mark H. Newman.

The following are from the press of M. H. Newman, 199 Broadway, New York.

Fosdick's German Introduction.

Fosdick's French Introduction.

Gray's Elements of Chemistry. 12mo.

Hitchcock's Elements of Geology. 12mo.

Newman's Practical System of Rhetoric.

Newman's Elements of Political Economy.

Stuart's Hebrew Grammar.

Stuart's Hebrew Chrestomathy.

Stuart's N. Testament Grammar.

The Governmental History of the United States of America, from the earliest settlement to the adoption of the present constitution. By Henry Sherman, counsellor at law. New York. Designed for common schools and libraries. 1 vol. 12mo.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

COLEMAN ON THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.—We are happy to announce that Messrs. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln of Boston, have in press a work on the Primitive Church, by the Rev. Lyman Coleman. Mr. C. is already favorably known to the public, by his volume of *Christian Antiquities*. The first hundred pages of the volume, which we have seen, give assurance of thoroughness in the work. The author has visited Germany, and made himself master of whatever has been written there on this subject. His work is accompanied by an introductory essay from the pen of Neander.

THOMSON'S ABRIDGMENT OF DAY'S ALGEBRA, published by Durrie & Peck, New Haven; and by Smith & Peck, Philadelphia.

The first edition of this elementary treatise was published in June last, and all disposed of in three months; and the second edition, revised and corrected by the author, has just been issued. A Key, for the use of teachers, has also been published.

Recommendations.

The great excellence of Day's Algebra has been so fully acknowledged by the public, through a period of nearly thirty years, that it would be superfluous to accompany it with any formal recommendation. All that instructors will require to be assured is, that the present Abridgment, by Mr. James B. Thomson, faithfully presents the spirit and character of the original. I have examined it sufficiently to feel satisfied that such is the fact; that while it presents to the young learner the science in a simple and attractive form, it surpasses most similar treatises in the aptness of its illustrations, the accuracy of its definitions, and the value and copiousness of its principles.

DENISON OLMSTED.

Yale College, June 6, 1843.

Speaking of the Abridgment of Day's Algebra, Prof. Silliman says, "I have full confidence in the views expressed above by Prof. Olmsted."

We fully concur in the above recommendation of the Abridgment of Day's Algebra, from Prof. Olmsted. Profs. A. D. STANLEY, J. L. KINGSLEY, C. A. GOODRICH, T. D. WOOLSEY, C. U. SHEPARD, T. A. THACHER, and Tutors J. NOONEY, D. POWERS, L. J. DUDLEY, P. K. CLARK, of Yale College. HAWLEY OLMSTEAD, Principal of Hopkins Grammar School; A. N. SKINNER, Principal of Select Classical School for boys; L. A. DAGGETT, Principal of Select School for boys; STILES FRENCH, Principal of the Collegiate and Commercial School, New Haven.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Our limits allow us merely to announce in the present number the following works :

Brief History of Evangelical Missions, with the date of the commencement, and progress, and present state. By Andrew M. Smith. Hartford: Published by Robt. & Smith, 1844. pp. 193, 12mo.

This is an excellent bird's eye view of the missionary operations of the several evangelical denominations of Protestant Christendom. Even those who have more complete histories, will find this a convenient synopsis of the principal facts, happily selected and arranged for reference.

The Mother Family. By Enoch Pond, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, Depository No. 13, Cornhill. 1844.

Sacred Scenes. From the French of Napoleon Roussel. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, No. 13, Cornhill. 1844.

Memoir of Thomas Cranfield, of London. By his Son, assisted by Rev. Dr. Birse, author of "Mammou," "The Great Commission," &c. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, Depository No. 13, Cornhill. 1844.

The publications of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society are for sale by Mr. Stebbins, New Haven, who offers also to the public the three following works, published by John S. Taylor & Co., New York.

Principalities and Powers in Heavenly Places. By Charlotte Elizabeth, with an introduction by the Rev. Edward Bickersteth. pp. 293, 12mo.

Genoa and Rome. Rome Papal, as portrayed by prophecy and history. By S. R. L. Gaussen, Professor of Divinity; with an introduction by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, A. M., Rector of Wotton, Hants.

Faith and Knowledge. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D. D., author of "The Reformation in the Sixteenth Century."

A Discourse on Theological Education, delivered on the Bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, July, 1843. To which is added, Advice to a Student preparing for the Ministry, by George Howe, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature Theol. Sem., Columbia, S. C. For sale by A. H. Maltby, New Haven.

Dr. Tyler's Memoir of Dr. Nettleton.

Elements of Geometry, on the basis of Dr. Brewster's Legendre, to which is added a book on Proportion, with notes and illustrations, adapted to the improved methods of instruction in schools and academics. By JAMES B. THOMSON, A. M. New Haven, Durrie & Peck; Philadelphia, Smith & Peck. A notice of the above work will be given in our next number.

THE NEW ENGLANDER.

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No subscriber who neglects to pay before the issue of the third number, will receive the same until his subscription is paid.

All payments should be made either to A. H. MALTHEY, New Haven, Conn.; to an agent authorized to make collections; or to the publisher or agent from whom the work is received.

Volumes I and II, already published, may be had, by those who wish a complete set, of A. H. Maltby, New Haven, Conn., for \$5 cash. They will be offered for sale at no other office.

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Communications for the work should be sent to the Rev. E. R. TYLER, New Haven, Connecticut.

A general depository is established in Boston, at the Foreign Bookstore of E. P. Peabody, No. 13 West street, for the convenience of those agents and subscribers who have commercial relations with that city.

The regular number of pages per volume is 608. Our patrons will perceive that instead of confining the volume which closes with this number, to that size, we have gratuitously added 38 pages, making in all 646. The expense of these additions, together with the cost of the engravings, which were not included in our proposals, amounts to several hundred dollars above our stipulated obligations. We hope this liberal disposition on our part, will stimulate our subscribers to encourage us by continuing their patronage, and recommending the work to others according to its merits.

The delinquent subscribers on Volumes I and II will see the propriety of the settlement of their accounts immediately after the reception of this number.

No agent is authorized to sell the work at a discount from the established price.

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Correspondents and others whose favors have not been acknowledged,
will find an apology in the protracted illness of the Editor.



DER AUGUSTUS NEANDER.

“Wir sehen jetzt durch einen Spiegel in einem dunkeln
Worte, dann aber von Angesicht zu Angesicht.”

Cräyß. Morulen

Eng^d for the NewEnglander by D C Hinman





THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. VI.

~~~~~  
APRIL, 1844.  
~~~~~

A MEMOIR OF AUGUSTUS WILLIAM SCHLEGEL.*

Nun ist der Vorzeit hohe Kraft zerronnen,
Man wagt es, sie der Barbarey zu zeihen.
Sie haben enge Weisheit sich ersonnen,
Was Ohnmacht nicht begreift, sind Treumereyen.
Schlegel. (1803.)

Of that numerous and eminent literary family, of which Lessing was the first-born, and Göthe the chief, and which, at the close of the last century and the commencement of the present, shed such glory over Germany, there now remain but three members: an aged philosopher, Schelling; an aged poet, Tieck; an aged critic, a poet also, but more particularly a critic, Augustus William Schlegel.

If you visit Germany, and, passing through the pleasant city of Bonn, inquire concerning the curiosities which it contains, you will certainly be shown a small, elegant old man, in a light peruke, who bears well the weight of seventy five winters, and who is there closing, amid profound silence, a career commenced and pursued amid great noise.

It must be a sad thing to survive our age, to see the ideas which we have promulgated with difficulty, and for which we have contended

with renown, become in part common-places, after having been bold paradoxes, and circulate peacefully among a new generation, which takes from them whatever suits it, which glories in what it takes, as if it were its own creation, and which, in its joy at running without restraint, in a field more vast than that of its predecessors, forgets to turn back and thank those who opened the path.

Here is a man whom perhaps half of our readers know only by name, a man whom Germany itself seems to have forgotten; and yet, if all that modern literature, which has long been distinguished by the epithet *romantic*,* were grateful, it

* It may not be useless to remark here, that this word, *romantic*, brought from Germany and so often perverted among us, was originally only a simple generic term, applied by the German critics to all the literary or artistic works, produced since the introduction of Christianity, and independent of Greek and Roman tradition, in opposition to the epithet *classic*, which they applied to antique art, or imitations of the antique.

* From the "Galerie des Contemporains Illustres, 45^e livraison, 1842.
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would erect statues to Schlegel ; for he was, after Lessing, its first, its most vigorous and most illustrious champion.

The great literary epoch of Germany was the result, we know, of a reaction of the German mind from the French mind. The splendors of the reign of Louis Fourteenth had dazzled Europe. The language, ideas, manners, tastes, fashions, and books of France, overran all nations. Even those, which, like England and Spain, already possessed a completely formed indigenous literature, cast it aside and vied with each other in French imitation.

Germany was, at that time, in point of intellectual culture, far behind the other western nations. Absorbed, at the close of the middle ages, by religious dissensions ; ruined, ravaged, and above all, denationalized by the thirty years' war, it had been unable to develop the precious germ, deposited in the songs of its *Minnesingers* and *Mastersingers* ; and native genius had languished, stifled under a gross confusion of languages and manners, borrowed from all the nations who had trodden the German soil. " At this time," says Menzel, " they dressed in the Dutch style, ate in the Swedish, romanced in the Spanish, swore in the Hungarian and Turkish, and the most eloquent discourse was that which contained the greatest number of foreign ingredients." From this chaos, a few learned Protestants, unable to found a national literature, withdrew in solitude to the philological and barren study of the ancients.

In this condition was Germany, when the French mind, which, since the revival of letters, had removed each day farther from the German element, to turn towards the Greco-Latin element, and which, while advancing rapidly in this path, had arrived at the highest point of its culture, penetrated the higher class-

es, and experienced no difficulty in replacing all other influences by its own. The *Gallomania* then became general. During nearly a century, Germany drank to satiety of a second-hand literature—a literature insipid, without originality, without color, without genius. The reaction commenced towards the middle of the eighteenth century : some, considering the French literature itself as a false copy, undertook to go back to the original source and place themselves in direct communication with the Greek genius ; others declared for the productions of the English genius, as more conformable to the German : in short, Germany, still destitute of an indigenous literature, was fluctuating between translations and imitations, when there suddenly arose a kind of literary Arminius, Ephraim Lessing, with a mind enlarged, acute and vigorous, formed for controversy, who, while acknowledging his preference for the English school, contended against all foreign invasions, cleared the ground and prepared the triumphal path, through which a brilliant and varied train of original poets and prose writers soon defiled. Nevertheless, in his zeal for destruction, in his furious sallies against the French literature of the grand age, Lessing, exclusively pre-occupied by negative criticism, accomplished only half his task ; the other half was reserved for his immediate successors, the two brothers Schlegel, and especially, in whatever relates to dramatic literature, for him who is the subject of this memoir.

It was W. Schlegel, who first, agitating effectually the great question of liberty in art, and discussing, from a point of view much more elevated than that of La Mothe, the famous dramatic legislation attributed to Aristotle,* traced with a bold

* Aristotle, who passes for the author of the law of the three unities, has spo-

hand the poetry of romanticism : it was he, who first brought into one view, Sophocles, *Æschylus*, Euripides, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, Shakspeare and Calderon, the ancient theater, the theater imitated from the ancient and the modern theater, claiming for the last the right to be governed only by principles, drawn from the genius, ideas and manners of modern nations.

Now that we have somewhat prepared our ground, and indicated, without discussion, some of the literary titles of the illustrious German critic, it only remains for us to enter upon the detail of biographical facts, reserving for ourselves the privilege of making a few brief observations, concerning works and ideas, the merit and the justice of which are not always indisputable.

Augustus William Schlegel was born at Hanover, September 8, 1767, of a respectable Protestant family. He had four brothers, two of whom were distinguished in the ecclesiastical career ; the third served as an officer in the English army, and died, while yet young, in the East Indies ; the fourth, Frederic Schlegel, died at Dresden in 1829, after having acquired a literary reputation equal to that of his brother. A poet, a romance-writer, a philologist, critic, historian and philosopher, Frederic left a greater number of works than William. As a philosopher and philologist, the author of the history of *Ancient and Modern Literature*, of the *Philosophy of History*, of the work entitled, *The Language and Wisdom of the Indians*, etc., etc., is perhaps superior to William Schlegel, in extent and depth of knowledge, but he is inferior to him in style ; he is a dull, heavy and perplexed writer, and has none

of that brilliant, clear, animated and picturesque exposition, which so eminently distinguishes his brother.

After having received his early education at Hanover, W. Schlegel was sent to the University at Göttingen, where he studied first theology and afterwards philosophy, with the celebrated Professor Heyne. He executed, under his direction, a remarkable Latin work, upon the geography of Homer : this work was crowned in 1787, by the Society of Philology, and he afterwards prepared the index of the Virgil edited by Heyne. At this period, the young Schlegel was already distinguished for his profound knowledge of ancient art and literature. Nevertheless, philological studies only half suited the poetical cast of his organization, and he could not fail to be involved in the grand literary movement which was then going on in Germany : the French school had expired at Potsdam with Frederic ; Göthe had published his drama of *Gortz von Berlichingen* and his romance of *Werter* ; the heated imagination of Schiller, after having emitted its first fire, in the drama of *The Robbers*, in *Fiesco*, and *Cabal and Love*, was tempered and matured by observation and study ; Lessing had just died, after having accomplished his dramatic crusade against French tragedy. Even in Göttingen, a new poetic school, in the bosom of which shone Bürger, Voss, Hölty, Miller, Leisewitz and the two Stolbergs, had been formed in opposition to the French taste, and derived its inspiration from the double sources of the domestic hearth and chivalric traditions.

Of all these poets, Bürger had the greatest attraction for the youthful Schlegel. The life of the celebrated author of *Leonora*, the unhappy life of a stern and haughty spirit, struggling with misery and passion, contributed not a little to mingle with the admiration of Schle-

ken at length of unity of action only : he makes but a vague allusion to unity of place, and says not a word of unity of time.

gel, sentiments more profound. He sought the friendship of Bürger, and he obtained it; he shared his labors; his poetical enthusiasm was awakened, by communion with this ardent and gloomy nature. He afterwards, in his polemical writings, piously defended the memory of his friend, and the collection of his poems contains a sonnet, full of grace and of melancholy, addressed to the memory of him, who was his first master in the art of song:—*Mein erster Meister in der Kunst der Lieder*, etc.

On leaving the University of Göttingen, Schlegel undertook to direct the education of the children of a rich Amsterdam banker: after a three years' residence in Holland, he returned to Germany, and settled at Jena.

Here commenced for him the period of fertility, controversy, and celebrity. Jena and Weimar were at that time the two centers, where was collected all the intellectual activity of Germany. In this corner of Saxony, amid the noise of the great contests of the Republic and the Empire, when blood was flowing over all Europe, they wielded the pen with incredible ardor, and shed floods of ink over the land of æsthetics. Among the combatants, shone William Schlegel, successively engaged in editing the *Hours* and the *Almanack of the Muses* of Schiller: he ended by establishing, conjointly with his brother Frederic, the *Athenæum*, a literary review, which exercised a great influence over the direction of ideas in Germany—an influence for which the two brothers Schlegel have been severely reproached by later critics, and of which it is necessary for us to say a few words.

The literary royalty of Göthe was then at its height. This insatiable Prometheus, while seeking, through time and space, all the sparks of the sacred fire, while assimilating to himself in some meas-

ure the poetic substance of all ages and of all nations, seems to have wished to concentrate within himself entire humanity. Without his genius, which stamped an individual seal upon most of his conquests, Göthe would have been merely an universal plagiarist. Seduced by this magnificent exception, the brothers Schlegel erected example into precept; upon the ruins of the French, Greek and English schools, they attempted to found a school of schools, a vast caravansary, open to all importations, where might meet, upon a footing of equality, all the manifestations of human poetry, from the commencement of the world to the present day. From aversion to the exclusive spirit in criticism, they carried eclecticism to its utmost limits, and preached a kind of æsthetic polytheism, confounding, in the same adoption, all the gods of all countries and of all ages. The advantages and the dangers of this theory may easily be conceived; it enlarged the sphere of inspiration, but destroyed all originality, by annihilating the conditions of time and place. In short, it was more injurious than useful, in the formation and development of a truly national literature. Moreover, there soon resulted from it a new rage for translations and imitations, no longer limited to certain favorite models, but extended without distinction to all foreign productions. The intentions of the Schlegels were good; they aspired to make of literary Germany a beehive, rifling indiscriminately all the flowers of the human mind, to compose its honey; and their cosmopolite theory, fortified by the example of Göthe, produced on the contrary a swarm of hornets, withering the flowers by their touch, and unable to extract aught, save the proof of their own impotence.

The famous principle of art for art, about which we have made so much noise for the last twelve years,

came to us equally from Göthe and from the Schlegels. In their eclecticism, in point of tastes and manners, they readily admired, as the criterion of the beautiful in poetry, elegance and harmony of verse. William Schlegel united practice with theory. His various poems, which have gone through several editions, present a curious mixture of inspirations, pagan, Christian, mythological, catholic, oriental, chivalric, serious, trifling, refined, simple. Odes, epistles, elegies, ballads, songs, epigrams, sonnets—every thing is found there, every thing, even to the severe Greek tragedy of *Ion*, of which we shall speak hereafter, and which there figures between a *choliambe* and a *triolet*. The pieces entitled, *Arion*, *Pygmalion*, *Prometheus*, the *Legend of St. Lucas*, the *Ballad of Fortunatus*, and the *Elegy of Rome*, dedicated to Madame de Staël, are remarkable fragments. Among the sonnets are some very beautiful, especially those suggested by the death of a young girl, Augusta Behmer. But if the poems of Schlegel are cosmopolite in substance, they are still more so in form. The poet's aim seems to have been, to execute, in the German language, every kind of poetical feat. He displays, in his rhythmical combinations, a variety and flexibility, which often degenerate into affectation and puerile coquetry. Thus there are poems, where, in each stanza, the measure diminishes by one syllable in each line, and others, where the poet imposes upon himself at pleasure, nine rhymes in succession: sometimes the grave Schlegel disdains not to indicate in italics *bouts-rimés*, which he has filled up very agreeably. All this is curious, and evinces rare skill in the management of the language, a skill of which Schlegel made an excellent use in his translations of Shakspeare and Calderon; but in original poems, this excessive atten-

tion to the style can not fail to impair the truth or the energy of the idea.

Another charge, which has been brought against the two celebrated editors of the *Athenæum*, refers to the general tone of their criticism, and to their enthusiasm for Göthe, carried even to adoration, and combined with a severity towards their adversaries, easily changing to aristocratic haughtiness and impertinence. Nevertheless the *Athenæum*, and the other polemical writings of Schlegel, have had their share of good influences also. Endowed by nature with the perception of the ideal, the noble and grand, the powerful critic made war unto death against frivolity and immorality. Independent of the poetical pantheism of Göthe, German literature was then separated into two parties. The idyls of Gessner and the celebrated pastoral and domestic poem of *Louisa* by Voss, had produced a mass of imitations; they were devoted to painting rustic manners and fireside enjoyments: the German pastoral muse was not a shepherdess, gaudy and bedecked *à la Watteau*; while divesting her of her artificial attire, Voss and Gessner knew how to preserve a certain simple grace, but in the hands of their imitators, she gradually assumed the form of a ruddy milkmaid, with coarse hands, tangled hair and naked feet. Others were inspired with a fondness for the most vulgar incidents of life: there was a profusion of hexameters upon the delights of the table, of coffee, beer, sour-kROUT, potatoes, pipes and slippers. W. Schlegel directed, against this poetry of the poultry-yard and kitchen, the keen shafts of his criticism, and the torrent was arrested by his elegant *persiflage*.

In a different way, the famous Kotzebue formed another literary and dramatic sect. Possessing talent and genius, but wanting greatness of soul, Kotzebue had acquired

the popular favor, by introducing into the drama a feeble and false style, a mixture of frivolity and sentiment, where the most complete moral skepticism is plainly discernible, amid the interest of scenic combinations. This manner of adorning, coloring and ennobling vulgarity and vice, was rudely attacked by Schlegel. He put to the sword that innumerable family of mean and pitiable villains, with whom Kotzebue filled all the theaters of Germany—a despicable family, who practice, profess or tolerate, with sensibility and decency, deceit, knavery and profligacy. Schlegel attacked these basely created creatures, from the three stand-points of art, truth and morality, with the weapons of reason and ridicule, in prose and in verse, with logic and with epigrams. His collection of poems contains a series of sonnets, entitled *A Triumphal Arch, erected in honor of Kotzebue*, and composed at this period. It is poetry of the burlesque kind, in which are not wanting words inelegant, but full of wit and sarcasm.

This period of literary controversy lasted nine years, from 1795 to 1804. Residing first at Jena, and afterwards at Berlin, Schlegel, in all the ardor of youth and talent, published a wonderful quantity of works, editing almost alone with his brother the Athenæum, furnishing besides various other journals with numerous articles of profound literary and artistic criticism, upon the most varied subjects, delivering a course of lectures on æsthetics at the University of Jena and one at Berlin on modern literature. He undertook, at the same time, a great and difficult enterprise, the execution of which would suffice to immortalize his name: we refer to his beautiful translation in verse of the works of Shakspeare and the principal dramas of Calderon. It required a rare courage, and a complete possession of the three languages and of the spirit of the two poets, to

attempt to translate them in any manner verse for verse, while imposing upon himself not only the exact reproduction of a sense often obscure, but also that of the measure and the rhythm, so frequently varied, especially in Shakspeare. Schlegel triumphed over all these difficulties: it is true that the German language, by the richness, freedom and number of its combinations of words, lends itself, more readily than any other, to translations of this kind. The translation of Shakspeare, which exercised a decided influence upon the nature and form of the dramatic composition of the epoch, was commenced in 1797, and nine volumes appeared at Berlin in 1810.

This work, prosecuted by Schlegel, amid the vicissitudes of his life, was finished by the labors of his friend Tieck, who translated several pieces, and it appeared complete at Berlin in 1825. The translation of Calderon, commenced in 1803, appeared at Berlin in two volumes in 1809. In 1802, Schlegel published at Berlin, under the somewhat flowery title of *A Bouquet of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese Poems*, a volume of detached poems, translated from different authors. This translation is distinguished throughout, by Schlegel's predominant quality, elegance and flexibility of style.

From this period, dates also the tragedy, in five acts, entitled *Ion*, imitated from the drama of Euripides, bearing the same name. The question, how far the Greek poet had been copied by Schlegel, was at that time discussed with much interest. He asserted that the greater portion of the work was his own. However that may be, the German tragedy, notwithstanding the beauty of the style, produces the effect of a cold and languid creation.

There is however some interest in the first act, where predominates the pure and graceful figure of *Ion*, a child of fifteen years, educated in the temple of Delphi. *Ion* is igno-

rant of his parentage, believes himself an orphan, and paints, in beautiful verses, the happiness of his life, passed under the shadow of the altar and consecrated entirely to the service of the god, whose son he is. But we believe that this first act is precisely like that of Euripides. It is to this charming creation of the *Racine* of Greece, that we owe the first idea of the character of Joas in *Athalie*.

We can not quit this part of the career of Schlegel, without giving a passing thought to that small circle of thinkers and dreamers who, in spite of literary controversy, led at Jena a life so peaceful, social and poetical. There were some choice spirits, the two Schlegels, Tieck, Schelling, Solger, and Novalis, removed so young, all differing in gifts, but united by a community of sympathy and taste, inclining rather to the beautiful humanity of Göthe, than to the beautiful morality of Schiller, but entirely separated from the great pagan of Weimar, by a sort of poetico-religious faith mingled with mysticism and Teutonism, which gladly turned from the East and from Greece, to plunge with ardor into the great Christian and national reminiscences of the Middle Ages.

It was towards the close of 1804, that W. Schlegel formed an acquaintance with Madame de Staël, and became attached to her, by a bond of friendship and warm admiration, which death only could sever. He abandoned the brilliant position, which he then occupied in Germany, to take charge of the education of her children. The noble delicacy of the author of *Corinne* could appreciate the sacrifice, and in Schlegel she saw only the eminent man and the devoted friend. He shared her wandering and often troubled life; he resided with her successively at Coppet, in Italy, in France, at Vienna, in Russia and in Sweden; and indeed he parted from his illus-

trious friend only in Paris in 1817, on the 14th of July, the fatal day on which, (to apply to Madame de Staël herself, the words which she applied to another genius,) "Death closed its brazen gates upon a woman, lately so elegant, so animated and in so full possession of life."

During these twelve years of intimacy, Schlegel undoubtedly exercised a certain influence upon the direction of the labors and ideas of Madame de Staël. This influence manifested itself more particularly in some passages of the work on Germany; but it is an error to suppose, that this book was in part the work of Schlegel, for it would be easy to prove, on a much greater number of points, an almost entire disagreement between the critic and Madame de Staël. When the latter, who read and understood German perfectly, wished to test her ideas by contradiction, she would say, "I am going to make Schlegel talk;" and Schlegel, a polyglot talker, fluent and equally brilliant in all languages, never failed to accept the challenge. The contest began; Madame de Staël, who knew her critic to be prejudiced against every thing, which was not Göthe, Greece or the Middle Ages, attacked him vigorously, and the discussion often had the result, which is by no means uncommon, of confirming each of the disputants in his own opinion.

During a visit of Madame de Staël to Paris in 1807, Schlegel wrote in French a pamphlet entitled, *Comparison between the Phædra of Racine and that of Euripides*. This little work, written in a very good style, full of learning and talent, but too enthusiastic in favor of the Greek poet to be altogether just to the French, occasioned much scandal, among all the literati of the Empire.

The imperial police not permitting Madame de Staël to remain longer in France, she returned to Germany; Schlegel followed her thither, and commenced at Vienna, in

the spring of 1808, amid a concourse of hearers, that famous course of lectures on dramatic literature, which has since been published in three volumes, and translated into all languages, and which in many respects, deserves the reputation it has obtained. As there is a very good French and English translation of this work, we feel less regret that we can here take only a rapid survey of it. It contains an examination of the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, Spanish and German theaters. In the opinion of Schlegel, there are but three truly original theaters, which under this title are the objects of a minute analysis: the Greek theater, from which are derived the Latin and French, and the two theaters, which he calls *romantic*, the Spanish and the English, which, although contemporary, have a peculiar physiognomy, independent of each other, and have served to form the German theater, the foundations of which were laid by Göthe and Schiller. The first volume is devoted entirely to the Greek theater, and is unquestionably the most remarkable. Never before Schlegel, had criticism been raised to such a height, to such splendor; it is a rare mixture of profound science, of lofty and brilliant poetry. The critic speaks of Greece with enthusiasm; he comprehends it, as an artist and a poet, in its most minute details, as well as in the harmony of the whole; the picture which he draws of Greek society, is one of the most beautiful things we have ever read. The following is one passage of many equally beautiful.

"The moral culture of the Greeks was a natural education perfected; the offspring of a noble race, endowed with delicate organs and a clear understanding, they lived under a mild and pure sky, and, favored by the happiest circumstances, accomplished all which it is given to man, confined within the limits of life, to accomplish here below. All their

arts and their poetry express the consciousness of this harmony of their different faculties. They realized the poetry of happiness."

In the same elevated tone, Schlegel proceeds to the analysis of Sophocles, Æschylus, Euripides and Aristophanes. Sophocles is his favorite Greek dramatist. The Latin and Italian theaters are treated very summarily and with extreme severity. The French theater is examined more in detail, and this is undoubtedly owing to the desire of the critic to destroy the glory of this theater. Here Schlegel is inferior to himself: not that this portion of his work does not contain a great number of judicious ideas and observations, which are true and will remain so; but Schlegel is evidently under the influence of passion. It is the dictatorship of Napoleon, which he is attacking, in the dictatorship of the French theater, and this is proved by the instantaneous change in the tone and nature of his criticism. The professor, who but lately had contended, with as much eloquence as reason, against the old negative criticism, exclusively intent upon the discovery of defects, identifying himself with the men of all countries and of all ages, in order to see and feel like them, now creeps along in the old beaten track, and analyzes Racine much as Laharpe would have analyzed Shakspeare. He sees, in the French theater, nothing but an imitation of the Greek, and after having proved how far from exact this imitation is, he concludes that the copy is bad and inferior to the original, instead of concluding that it is another, and that this very difference constitutes its true originality. He praises Racine, when he approaches the Greek tragedy, and blames him, when he removes from it: instead of seeing in Racine a *romantic*, that is a chivalric and Christian poet, painting, under Greek names and with the severe forms of Greek tragedy, chiv-

alric and Christian heroes; instead of discussing the advantages and disadvantages of this fusion of forms and ideas, more or less heterogeneous, he persists in reducing the author of *Phædra* to this dilemma: you copy, therefore you are not an inventor, you invent, therefore you are a bad copyist.

In the examination of the French comedy, Schlegel is still more feeble; for example, when he says—"Molière succeeded best in burlesque comedy, and his talent, as well as his inclination, was for farces," what does he prove, but that the worthy German critic understood not a word of *Tartuffe* or the *Misanthrope*? In the analysis of Shakspeare, the admiration of Schlegel becomes fanaticism: it is throughout a perpetual hymn. He afterwards confessed with candor that the English, even the most *Shakspearian*, considered him as an *ultra*. Nevertheless, the examination of the English theater is, after that of the Greek theater, the most remarkable part of the work. The Spanish theater, of which Schlegel sums up the principal epochs, in the persons of Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderon, is analyzed more briefly, although with the same enthusiastic admiration. In the examination of the German theater, which he considers in its infancy, the critic shows himself more calm, perhaps even a little severe.

The life of Schlegel, hitherto exclusively devoted to literature, was soon to be disturbed by political events. Having returned to France with Madame de Staël, and being denounced by the Prefect of Geneva, as anti-French, he was included in the same exile with his illustrious friend; with her, he took refuge in Sweden at Stockholm, where he became acquainted with Bernadotte, then Prince Royal. The latter had just broken definitively with Napoleon and formed an alliance with Russia. At his suggestion, Schlegel

wrote in French a violent pamphlet, against the Emperor, under the title of *The Continental System*. This pamphlet, published at Stockholm in January, 1813, after the disastrous retreat from Moscow, was translated into Swedish, English and German. In the campaign of 1813, Schlegel accompanied Bernadotte, in the capacity of secretary, and wrote, it is said, the proclamations of the Prince Royal of Sweden. During the campaign, he also published a pamphlet, under the title of *A Picture of the Political and Moral State of the French Empire in 1813*. After the events of 1814 and 1815, Schlegel was ennobled and honored with several orders.

He soon after settled at Paris, but on the death of Madame de Staël, quitted France and was appointed a professor at the University of Bonn. In this latter part of his career, Schlegel, already versed in the knowledge of all the languages and all the literatures of Europe, devoted himself to the study of the oriental languages, especially of the Sanscrit. He is now one of the most distinguished Indian scholars of the age. After having established at Bonn a printing office *ad hoc*, he enriched this part of science with several important works; among others, two volumes, entitled the *Indian Library* (1820); a volume published at Bonn in 1829, containing the Latin translation of an episode of the Sanscrit poem, *Mahābhārata*; a French work with the title, *The Origin of the Hindoos*; a memoir, addressed to M. Sylvestre de Sacy, in which, contrary to the opinion of that orientalist, he maintains that the invention of the tales of a *Thousand and One Nights*, attributed to the Arabians, belongs to the Indians; and another memoir, entitled, *Reflections upon the Study of the Asiatic Languages*, dedicated to Mackintosh. While Schlegel was thus occupied with the East, he also found time to devote

to his former labors. After a journey to England and France, he delivered at Berlin in 1827, a course of lectures, on the history of the fine arts, since published in two volumes. He maintained a controversy, full of interest, with the learned M. Raynouard, concerning the nature, origin and influence of the Provençal language and literature. The beautiful lectures of M. Fauriel, on the origin of the romances of chivalry, also gave rise to a series of articles on this subject, published by Schlegel in the *Débats* of 1833 and 1834. These different works, accompanied by several articles less important, have been inserted in the French volume lately published.

From all this the reader can not fail to recognize in Schlegel, a poet, critic, philologist, orientalist and translator, a man whose name will live in the literary history of the last fifty years. If the limits of this sketch permitted, it would be interesting to inquire, wherein Schlegel has become obsolete in literature; which of his ideas Germany has accepted and which it has repudiated: to seek, not only in Germany, but also in France, the traces of the influence exercised by him over modern criticism, unquestionably superior to ancient criticism, if not in erudition, at least in the elevation of the point of view, the grandeur and

the range of the ideas. The fault of Schlegel's criticism, we have already indicated: it is an excessive pretension to universality; to constitute oneself the supreme judge of the literatures of all nations, is an enormous and dangerous enterprise. "With regard to both poets and prose-writers," as M. Sainte Beuve has well remarked, "each nation is the best judge of its own: the flower-girl of Athens, or, to speak in the style of Paul Louis Courier, the meanest woman of the *rue Chauchat*, knows more of certain indigenous faults, than the foreign man of genius."

When unmindful of this truth, we are in danger of committing strange mistakes: we are liable, like Göthe, to see in Du Bartas, one of the greatest poets of France, or like Schlegel, in Molière, only a vulgar harlequin. Another disadvantage of this too ambitious criticism, is that of enfeebling, by diffusing too widely, the powers of him who devotes himself to it. Schlegel appears to have felt, but too late, this injurious effect; for he concludes the preface to his last publication, with this expression, which will also serve us for a conclusion: "Those essays are like landmarks, planted along my literary career; at the end of which I must acknowledge to myself, that I have undertaken much and accomplished little."

SOMETHING WANTING TO THE WORLD'S CONVERSION.

AMIDST a universal conflict of opinion, perhaps the most remarkable which has occurred in the history of Christianity, there is one idea pervading all Christendom, and intimately incorporated with the religious thinking of the adherents of every hierarchy and every creed. That idea is, that *the whole world is to be converted to the Christian faith*: and the belief is very general

that the time when that hope is to be realized is near at hand. But the conceptions of different bodies of nominal Christians as to what is implied in a conversion of the human race to the Christian faith, and as to the means by which such an event is to be brought to pass, are widely diverse from each other, presenting all possible gradations between the widest extremes of dissimilarity.

The Papist sees in the anticipated event of the world's conversion, the great schism of the Reformation healed, and the infallible authority of his Holiness acknowledged with reverence and submission by the whole human family. In his eye the means by which this event is to be ushered in are very simple, though the enterprise must certainly be esteemed little less than infinitely arduous and difficult. It is nothing less than to induce all Protestant Christendom to relinquish that liberty of conscience for which such agonies have been endured, and so much blood has been shed at the stake and on the scaffold, to forget her Waldenses and Huguenots, her Wickliffs, her Luthers, her Latimers, and give back her conscience, her Bible, and her hopes of heaven, to the keeping of the Pope and of his swarming monks and crafty Jesuits. The means on which she relies for gaining these ends are the captivation of the imagination by the splendors of her architecture, her paintings, her music, her ritual and her priestly vestments,—the terrors which superstition always inspires in ignorant, degraded and guilty minds,—and the intimidation of that political power, which she wields by virtue of her alliance with the civil arm. This, thank God, is not *our* Christianity—this is not *our* enterprise for the world's conversion, nor are these *our* means for its accomplishment.

It is however to be feared that the conception of this subject, which obtains in most Protestant communions, is by no means true to fact, or adequate to the necessities of the church or of a perishing world. Each of our Protestant communions embodies in its organization, some peculiar conception of a complete view of the gospel, and of a perfect state of Christian society. Such a conception can never fail in every instance to modify our ideas of the nature of this great enterprise, and

of the means by which it is to be accomplished. Precisely to the extent that the adherents of any sect are pervaded by the conviction that their own system of divinity, exclusively, is a complete exhibition of the gospel, and their own mode of organization, that which a perfect state of Christian society requires, just to that extent does the enterprise of the world's conversion resolve itself into the universal prevalence of the peculiarities of their doctrine and organization; and the means necessary to this end, are nothing else than the application of a thousand fold greater moving power, to the peculiar moral machinery which their sect itself provides. They are sure that they have the true *model* of the machine and only need to construct it on a larger scale—or, to change the figure, they are sure that they have found the true center of the circle, and only need to enlarge the circumference till it embraces the globe. That this is a true and fair representation of the conception of the world's conversion, which obtains in the minds of vast multitudes in most or all the Protestant sects, will not probably be denied by any observing man. Much less can it be successfully denied, when we consider the pertinacity with which most of our sects insist on carrying all their sectarian peculiarities into all their efforts at evangelization.

This idea, that the whole work of the world's conversion is to be accomplished, simply by imparting new vigor to the movements of existing machinery, is exerting its influence on the great mass in all our Protestant communions. The common feeling is, if we could only excite the church to give a thousand times as liberally to the cause of Christian benevolence and send out into the various fields of Christian labor a thousand times as many men, the world would be converted to God in a few years. Multitudes in various communions are practicing an

exemplary, and in some instances an extreme self-denial, for the sake of giving to the cause of missions, whose sensibilities would perhaps be wounded by the suggestion that any thing more is needed to secure the world's conversion, than merely to apply the requisite power to this part of our machinery.

Now far be it from us to speak lightly of such self-denial, or of the object for the sake of which it is practiced. It is indeed true that a great increase of a self-denying and liberal spirit is an indispensable condition of success in the great work. And at this hour, when every good enterprise in our land is in embarrassment from the lack of funds, far be it from us to discourage the pious disinterestedness by which these enterprises are saved from extinction. But still we must and do maintain that the conception of our great enterprise which contemplates no other means of its accomplishment, than the application of increased moving power to the existing forms of religious machinery, is imperfect and delusive. The means of the world's conversion are twofold—the *intellectual* and the *executive*: and it is a great calamity to the church and to the world, that while the executive part of this process has been deliberately and solemnly undertaken, as the great enterprise of modern Christendom: the progress which has been made in the intellectual part, has been only by the reaction of the enterprise itself upon prevalent habits of thinking, or by other indirect influences in the providence of God, and too generally in opposition to the wishes and sentiments of the great majority of the nominally Christian world. The necessity of this part of the process is not seen, nor has the church in this or any other country ever to any extent undertaken its performance. It is still true, though we are rapidly nearing the middle of this boasted nineteenth century, that the man

who undertakes solemnly and candidly to make a fresh comparison of the doctrinal system, or the principles of organization held in any one of our communions, with the acknowledged infallible standard, may certainly anticipate that the great mass of that portion of the church will be against him, and regard his speculations as arrogant, unnecessary, and pernicious. This is not the temper which the present condition of the world calls for. It is not the spirit which God requires of his people. We propose therefore to show, that there is an *intellectual work to be done in Christendom, as an indispensable preparation for the world's conversion, and therefore requiring the solemn, deliberate and immediate effort of the church, as truly as the sending of missionaries to the heathen, or the dissemination of the Bible*. That every doctrine of every sect is to be again and again examined, and every principle of organization to be again and again compared with the direct instructions, or the clear and logical implications of the word of God.

1. This we argue, *from the most obvious consideration, that by far the greater portion of us must, from the very nature of the case, be more or less in the wrong.*

Of several conflicting views of the same subject, only one can be right; all may be wrong; and all but one must necessarily be so. Let us now leave out of our estimate all the sects whose numbers are inconsiderable, and all those whose claim to the evangelical character is considered as doubtful. We shall still have some ten organized bodies of Christians—which we leave each reader to reckon up for himself. Of these ten sects—differing from each other in various degrees, yet constituting in effect one body, as opposed to Rationalism on the one hand and to Romanism on the other—it is too certain to require any argument, that at least nine are

more or less in the wrong in their modes of organization, or their doctrines. Nor are the matters at issue between these sects unimportant in their nature. All truth is important; and no man can decide to what extent mischievous consequences may result from the denial of one truth which God has revealed, or from the maintenance of one principle which is either in theory or in its practical operation, at variance with truth, nature and the government of God. No man is wise enough to warrant him in the assertion that none of the points at issue between these various sects are of any serious importance to the world's conversion. Indeed to make such an assertion, would be a mark of folly, not of wisdom. What Christian in his senses believes that it is of no consequence to the world, whether society be organized after the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, or the Congregational model? Or whether the doctrinal notions of John Wesley or John Calvin, become the current opinions of mankind? Does any one doubt then that an essential part of the means by which the millennium is to be introduced, lies in a fresh investigation of existing systems of doctrine and organization? Let him meet the fact which is found upon the very face of modern Christendom, that at least nine in ten of our sects, embracing of course a vast majority of all the disciples of Christ in this nation, are certainly involved in important error, from which they can be delivered only by a fresh comparison, not only of their own but of all other systems, with the word of God. And when he has fairly met this fact, and weighed it, and pondered it, as its magnitude deserves, then let him judge whether the coming of the millennium can be hoped for in this land, without the performance of a work of religious investigation, more thorough, searching and radical than has ever occurred in any

former period of the history of our religion; and whether he who is honestly and in the fear of God engaged in this work, is not as truly laboring for the world's conversion, as he who is preaching the gospel in Palestine or in Burmah. There is only one mode of avoiding this conclusion; and that is to maintain that the present divided state of Protestant Christianity is to exist in the last days of the church, and is consistent with the most perfect state of Christian society. We are aware that many intelligent men and good Christians entertain this opinion. It is sufficient here to say of it that such an idea shocks all our sense of moral symmetry and beauty, and makes us feel that such a millennium would be hardly worth our prayers and our efforts: it undermines all confidence in every form of religious opinion, either by maintaining that there is no appreciable difference between religious truth and religious error, or that the minds of Christians, even in that golden age of evangelical truth and power, will not have the discernment to distinguish between them. But the utter impracticability of this view of the case will more fully appear as we proceed.

2. We argue the truth of our position again, *from the actual daily experience of the church in the present age.*

The machine is constructed, we are told, after the correct model, and it only needs the application of the requisite power. In vain do we urge that the machine is encumbered with a great amount of unnecessary friction. "All that is necessary," we are again told, "is the application of sufficient *power*—let us only have a style of Christian character sufficiently intense and energetic, and the friction you complain of will be easily overcome." Give me a place where I may stand, said the philosopher of Syracuse, and I will move the earth. A grand

conception, indeed, but we have never heard that he found the place where he could stand, and hence philosophy has never yet pried the earth out of its orbit. There is upon a waterfall of given power, a piece of machinery which has been constructed at immense expense and trouble to its proprietor. Years have been wasted in unsuccessful efforts to make it so operate as to produce the desired result. At length the advice of a machinist is called for. He examines the construction of the machine, and demonstrates that its failure is clearly ascribable to bad construction, occasioning an immense unnecessary friction. "Oh," says the proprietor, "if that is all, the remedy is easy—it is only necessary to apply the more power." "But," says the machinist, "have you not been trying these twenty years to apply more power without success? And are you not aware that you have long since applied the full power of your waterfall, and that you have therefore no more power to apply?" "Ah!" replies the proprietor, "I think it a dangerous experiment to attempt any reconstruction of the machine—we might make it worse; I would rather rely on, the application of more power." "But," says the machinist, "why do you fear that we shall make it worse? Do you suppose such a machine as this to be constructed at random, and without any rules or fixed principles by which to be governed, so that getting it right is a mere matter of accident? Besides, do you not see that to say you will rely on the application of more power to this machine, is simply the same thing as to abandon the hope of the intended result? You can not apply more power; you have been trying to do that these twenty years and always failed." "Ah!" says the proprietor again, "if we can get more power, we can overcome the friction. The machinist who built this machine

had great skill in his profession; we have not his equal in our day. I do not think *we* can expect to improve upon *his* model. I would rather try to apply more power to the machine as it is."

Now this does but too justly represent the predicament of the modern church with reference to her great enterprise of the conversion of the world to God. Her progress in heathen lands within the half century since the commencement of the modern missionary movement, has been in general slow and toilsome; and she has now arrived at a point where there are many indications that the power to be applied is a fixed quantity. To say nothing of enlargement or extension, it is becoming questionable whether existing missions must not be abandoned, for the want of power to sustain them. And yet, who is preaching the Gospel to the three hundred and fifty millions of China? How many to the one hundred and twenty millions of Hindostan? How many in the whole vast continents of Asia and Africa.

Meanwhile, how is the church advancing at home? We do not, indeed, mean to deny that true Christianity has made real progress in Protestant Christendom during the last half century. In some respects her progress has been wonderful, considering the disadvantages of her position; no candid mind can contemplate it without yielding to the conviction that this work is of God. Indeed the very fact of the continued existence of Christianity among the prominent intellectual elements of the nineteenth century, under all the disadvantages of divisions and contentions among Christians, is a most affecting proof of her immortal energy. No other system of religion or philosophy—assailed from various quarters by a combination of the most powerful minds, with the keenest and most malignant hatred—and weakened and disgraced,

as the Gospel has been, by the factions that divide its friends and advocates—could have stood its ground even up to the present time. The sway which in such circumstances the religion of Christ exerts over the purest and most enlightened portion of the world, is a fact which ought to fill every unbelieving heart with trembling. Like the bush which Moses saw, the church of Christ, though burning, is not consumed; its leaves are still green upon it.

But while there are points at which it were easy to demonstrate, beyond contradiction, the progress of the Gospel in our age, it concerns our present purpose to remark, what is equally demonstrable, that the progress is by no means such as ought to satisfy our expectations. Why is it that while Protestant Christianity is engaged in an effort for the establishment of a universal moral empire of truth and holiness, she is every where met at her own doors by malignant infidelity, and by a wide-spread practical neglect of religion? Why, in our own republic, where religious liberty has been so long enjoyed, where the Bible is free to all, and has actually been placed in every family, and where the Gospel is fairly disburdened of all the incumbrances from political interference, which have pressed it down in other ages and countries, and is therefore at liberty to exert its full power upon society, and has been so for more than a half century—why is it that in such a country, so large a portion of the entire people are either the avowed advocates of some form of infidelity, or in practice utterly negligent of all religion? Why is it, that in the very midst of this effort for the universal extension of Protestantism, the Papacy is collecting and wielding throughout Christendom a power which it has not possessed before since the Reformation? Have we but one answer to make to all these inquiries?

Have we only to say, that our religious machinery must be worked with greater energy? To this a conclusive reply has already been made, by pointing to the fact which lies on the very surface of society, and which no man can contradict, to wit, that the great mass of Protestant Christians have not a full conception of the Gospel, and are not organized in accordance with the will of our great Master in heaven. From such a state of things, waste of power—excessive friction must inevitably result. The laws of successful action are as certain and as definite in the moral as in the material world; and a bad system of moral arrangements will no more produce the legitimate fruits of a good one, than a badly constructed machine will do the work of one constructed with the highest degree of skill, and in complete accordance with the laws under which it is to act. Is it still said, that “we only need to apply more power?” Do we still hear the argument, “let Christians take hold and work, and they will overcome the friction?” We ask, *How can we apply more power?* He who can answer this question speaks to the purpose; he who can not, says nothing to the purpose, however good his exhortations may be. This is the great question of Protestant Christendom, of the age, of the missionary enterprise.

We know how to respect the feeling which shrinks from such ideas as that which we are proposing. We are not unconscious of that feeling in ourselves. But still we are constrained to look our proposition in the face, and to present it to the consideration of our Christian brethren. Who is there to deny that the ecclesiastical systems of Christendom generally, must be in various degrees reconstructed, before the Gospel shall achieve its promised triumph? We ask, then, is it to be supposed that those corrected sys-

tems either of doctrine or of organization which are to be constructed for the expected age of the Redeemer's universal victory, will be constructed without study and counsel and effort, expressly directed to that end? Is it a mere accident, whether we get them right or wrong? Is there no standard of moral truth or fitness, other than the stereotype plates from which our own favorite systems are struck? so that if these were lost or their authority invalidated, there would be no fixed standard or model by which the system could be reconstructed? Thanks to God, we have a common standard upon which we are agreed, divinely inspired, and if followed, quite adequate to enable us to distinguish between the true and the false, the right and the wrong. The thing to be done in our effort to prepare the church for her final conquests, is not a leap in the dark: it is a simple, candid comparison of all our systems with this infallible standard. If our systems are right, the result of such a comparison can be nothing else than to reaffirm them—if wrong, to correct them. To doubt this, is to question the authority of all our religion, to distrust God and his Spirit.

But we shall hear it said, on every side, "The men who devised our existing systems were highly gifted of God, such as the present age can not produce: there is little hope that we in this degenerate age can improve upon what they have done." True; the men who devised and constructed the existing systems of Protestant Christendom—from Luther to Wesley—were highly gifted of God; and each had his mission to fulfill. The heroic reformer of Wittenberg, the patriot martyr of Zurich, the wise theologian of Geneva, the leaders of the Westminster Assembly, the authors of the Cambridge Platform, the apostle and lawgiver of Methodism—were men

to be held in everlasting remembrance. But to say that what they did is never to be in any way improved upon—to say, that the several varying and conflicting systems constructed by them in their several spheres of action, must stand forever, without any attempt to modify them and to bring them into harmony, is a slander both upon the word and the providence of God. What! had the imprisonment of the Bible for a thousand years produced no darkness of the human mind? Or did the Reformers, at the first movement, emerge from the depths of that darkness into so full a refulgence of light, that their interpretations of God's word are to stand as an infallible rule to all subsequent ages? Have the freedom of the Bible for three hundred years, and the stately movements of God's providence in connection with it during that brightest period in the history of human knowledge, thrown no light upon the system of the Gospel, and the organization of Christian society? We might as well insist on going back for our knowledge of steam power or astronomy, to a date anterior to Watt and Fulton, or Newton and Kepler. The position of the diligent and candid student of the Bible in our own generation, is as certainly more favorable to a correct conception of the system which it teaches, than that of the best of the Reformers, as the position of the student of physical science is more favorable to an understanding of the laws of the material world, than that of Galileo or Copernicus. The intellectual work done by the Reformers bore a very close analogy to that of the great pioneers of modern science. The dark system which had been superinduced upon the Bible, had given a fundamentally false interpretation to the whole book: and the process of restoring to each portion of the Bible its own proper meaning, is

closely analogous to that of discovery in physical science; and it is not more certainly true, that the human mind has made great progress in one of these branches of knowledge in the last three hundred years, than in the other. And are we then to be told, when we exhort the church to re-examine, and if need be to reorganize her systems, in preparation for the battle of the great day of God Almighty, that her systems as they are, have the sanction of Luther, and Calvin, and Knox, and Edwards, and Wesley? Great and good men were these, of whom the world was not worthy. But they were never commissioned to make a Bible for us, or to give any authoritative interpretation of that which we have. They had not seen the word of God illustrated by his providence and his Spirit for the last one hundred years: and let no man who has any reverence either for the word or the providence of God, say, that that is a lesson of no value.

It is indeed true, that what the church needs, and all which she needs, is a more elevated and influential piety. But how is this want to be supplied? If it could be shown that piety is entirely indifferent to systems, both of doctrine and organization, and will flourish as well under falsehood as under truth—under spiritual despotism as under the liberty of the Lord, there would then be some wisdom in proposing to desist from all farther examination of systems, in our efforts for the conversion of the world; and nothing would be required of us but to cry out for a more elevated piety. But what Christian believes that this is a true doctrine? It is a doctrine received by none of us. We are at least agreed in this, that systems both of doctrine and organization are important—vitally important to the great enterprise; else we can never justify the tenacity with which we severally adhere to our own.

If then systems are important, who shall show that a re-examination and reconstruction of existing systems, is not an indispensable means of attaining those high degrees of holiness which we all acknowledge are needful? There is indeed but one possible way of showing it; and that is, by showing that the present condition of Protestant Christendom, both with reference to doctrines and organizations, is in accordance with moral symmetry and the revealed will of God. To prove this, would surely be no easy task. There are probably many who would be willing to undertake the work for their own particular sect. But we must bear in mind, that one sect embraces only a minority of the true disciples of Christ, and that the work in which we are engaged is a great one, and needs the co-operation not only of one sect, but of all the faithful. If then all we are willing to attempt to prove—even those of us who are best satisfied with the present organization of the spiritual host, is, that one in ten of our sects is in the right, and all the rest of course in the wrong, on points of so much importance as to justify our remaining in separate communions, it is surely needless to argue this point any farther. If these things are so, the re-examination and reconstruction of systems of doctrine and order, is a most important part of the work to be done in our effort to convert this world to God. An order of things which thus involves four-fifths, and perhaps nine-tenths of all the disciples of Christ on earth, in serious and important religious error, must dim the light of divine truth, impair the power of religious motives, and impede the cultivation of piety.

Nor let us flatter ourselves that through the supposed purity of our own system, we are to escape entirely the deleterious consequences of this adulteration of the sincere

milk of the word in other Christian communions. The church of Christ is one body, and has one head, and "if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it." Let not then one member boast of its health, while it admits that the whole besides is diseased. Let us rather acknowledge the ties, which, uniting us all to the same glorious Head, unite us also to each other; and thus let us address ourselves at once to an honest effort to restore health to the whole body.

From this duty of re-investigating systems, which at this stage of our argument we may fairly assume to be binding on the great mass of the followers of Christ in our age, some may consider themselves and the adherents of their own sect exempted, on the ground that they are satisfied with their system, and willing to undertake its defense at all points. Their duty they conclude, lies in a simple effort to convert the greatest possible numbers to their views of doctrine and order, while those views themselves are regarded as unchangeable, and sacred from the touch of investigation. Such men should remember, that there are others as pious and as capable of interpreting the Bible as themselves, who are equally ready to advocate systems which, in many points not unimportant, are in conflict with theirs. Grant then that one is perfectly ready so far as himself is concerned, to take the responsibility of stereotyping his system for the millennium, and for eternity—has he no wish to secure his Christian brother from important religious error? And how is he to do this? There is but one way which affords any rational hope of success. Both parties must consent to a recomparison of their respective systems with a common infallible standard. He who refuses to do this, has great reason to suspect the sincerity and the purity of his own zeal for the truth. The

temper which he manifests is, at all events, not that which results from a simple reliance on the word and Spirit of God. He who is sustained in his religious opinions only by such a reliance, will ever be ready to re-examine any article of his faith upon the suggestion of a possible error, and will never fear the result of such an investigation, so long as his only infallible guides are at hand to conduct him safely through it. What he desires is not his own consistency, nor the infallibility of a favorite system, but the truth as it is in Jesus. He sincerely believes that this is found in God's word, and that God will guide to a knowledge of it, all those who honestly and prayerfully seek it there.

3. We argue the truth of our proposition, *from the necessity of the case under that constitution of things which God has adopted.* The law of religious influences does not differ essentially from that of the other intellectual influences which govern society. If this be true, then it follows of necessity, that in the introduction of the gospel among the depraved elements of human society, action and reaction must go together—that while Christianity, in its first reception among men, would act, to a certain extent, with a purifying efficacy upon society, it would also, as received, understood, and interpreted among men, be itself acted upon; to a certain extent it would be corrupted by the influence of the putrescent masses upon which it acted; and thus it would become to that extent, incapable of producing its appropriate fruits. It would therefore never exhibit its full power to bless mankind, till it should have been purified from that corruption, by the successive developments of the human mind, under the overruling providence and guiding Spirit of God.

We will illustrate this point by a

parallel case. The doctrines of our declaration of independence were generally received by the Mexican and South American republics, at the era of their respective separations from their mother country; and the political systems which they constructed, were close imitations in form, of our federal and state governments. It can not be doubted, indeed, that many of the fundamental doctrines of free government have become thoroughly incorporated with the Hispano-American mind. But there are other and false notions, both of religion and government, not re-examined, and still retaining their hold on the national character. These false and despotic doctrines amalgamate with the free principles derived from the United States, or rather *meet* with them, and the mingling of these opposing elements produces that confusion, that constant tendency to revolution, which at present characterize the Hispano-American governments. This feature in their condition, is analogous to the state of the church in those dark and corrupt centuries, which immediately preceded the systematic organization of the papal despotism. It is not improbable that there will yet be in those countries, a systematic and settled form of despotism, made up of some sort of amalgamation of these now conflicting elements, which will be neither the monarchical system of Europe, nor yet the republicanism of the United States—but a despotism still, and perhaps a very cruel and rigorous one.

It is not however probable, that the principles of liberty and equality can ever be eliminated from the Hispano-American mind: and it may be confidently hoped, that the successive developments of divine Providence will give to those principles a continually increasing power in the body politic, until they shall at length throw off from the political

combination the elements of despotism, and confer on those unhappy countries the blessing of pure and rational liberty. This is not uttered as a prediction—they may, and we would hope will, reach the goal of freedom by a shorter and a happier route. But if they do, we think that route will still be one, which will equally illustrate the principle we would insist on—the corruption of a true system by its being mingled with a false one, and its subsequent purification, by the development of the human mind, guided by the providence of God.

If we are right in our assumption, that the Christian religion in its influence upon the world, is subject to this general law of action and reaction, then the progress and ultimate destiny of the Gospel in the world, must follow the general analogy of other moral influences. At first the Gospel spread rapidly; and in a little more than two hundred years, it had diffused itself through the most extensive and compacted mass of moral corruption which had ever existed on earth—the united Grecian and Roman empires. Its corruption was inevitable. The forms and legends of the old paganism were indeed uprooted, and the forms and leading facts of Christianity were substituted in their place. But the human mind was not radically and thoroughly regenerated. The heaven was mingled with the mass, but had as yet done little to change its character. That was to be a progressive work, to go forward for ages and yet be incomplete. False principles in philosophy, in morals, in government, in education, were inwrought into the very texture of the minds of that age, and were not thrown off by the mere adoption of the names and forms of Christianity, and abjuring the forms of the old superstition. They blended with the new religion, and materially changed its character; and the resulting com-

pound, though not Christianity, nor even bearing more than a faint and distorted resemblance to it, was handed down to subsequent generations as the genuine Gospel. It is through this corrupted stream, that the nations of modern Christendom have received the forms and systems of the Christian religion as they actually exist. It is obvious then, that they never can be blessed—and can never bless the world—with the full power of the Gospel, till these foreign ingredients are quite removed from their actual Christianity; and their entire system, whether of doctrine or order, is conformed to the true spirit of the Gospel, as it proceeded from the lips of its Divine Author.

Is then the work of purging out the old leaven of these early and inevitable corruptions complete? It is gloriously begun; but that it is complete, we think a wise man will not assert. There are indeed some, laying claim to no small share of wisdom, who assert, or seem to assert, that it was completed by the Reformers. But what is the evidence on which such an assertion is to be credited? Surely, no such evidence is found either in the numerous errors which the progress of inquiry has already detected in those great and good yet fallible men, or in the multifarious and flagrant abuses which they never attempted to correct, or in those dissensions of theirs among themselves, which brought the Reformation to a stand, and which, entailed to so great an extent on their successors, in the form of modern sectarianism, have disgraced the church, and held back from the world the full blessings of the Gospel, even to this day. No: it is not to the days of Luther, nor to the entire period from Luther to Wesley, that we are to look for a full and final reformation. A partial deliverance has been wrought out for the church, but as yet it is only partial. Prin-

ciples have been evolved, which are destined to conduct her quite out of the wilderness; but the application of those principles has thus far been limited and incomplete. That work is mainly yet future; and it is not only an essential means to be employed for the world's conversion, but it is the main work to be done. Let us have the Gospel, the whole Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel—a true conception of the true system of the Bible, and we shall soon find the church filled with heavenly energy, and the most distant and barbarous tribes will soon feel her benignant influence. "Kings shall come to her light, and the nations to the brightness of her rising." "The sons of strangers shall build up her walls," and "all they that afflicted her, shall come bending unto her."

4. We argue the truth of our position, *from the history of the past*. Why has not the world long since been converted to God? At the end of more than eighteen hundred years from our Savior's appearing, why have infidelity, idolatry, and superstition, still a place on earth? Or rather, why do they embrace in the number of their adherents, more than three fourths of the human family? Is not eighteen hundred years long enough for an experiment? Is it said that the effort has not been made? This will be denied. Effort has been made, in one form and another, enough to have converted this whole world to God. This great enterprise, vast as it is, need never draw more heavily on the resources of Christendom, than was done to sustain the Crusades, or the enormous extravagances of the papacy. But grant that the effort never has been made—*why* has it not been made? Why has the Gospel never had power enough over its followers, to induce them even to *make the effort* to impart its blessings to every creature? With such conceptions

of the Gospel as glowed in the hearts of Paul and Peter, of James and John, could eighteen hundred years have rolled away, before there was even an adequate effort made to "disciple all nations?"

We can not avoid the dilemma, that either the true conception of the Gospel has been, during that long period, very imperfectly and indistinctly apprehended by the church; or else, that this conception is not one of sufficient power to obtain for it any thing beyond a very limited prevalence over the hearts and minds of men. Which side of this dilemma do we take? If the latter, then our hopes are at end; we deliver over a miserable world to the interminable reign of superstition, ignorance, and barbarism. But if we choose the former, then no business is more important to the church, in preparing for and hastening on the golden ages which are in reserve for her, than the business of investigation—thorough, unsparing, radical investigation—an investigation which shall recognize nothing as sacred but truth, and no standard of truth but the word of God.

In the present age of the world, motives of infinite strength urge us, to enter at once upon this work, and to accomplish it with the least possible delay. What Christian philanthropist is not filled with anxiety and even sadness, in view of those tendencies to an indiscriminate rejection of all forms of religious faith, which are apparent in so many quarters? What Christian father does not look with deep and painful solicitude on his sons, who are growing up within the reach of those very influences, which have heretofore delivered over so many youthful minds to the dark dominion of infidelity? an infidelity which leaves the soul no God—no moral obligation—no moral standard—no fear of hell—no hope of heaven. It is a matter of unspeakable interest to

every believer to know what those influences are. They are doubtless numerous; but in our opinion, by far the most important of them may be embraced in one statement. The intellect of the age, awake to the subject of religion, and intensely stimulated by the love of innovation in opinion, and the reaction of depravity against religious restraint, is called to act upon religious systems, which in their apparent mutual repugnances, and in their respective combinations with more or less which is erroneous, present many vulnerable points—many violations of moral symmetry, whether their past history be regarded, or their present condition.

The point on which we have just been insisting, affords a striking illustration of this sort of influence. Infidelity argues from the history and actual position of outward Christianity. She asks, "Is not a period of eighteen centuries, long enough for an experiment?" Guided by the implacable enmity of the human heart against the restraints of religion, she seizes on the inference, not that our religion needs reforming, but that it is a delusion. Taking her captivated listener along the dark pathway of papal superstition, tyranny and blood,—“These,” she exclaims, “are the fruits of your boasted gospel of peace.” When her pupil, not yet quite divested of his scruples, suggests that this was a corrupt and false Christianity, she changes the scene; she conducts him through the mazes of Protestant dissension; she portrays the strifes, the bigotry, the intolerance by which, earlier or later in their history, most of the Protestant communions have been dishonored; she shows the picture of sectarian distrust, jealousy and confusion, and she asks with a sneer, “Is this your boasted Christianity? Is this the gospel of peace?” Christians in this age, must give to this question a *practical* answer in the negative, or infi-

delity will still lead our children captive. It is not enough for the ministers of religion to demonstrate the fallacy of this argument: it is fallacious; but at the same time it is plausible. And while an argument, so sweeping and so plausible, is ever at hand, and ever appealing to the strong prejudices of human depravity, it will prevail with thousands of unstable souls. Such an argument must not only be syllogistically answered; it must be abolished, by the exhibition of a more efficacious Christianity, recommending itself by more abundant and better fruits. How is this to be done? By rallying in sects and factions, around our various systems, and putting forth our full strength to prop up every tottering pillar, with whatever strength of argument assailed? crying out meanwhile against the prevailing infidelity, and calling on our fellow Christians for more effort?

*"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget."*

If the Bible can not be trusted, abandon it, and with it our religion and our hope of heaven. But if it can be trusted, bring it forth to the light: let loose its whole power. This wavering conflict between Christianity and infidelity, is to the reflecting and honest Christian, the most decisive evidence that all is not right with him. Saving truth and fatal error are not so equally matched, that meeting each other on equal terms, in open combat, the contest can long be doubtful. The Christian warrior in such circumstances, should carefully examine his weapons, and see to it that they are after the true model, and of the true celestial temper. He should look well to the organization of the host, and be sure that the serried ranks stand in their appointed places.

It is time we draw to a conclusion. The Christian church it is plain has but just begun her work. For all the executive energy she has exhib-

ited and is still exhibiting, we rejoice and thank God. Nor would we be understood to imply that its results are not, both actually and prospectively, of great importance to her cause. If the modern efforts for the world's conversion, have accomplished nothing more than to demonstrate to the church her real weakness, and to convince her that she needs a more effective organization, and a more just and inspiring conception of those great spiritual realities on which she rests; that would be of itself a grand result, amply repaying the toil and treasure it has cost. But these efforts have accomplished much more than this; they have translated the Bible into languages spoken by hundreds of millions; they have blessed many a darkened pagan with heavenly light; they have taught thousands that new song which they shall sing forever before the throne of God and the Lamb. Nor should such efforts be suspended or abated; they should be increased to the greatest possible extent and energy. While we deeply feel that Protestant Christendom is but ill prepared to meet the great crisis in the religious history of our world, which is evidently at hand, we have no sympathy with those reformers, who tell us "There is no use in sending a sectarian Christianity to the heathen. Let the church first Christianize herself before she attempts to Christianize others." We have God's holy word, and surely it is the duty and the privilege of those who have that treasure to impart it to every creature. The church has had, and still has, even in these days, men of a truly apostolic spirit; and when such men would go to the heathen, God forbid that the church should add to all her other sins that of refusing to send them forth, or to sustain them in their self-denying work.

Besides we firmly believe that the missionary enterprise has been under God the principal means of kin-

ding up that degree of vital energy, which the gospel is exhibiting in our day, as well as the principal source of those reforming tendencies, which are beginning to be developed, and which are casting upon the future the cheering light of a better hope. It would be interesting did our limits permit—and certainly it would be easy—to trace up many of these catholic and hopeful tendencies to their origin in the great missionary enterprise.

But while we joyfully thank God for the executive energy which the church is exhibiting, we must urge that she enter immediately on that indispensable intellectual work, which she has too long neglected. One thing seems to be settled by experiment—the church can not obtain the moral empire of the world with her present conceptions of the gospel and forms of organization. She must readjust them, or give up her enterprise. Does she shrink from this work of readjustment? Why? Has she no Bible? No Holy Spirit? Or has she lost confidence in them both? That even Protestant Christianity is too deficient in respect to confidence in the word and Spirit of God, can not be denied, without shutting our eyes to a thousand facts which lie on the very surface both of her history and of her actual condition. The Papacy taught men to put no confidence in the Bible, and all confidence in a supposed infallible and unchangeable human authority; and Christianity under the forms of Protestantism has not yet fully unlearned the baleful lesson. There has always been a tendency in Protestantism, from the very beginning, to stereotype each existing form of doctrine and of organization, to write even the details in bronze, that nothing may be changed by subsequent investigation. Hence the sectarian divisions among those who agree in holding the head. It is time this great stumbling block were taken out of the way. Let the church rise

and be doing her whole work. Let her open an unobstructed pathway for her ministers and her members quite up to the fountains of revealed truth. Let her no longer depend for the permanency either of her opinions or her forms, on any thing else than their demonstrable agreement with the word of God. Let the fires of argument and investigation play upon them, and if they are thus proved to be wood, hay, stubble, let them burn. Let us give up the chimerical attempt to secure a detailed and absolute uniformity. We have a common Bible, a common fountain of religious truth; and where men show us that they love the Bible and form their opinions by its dictation, there to insist on speculative uniformity as essential to unity in Christ, or as a condition of coöperation or communion, is absurd and wicked as well as visionary.

Perhaps the question will here be raised,—What? would you throw away all our creeds and formularies of doctrine, and cut us loose from all our “standards?” Far be it from us to cut the church loose from her standard: that is the Bible. To what extent and for what purposes particular churches, or confederacies of churches, may usefully and lawfully employ creeds, our limits will not permit us here to discuss. But whatever opinions we may form on that subject, one principle is certain. Any use of a creed, or a constitution, or a church court, or a council, tending to discountenance the free investigation of the Bible on any and every article whether of belief or of practice, or to shield any portion of the church against those changes to which she ever has been and still is constantly liable from the progressive advancement of biblical knowledge, is a usurpation of the rights of God over the consciences and understandings of men. It is religious despotism under whatever specious forms it may be exercised, and with whatever sem-

blance of earnest contention for the faith once delivered to the saints, it may be advocated. And we call on the man whoever he may be, and on the body of men whatever they may be called, who are doing this (and let every one interrogate his own conscience in the presence of God) to desist from these unholy deeds. They are not only lording it over God's heritage, and depriving their brethren—nay their own souls—of rights guaranteed to them by the eternal constitution of God's empire; but they are arresting the river of the water of life in its course to bless the nations. They are shutting out

the beams of the sun of righteousness from the darkened human mind. They have taken away the key of knowledge; they neither go in themselves, nor suffer them who are entering to go in. Of crimes like these let the church of Christ no longer be guilty. May the bygone ages of her darkness and corruption suffice and more than suffice—fill her with shame and sorrow. May she now let in the light—and become herself a bright and polished mirror without one dark spot or stain, to reflect that light on earth's benighted millions. May the Lord be her everlasting light and her God her glory.

MIRACLES.

MIRACLES have ever been considered a fundamental proof of divine revelation. Those who claim to have been inspired, appeal to miracles as infallible testimonials of their divine commission. Thus Moses, when he demanded of Pharaoh the emancipation of the Israelites from bondage, appealed to the miracles which he wrought, as evidence that he was sent by God. Thus, also, Elijah, in the controversy between him and the prophets of Baal, called upon the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the presence of the people, to let it be known that he was his servant, by miraculously consuming the sacrifice prepared. He thus put the reality of his mission to the test. If the miracle had failed, he would by his own implied acknowledgment, have been deservedly considered a vile impostor. Christ and his apostles also appealed to miracles, in proof of their divine commission. When John sent two of his disciples to Christ, to inquire whether he were indeed the Messiah, instead of replying directly to their inquiry, he pointed them to his works, as the most conclusive and satisfactory evidence

of his Messiahship, which could possibly be given them. "In that same hour," the evangelist informs us, "he cured many of their infirmities, and plagues, and evil spirits, and unto many that were blind, he gave sight." And he said to the messengers of John, "Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and unto the poor the gospel is preached." On another occasion, when the Jews accused him of blasphemy, for claiming to be the Son of God; he said, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though ye believe not me, yet believe the works." Again he said, "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very works' sake." Other instances might be mentioned, in which he appealed to his miracles, as decisive proof of his Messiahship. Peter and John also appealed to the miracle wrought by them on the impotent man at the gate of the temple, as evidence of their commission from the Lord Jesus. "Peter filled with

the Holy Ghost, said unto them, if we be examined this day, of the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he is made whole, be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him, doth this man stand before you whole." Paul also, appealed to the miracles wrought by him, as decisive evidence of his apostleship. To the Romans he said, "I will not dare to speak of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me to make the gentiles obedient by word and deed, through mighty signs, and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God." And to the Corinthians he said, "For in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I am nothing. Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you, in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds."

We see, therefore, that those who profess to have been inspired, did appeal to the miracles which they wrought, or rather which God wrought by them, as infallible proof of their divine commission. It will be the object of this article, to examine this source of evidence. Assuming for the present, the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the Old and New Testaments, we propose

I. To inquire, what is a miracle?

II. To show that miracles are possible.

III. To show that if God gave a revelation to man, it is probable he would attest it by miracles.

IV. To show that whenever miracles are wrought, they are conclusive proof of divine interposition, and, of course, establish the truth of the claims which they are wrought to attest.

Our first inquiry is, What is a miracle? There have been many definitions of this term; but no one, perhaps, comes nearer to the truth, than the following. *A miracle is*

an effect which is produced, or an event which takes place, contrary to the laws of nature. By the laws of nature are meant those stated rules of operation, according to which God governs the world. That there are such laws, agreeably to which, all ordinary events take place, will not be denied; as for instance, that all bodies gravitate towards the center of the earth—that matter will continue in a state of rest, or uniform motion, unless compelled to change that state by some foreign force—that fire will consume combustible substances, when it comes in contact with them—that the sun which seems to rise in the morning, will appear to continue its course through the heavens, till it sets at night—that human bodies, when once deprived of life, will not revive, but remain senseless till they moulder into dust; are uniform facts, which indicate an established course of proceeding in the government of the world. Effects which are produced according to this established course, are called natural; those which are contrary to it, are styled supernatural, or miraculous. For example, if a bush should be on fire, and not be consumed—if the sun should appear to stand still, or to move backward in its diurnal course—or if a dead person should be restored to life—these things would be miracles; because they are directly contrary to the established course of God's providence.

Another characteristic of miracles, by which they are distinguished from all other events, is, that they are effects of immediate divine agency, and can not be traced to the operation of any natural or secondary causes. We know that God, in the government of the world, does make use of secondary causes. Both in the natural and moral world, he employs the instrumentality of means, and he has established a connection between means and ends. But none of those events which can be traced

to natural causes, however strange, or unusual, are to be considered miraculous. Nor, indeed, is it certain that all events are miraculous, which we can not trace to natural causes; because from the limited faculties of our minds, we can have but an imperfect knowledge of the laws of nature. Events which are natural, may take place, the causes of which lie beyond our observation.

But here the question arises, how then shall we know whether any event is miraculous, or whether there has ever been such a thing as a miracle? How can we know that all those wonders which have been supposed to be miracles, were not brought about by some natural causes which lie beyond our view, and were conformable to some law of nature with which we are unacquainted?

To this we reply, It is undoubtedly true, that there might be instances in which we should be unable to determine whether a miracle was wrought or not; and this would be the case in all those instances in which the event was of such a kind, that we were ignorant of all the laws and operations of nature which have any reference to it. Thus, for example, a person unacquainted with astronomy, on beholding for the first time an eclipse of the sun, must be unable to determine whether it is a miracle or not. It is an event for which he is unable to account. Yet it does not contravene any *known law* of nature, and it must be impossible for him to know that it is not a natural event, and perfectly consistent with those fixed laws which regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies. In like manner, a person who had been brought up under the torrid zone, the first time he should see water congealed into ice, would be unable to account for the fact, and would be in doubt whether it was a miracle or not. But there are instances when we may know for certainty

whether a miracle is wrought; and this is true in those cases where the event is such that we know the laws of nature to which it stands related. Although our knowledge of nature is very limited, yet some of its laws we do know. We know, for instance, that all bodies gravitate towards the center of the earth, with as much certainty as we know that there is such a thing as matter. The same is true of many other laws of nature. We may also lay it down as a maxim, that all the laws of nature are consistent with each other. To suppose that God has established laws which conflict one with another, and mutually subvert each other, is both irrational and impious. It hence follows, that if any event takes place which we know to be contrary to any of the laws of nature, we may know it to be miraculous.

Now in regard to the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, there can be no doubt. If the accounts are true, miracles were wrought beyond all question. The facts are of such a nature, that it is impossible to regard them in any other light. To heal instantly incurable diseases—to restore sight to those who were born blind—and to raise the dead to life, are certainly miraculous works, if any works can be supposed to be such. We proceed to show,

II. That miracles are possible. If miracles are not possible, it is idle to pretend that any have been wrought, or to argue from them in support of Divine revelation. One would hardly suppose, that any person who professed to believe in the existence of a God, would deny his power to work miracles. Such however, is the fact. Some of those who deny the inspiration of the Scriptures, have strenuously maintained that miracles are impossible. But, "is any thing too hard for the Lord?" If God is almighty, he is able to do any thing which does

not imply a contradiction. And does it imply a contradiction, to suppose him able to suspend or counteract the laws of nature? Is it a contradiction to say, that a rod was changed into a serpent, that a blind man instantly received his sight, or that a dead person was restored to life? To say that the same substance was at the same time, both a rod and a serpent, or that a person was at the same time, both dead and alive, would indeed be a contradiction. But to say that a substance was instantly changed, and that life was communicated to the dead, does no more imply a contradiction, than to say, that God formed man, at first, of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life. Has not he who with a word created all substances, power to change and modify them as he pleases? Has not he who is the author of life, power to restore it when taken. Has the artist who constructed the watch, power to vary its operations, to quicken or retard its motions, to take it to pieces, and alter it as he pleases; and has not the great Architect of nature power to stop, in the twinkling of an eye, all the wheels of his providence; to counteract, or suspend the operation of those laws which he has established, according to his pleasure?

But, perhaps, it may be said, that although it should be admitted, that God has power to work a miracle, yet it is impossible, because it is inconsistent with his other perfections, particularly his immutability and wisdom. It may be supposed by some, that if God has established certain laws for the government of the world, he can not suspend them, or act contrary to them, without changing his mind, and acting differently from what he intended when he planned his system of operations. But this by no means necessarily follows. God might have foreseen, when he established the

laws of nature, that on certain occasions, and for certain reasons, it would be wise to suspend or counteract them; and he may have determined to do it. Every miraculous event, therefore, may be considered a part of God's eternal and immutable counsel, as much as the most ordinary events which occur.

Nor do such miraculous interpositions, argue any imperfection in the system of divine government, or any want of wisdom in planning it. If there are wise and important reasons why miracles should be wrought, then, they must have a place in a perfect system; and if God is a being of infinite wisdom, he has so planned the system as to give them a place, and the very place, which it is desirable that they should occupy, that they may answer the end for which they were designed. We proposed to show,

III. That if God gave a revelation to man, it is probable that he would attest it by miracles.

We can not suppose that God would give a revelation to mankind which was to be the rule of their conduct, and by which they must be judged at the final day, without, at the same time, giving abundant evidence of its divine original. But in what way could this be done, but by miracles? How could any man prove that he was divinely inspired, and commissioned to deliver messages from heaven, without miraculous attestations? Prophecy, which by the way, is of the nature of a miracle, is indeed a sure evidence of inspiration, when fulfilled; but it is not an immediate evidence, and could not, therefore, be any attestation to a revealed truth, when first published. The nature of the doctrines and precepts contained in the revelation, would it is true, afford strong evidence of their divine original; yet, by degenerate minds, who are blind to the beauties of holiness, this evidence would not be duly appreciated. Some other

attestation, therefore, seems to be requisite—something to which the messenger of God could appeal as decisive, when his claims to inspiration should be called in question. And we can conceive of nothing which would answer this purpose, but some miraculous attestation.

If, then, a revelation is desirable, which none can deny; and if we might presume from the benevolence of God, that he would not leave mankind without that supernatural instruction which they so much need; there is no antecedent improbability against miracles, but a strong probability in their favor. There is just as much probability that God would work miracles, as that he would give a revelation to man.

We see, therefore, with how little reason it has been asserted, that a miracle is so improbable in its nature, that no testimony is sufficient to render it credible. Mr. Hume went so far as to say, that “we may establish it as a maxim, that no human testimony can have such force as to prove a miracle, and to make it a just foundation for any system of religion:”—and again, that “a miracle, supported by any human testimony, is more properly a subject of derision, than of argument.” These assertions, if true, strike at the root of all belief in divine revelation, and tend to the conclusion that a revelation can not be given to man, which shall be sufficiently attested to command our assent.

The reasoning by which Mr. Hume attempts to establish his position, is this—that miracles are contrary to experience, and that it is not contrary to experience that testimony should be false. Now, what does he mean by experience? This word is used in two senses, which are distinguished by the terms personal and derived. Personal experience, is the experience of one individual, and relates to what has

fallen under his own observations. Derived experience, is founded on testimony, and relates to what has fallen under the observation of others, and been communicated to us. In which of these senses is the term used, when it is said that miracles are contrary to experience? If in the first sense, the argument proves too much; for if we are to disbelieve that miracles were wrought, barely because we never witnessed them, we must also disbelieve every other fact that has not come under our own observation. This sets aside human testimony altogether, and sweeps away at a stroke, all historical knowledge. By contracting our faith within the narrow compass of our own personal experience, it leads very nearly to absolute and universal skepticism.

But if the word experience be used in the latter sense; that is, if it be said that miracles are contrary to the experience of all mankind, this is taking for granted the very thing to be proved. The question is, whether miracles are contrary to the experience of those who lived at the different periods when they are supposed to have been wrought. We see, therefore, that this reasoning is utterly fallacious; and that there is no such improbability attending miracles, as to render them incapable of being substantiated by testimony. That those which are recorded in the Scriptures, have been substantiated by the most unexceptionable testimony, has often been most conclusively shown. This is now taken for granted; it being no part of the object of this article to enter on the discussion of this point. We proceed to show, as was proposed,

IV. That whenever miracles are wrought, they are conclusive evidence of divine interposition; and of course, establish the truth of the claims which they are wrought to attest.

That men, of themselves, are

competent to work miracles, no one will pretend. But it is supposed by some, that there are created beings superior to man who possess this power. In reference to this opinion we would remark, that the nature of every created being is necessarily limited, and dependent. All the power which he possesses, he derives from his Maker. If then created beings possess the power to work miracles, God has endued them with that power. But can we suppose that God has endued creatures with the power of controlling the laws of nature? The idea is preposterous. The laws of nature are the rules which he has prescribed to himself in governing the world; and they can not be suspended, or counteracted, except in such instances as he himself has determined. To suppose a creature to possess the power of suspending these laws, is to suppose him to possess the power of thwarting the plan and defeating the purposes of Jehovah.

If we consider a moment, the tendency of the doctrine which supposes that created beings may work miracles, we shall see clearly that it can not be true.

1. It tends to subvert the very foundation of religion. In effect, it denies the idea of a Providence, and robs God of his glory as governor of the world. If created beings may control the laws of nature, in one instance, independently of God; they may, for aught we can see, in as many instances as they please; and thus defeat all the purposes of Jehovah. How can it be said that God governs the world, if the scepter may at any moment be wrested from his hands by created beings. And what foundation can there be for confidence in God, if his plans are liable to be thwarted? How can we know that his promises will be fulfilled, if that chain of events on which their fulfillment must depend, is liable to

be broken by the interposition of creatures?

If it should be said that created beings have the power of working miracles only by divine permission; this is giving up the point that they have *in themselves* the power of working miracles, and virtually admitting that every miracle implies a divine interposition. It is saying that a miracle is never wrought, except when God chooses it should be wrought, which is the very point for which we are contending.

2. The doctrine which ascribes to created spirits the power of working miracles, leads to polytheism. The only way in which we can discover by the light of nature, the existence and attributes of God, is by reasoning from his works. But miracles are works of such a character as almost inevitably to impress the mind with the conviction, that they are the works of God. If, therefore, other beings as well as God, be supposed to possess the power of working miracles, it will be natural for mankind, by degrees, to consider them entitled to divine honors. The gross polytheism of the ancients, may perhaps be traced in part, to this very cause. They considered demons, or the spirits of departed men, as possessing power to favor or injure them in a supernatural way; and hence they were led to regard them as proper objects of worship. It seems to be a natural impression, that a miracle is an effect which nothing short of divine power can produce. Accordingly, the Lycaonians concluded from the miracle wrought by Paul and Barnabas, that the gods had come down to them in the likeness of men, and they began to make preparation to pay them divine honors. The doctrine, therefore, which ascribes to created beings the power of working miracles, leads directly to polytheism.

3. If it be true that created spirits, and especially evil spirits, may per-

form miraculous works, mankind must necessarily be exposed to great delusion. It is natural, as we have seen, for men to consider miracles as infallible proof of a divine commission, and those by whom they are wrought, as divinely commissioned, and worthy of unlimited confidence. But if miracles may be wrought by evil beings in attestation of falsehood, how can mankind know what is truth and what is error? Is it said, they must examine the doctrine taught, and determine from its nature and tendency, whether it is true or false. But the reason of man is imperfect and fallible, to say nothing of his naturally vitiated taste; and most men probably would be more ready to distrust the dictates of their reason, than to question the divine original of those doctrines which should be attested by miracles. Besides, if miracles may be performed by created beings, and by evil beings as well as good, they can not answer any valuable purpose. The only valuable purpose which we can conceive of their answering, is, to establish the credit of the persons by whom they are wrought, and to attest the truth of the messages which they deliver. But this end they can not answer, if we are to suppose they may be wrought in support of falsehood as well as truth. Suppose two directly opposite systems of religion, both attested by miracles—how could we know which to believe? Surely that evidence which tends equally to establish two systems directly opposed to each other, is no evidence at all. On the supposition, therefore, which we are considering, miracles can be no attestation to the truth of any message, and of course, can answer no valuable purpose whatever.

These considerations are deemed sufficient to show that whenever miracles are wrought, they are decisive evidence of divine interposition. That miracles have been

wrought, is proved by the most unexceptionable testimony. Those by whom they were wrought, professed to communicate a revelation from heaven. They appealed to the miracles in support of their claims, and the miracles were the broad seal of heaven stamped upon their commission. They were attestations given by God himself, to the truth of the religion which they taught. The miracles of Moses and the prophets, prove the divine origin of the religion of the Old Testament. The miracles of Christ and the apostles, establish the divine authority of the New Testament. We may rest, therefore, with the fullest confidence in the conclusion, that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God.

To the view which has now been taken of this subject, there are some objections which it may be important to notice.

It is said, that there are facts which contradict our conclusion—that miracles have been wrought by created beings, and for the support of falsehood as well as truth.

This assertion, although it has been repeatedly made, has never been satisfactorily proved. In regard to those miracles which have been supposed to be wrought by evil beings, it has been truly said, "that such of them as are best supported, have been severally weighed in the balance of reason and found wanting. It has been shown that they are destitute of every essential character of truth, and bear all the distinguishing features of human impostures; that they are trifling, ludicrous, and absurd in their own nature, or destitute of all rational intention, and manifestly calculated to answer some low and worldly purpose; that they are related by incompetent witnesses, against whose skill and integrity there are the strongest exceptions; and that they never gained credit among any, but those, whose ignorance and super-

stition exposed them to the grossest delusions."

Most of the accounts of pagan and popish miracles, were published long after the facts are said to have taken place; and many of them were published in distant countries. They are not the accounts of eye-witnesses, published on the spot, but the bare records of rumors or reports. This is particularly true of the miracles said to have been wrought by the Emperor Vespasian. The account was published by Tacitus at Rome, of what took place thirty years before at Alexandria, in Egypt. He gives it only as a report, without seeming to credit it himself. Yet Mr. Hume admits, that these are the best attested miracles in all profane history. In regard to pagan and popish miracles, they were not of such a nature, that they might be subjected to rigid scrutiny. "They were not wrought openly before the world, in the presence of enemies as well as friends. They were wrought mostly in the secret recesses of the temples—generally in the night, with none to witness them, but such as were interested in having them believed. They were none of them wrought for the establishment of a new religion—a religion opposed to the passions and prejudices of the people; but they were wrought for the support of the established religion, and were all engrafted upon the superstitious notions and prejudices of the vulgar, who were therefore disposed to receive them."

The evidence in support of pagan and popish miracles, will bear no comparison with the evidence which we have in support of those recorded in the Scriptures. What one of these pretended miracles was ever attested by eye-witnesses, who adhered to their testimony in the face of persecution, and finally sealed it with their blood? No such instances can be adduced. The best attested pagan and popish

miracles, and those which have been selected by the enemies of Christianity to confront the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, are, the cure of a blind, and of a lame man, at Alexandria, by Vespasian, to which we have already alluded—the restoration of a limb of an attendant in a Spanish church, by the Cardinal De Retz—and the cures said to be performed at the tomb of the Abbe de Paris. But these, both Dr. Campbell and Dr. Paley, have shown to be destitute of all substantial evidence in their favor, and to bear no comparison with the miracles wrought by Christ and the apostles.

But it is said, that the Scriptures themselves represent created beings as possessing and exercising the power of performing miracles; and that by controverting this doctrine, we are invalidating their authority.

This point demands some consideration. We are persuaded that upon careful examination, we shall find, that the Scriptures instead of favoring the doctrine in question, furnish the fullest evidence that none but God, can be the author of miracles.

The only rational beings mentioned in the Scriptures, besides the Supreme Being, are men, holy angels, apostate angels, and the spirits of departed men. That angels have not power to work miracles, is evident from their name, which signifies servants, or messengers, and which of course, implies a state of dependence. They possess no independent power, but act only by commission from the Supreme Being, whose servants they are. They are ministering spirits, sent forth to do the will, and execute the commands of Jehovah. So far from possessing power to interfere in the government of the world, and to control the laws of nature, they are dependent on God in all their conduct. If then miraculous works are at any time performed by them, they indicate a divine interposition,

no less than when they are performed by men.

In regard to evil spirits, or apostate angels, if when they were holy, they had not the power of working miracles, can we suppose that they possess this power since they have become sinful. Has their rebellion increased their power? Or has God in consequence of their apostasy, enlarged their capacities, and given them the power to obstruct the operations of his government, and to defeat his purposes? What saith the Scripture on this point? "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, to the judgment of the great day." Is this consistent with the idea that evil spirits have power to work miracles, at their pleasure? They are here represented as prisoners in chains; which clearly implies that they are entirely under the divine control, and can do nothing, any further than they are permitted to do it. Nor do the Scriptures any where contradict this representation. It is no where said in the Bible, that evil spirits have power to foretell future events, or to work miracles. That they have in some way, access to men, and are permitted, by temptations, to exert an extensive influence over the human race, we are explicitly taught. But still they are prisoners in chains, and can go no further than they are permitted to go. It is certain, therefore, that they can not work miracles, without a divine commission.

In regard to the spirits of departed men, it will not be maintained that they possess more power than angels and devils.

As to the imaginary gods which are worshiped by the heathen, the Scriptures, instead of allowing them the power of working miracles, uniformly denounce them as vanities and lies. "All the gods of the nations are idols." "And we know,"

says the Apostle, "that an idol is nothing in the world." And this he says, not only in reference to the mere images of their gods, for the heathen did not regard those images, in themselves, as real gods. They believed them to be representatives, or receptacles of their gods. It was in this view, that they spake of them as gods, and objects of worship; and it is in reference to the divine powers supposed to reside in the images, that the Scriptures speak of them, and affirm that they are nothing. "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands; they have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat; they that make them, are like unto them, and so is every one that trusteth in them." Those who worship them, are represented as altogether brutish and foolish; as paying their devotions to gods which are totally unable to aid or to bless them. The gods of the heathen are frequently challenged by the prophets of Jehovah, to give evidence of divinity, by revealing secrets, foretelling future events, or performing some miraculous work. "Produce your cause, saith the Lord. Let them show the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them. Show us the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods; yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed." In the dispute between Elijah and the prophets of Baal, the controversy was to be decided by a miracle. Baal was challenged to perform a miracle, and by this challenge, God, by his prophet, plainly testified, that a miracle was a sure token of divine power, and that had one been wrought in this case, the divinity of Baal would have been established beyond dispute, and his worshippers justified

in adhering to his service. And when all attempts on the part of Baal's worshipers to produce a miracle failed, Elijah said, "Lord God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces, and they said, the Lord, he is the God—the Lord, he is the God." Here the question to be decided was, whether Jehovah or Baal was God. It was to be decided by a miracle, and the performance of a miracle, was deemed conclusive.

The magicians, diviners, and sorcerers among the heathen, are uniformly branded, in the Scriptures, as impostors, who were utterly unable to perform any thing supernatural. The prophet Isaiah, after predicting the destruction of Babylon, which was famous for its arts of divination, says, "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast labored from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit; if so be thou shalt prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from those things that shall come upon thee." Again, "They prophesy unto thee a false vision, and a thing of naught, and the deceit of their heart." And again, "Hearken not ye to your false prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers, nor to your enchanters, nor to your sorcerers, for they prophesy a lie unto you." The magicians are spoken of in the Scriptures as liars, and their arts are styled lying vanities.

But several passages of Scripture
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are adduced to prove, that created beings may work miracles. Of these, the following is one. Deut. 13, 1—3, "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul. And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in." The following words of Christ have also been adduced. Matt. 24, 24. "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that if it were possible, they should deceive the very elect."

There is no satisfactory reason to believe that Moses or Christ in these passages, intended to teach that the false prophets and false Christs of whom they spake, would perform real miracles. The object of these warnings, was, to guard those to whom they were addressed, against delusion from impostors, and false pretenders. The meaning of the words of Moses, is happily expressed in the following paraphrase of Mr. Farmer. "Suppose that a pagan prophet or diviner should propose some prodigy, or extraordinary appearance as proof of the interposition of a false god, and an indication of futurity, and that the event should correspond to the prophecy; do not on this account, hastily conclude that there is any thing supernatural or miraculous in the case, nei-

ther expect that the true God should interfere in an extraordinary manner, at every turn, to prevent such occurrences as these, which he will permit for the trial and discovery of your temper. If doubtful appearances, and lucky conjectures, serve you as a reason to desert his worship, this will be a full proof of your being previously disaffected to him; for ye know how amply he has demonstrated his own divinity and sole dominion over nature, (so utterly subversive of all the groundless claims of the heathen gods,) and laid you under the most powerful obligations to his worship and service, by those stupendous and *undeniable* miracles which accomplished your deliverance from the bondage of Egypt." If this view of the passage is correct, the object of Moses was not to guard the Israelites against putting confidence in the works of magicians and diviners, considered as real miracles; but to warn them against being deceived, and considering those as real miracles, which were only false pretensions. The reason which he assigned, why the Israelites ought to be suspicious of all such pretended miracles, was, that Jehovah had given the fullest evidence that he was God, by the miracles wrought for their deliverance from Egypt, which could not be gainsayed; and that consequently all pretensions to miraculous powers in support of pagan worship, must be false. This passage, therefore, so far from favoring the opinion that real miracles were wrought by the ancient magicians, clearly establishes the doctrine that none but God can work a miracle. With what consistency could Moses appeal to the miracles which God wrought in delivering the Israelites from bondage, as a reason why they should not go after other gods, if he admitted that miracles were also wrought by them. On this supposition, the amount of his reasoning was this. These diviners and dreamers of dreams will

indeed work miracles, as a proof that the deities which they worship, are real gods. But you must not hearken unto them. Why? because Jehovah hath also wrought miracles, and therefore he is God. This, it will be perceived, is placing Jehovah and the gods of the heathen on a level.

In regard to the words of Christ which have been quoted, we would observe, that he is evidently speaking of impostors, who should make false pretensions to miraculous powers. They would appeal to great signs and wonders, and so great would be their craft and subtilty in carrying on their impostures, that they would deceive many; and those who should be deceived by them, would be deceived on this ground. They would mistake the tricks of jugglers for real miracles.

The prophecy of Paul respecting the man of sin, has also been adduced. 2 Thess. 2, 9. "Whose coming is after the working of satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders." The following also has been considered very decisive. Rev. 13, 13—14. "And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by means of those miracles (signs, as it might be rendered,) which he has power to do in the sight of the beast."

If we are here taught, that the man of sin was to perform real miracles, what are we to understand by the phrase *lying wonders*? Does not this language most clearly denote impostures—pretended miracles? But does not the apostle John say in the Revelation, that he maketh fire to come down from heaven, and can this imply any thing less than miraculous power? We reply, the language of the Revelation is much of it symbolical, and is not to be taken literally. What the precise meaning of this passage is, we

may not, perhaps, be able to decide. Some have supposed, and perhaps, not without reason, that it refers to the anathemas and excommunications of the Romish church, styled the thunders of the Vatican, which were shocking imprecations of fire from heaven, and which were thought to expose men to its hottest vengeance; and which have actually set whole kingdoms in flames. Whether this be the true meaning of the passage or not, it is very certain that it is not to be understood literally.

But after all, we are told, that there are instances recorded in the Scriptures, of real miracles, which could not have been wrought by God. The cases particularly insisted on, are the works of the magicians in Egypt, and of the witch of Endor. In regard to the magicians, we would remark,

1. Magic was an art, studied and practiced, particularly in Egypt and Babylon, as much as the practice of the healing art, or any other profession. By their superior knowledge of the powers of nature, and a peculiar dexterity acquired by practice, the magicians were able to do many things which, to the common people, were wonderful and unaccountable. Yet they were always conscious of doing nothing supernatural; and the perfection of their art consisted in being able to deceive with adroitness, and to make appearances pass for realities. In the practice of their profession, they performed all their mysterious works by slight of hand, or by the use of powerful drugs. They are sometimes called magicians, and sometimes sorcerers. The word sorcerers, signifies those who make use of artifice to delude the sight with false appearances; or it signifies such as practice fascination or charms. Now we have already seen that the Scriptures uniformly speak of all such persons as liars and impostors; and represent them as being unable to perform any

miraculous works; and they represent their works as frauds, delusions and lying vanities.

2. In regard to the magicians of Egypt, it is evident from the narrative of Moses, that neither Pharaoh nor the magicians themselves, supposed that any real miracles were wrought. What was the object of Pharaoh in sending for the magicians? Was it to ascertain whether the gods of the Egyptians were as powerful as the God of the Hebrews? This does not appear to have been his object. The question with him, was, whether Moses was, as he pretended to be, really commissioned by God to demand the emancipation of the Israelites. He told Moses that he knew not the Lord; and he probably thought that Moses pretended to act under a divine commission, as an artifice, thinking thereby to persuade him to let the people go. There is no reason to believe that Pharaoh supposed Moses to have any communication with any superior being. He probably regarded what he said, as utterly false. To prove the truth of his pretensions, Moses wrought a miracle. He cast down his rod and it became a serpent. This, however, did not satisfy Pharaoh. He knew that magic was studied as an art in Egypt, and he probably thought that Moses was a magician, and that he was attempting to impose on him, and to make a mere magical spell pass for a real miracle. With these impressions on his mind, he sent for the magicians, wise men and sorcerers, to see whether they could not, in the exercise of their profession, do things similar to what Moses had done. Now it does not appear that Pharaoh expected the magicians to work miracles, or that he requested it of them. The question which he wished to decide, was, whether Moses had wrought a real miracle or not. He called his magicians to ascertain whether what Moses had done, lay within the compass of their

art. And there is no reason to suppose that the magicians themselves, did, in this case, attempt to work a miracle. Their aim, was, to destroy the pretensions of Moses to a divine commission, by showing what they could do. This idea is confirmed by their confession when they found themselves baffled in their attempt to imitate the fourth miracle of Moses. They said, "This is the finger of God;" that is, this is a real miracle. It is utterly beyond the power of magic. It is what no being but God can perform. This confession clearly shows that they did not lay claim to miraculous powers.

3. There is a marked distinction, in the narrative, between the works of Moses, and those of the magicians: While the former are ascribed to the mighty power of God, the latter are ascribed to enchantments; that is, to juggling, or secret slight of hand. This is as much as to say, they were not real miracles, but the result of human artifice and imposture. Let it be remembered also, that there is no intimation that evil spirits, or any beings superior to man, had any concern in these events. All that is said, is, that the magicians did so with their enchantments.

4. The things which the magicians did, were no greater than those which other impostors have done. As to the first, the apparent turning of their rods into serpents, which had the greatest appearance of a miracle of any thing which they performed, it is said, there are jugglers in China who perform the same, by very artfully substituting serpents in the room of rods. This, probably, is what the magicians did.

In regard to the second attempt, it is not at all difficult to account for all which we have any reason to suppose they performed. The quantity of water which they pretended to change into blood, was undoubtedly small, for there was none to be obtained but by digging into the earth. Now there is noth-

ing incredible in supposing that they might dexterously infuse some drug into a small quantity of water, which would give it the appearance of blood. Nor is this any more than jugglers have repeatedly performed.

Their last performance also, in which they attempted to imitate Moses in the production of frogs, was doubtless effected by slight-of-hand. We are not told how many frogs they produced. The number doubtless was small. These might have been concealed, and brought into sight in such a manner that the mode of operation was not discerned by the spectators.

That the magicians did not perform real miracles, is evident from their failure in the fourth attempt. On the supposition that they really possessed miraculous powers, it is impossible to account for this failure. But on the supposition that what they did was all a deception, it is easy to account for it, by supposing that through a closer scrutiny of the spectators, or more carelessness in themselves, their mode of operation was discovered and the fraud detected.

These observations are deemed sufficient to show, in what point of light we are to regard those works of the magicians, which have been so often adduced as an absolute refutation of the doctrine which it has been the object of this article to establish.

It may perhaps be thought, that what has been said is suited to destroy all belief in miracles, and to give occasion to the infidel to say, that the miracles of Moses, of Christ, and of his apostles, were nothing but the effects of magic. But no candid man can read the accounts of these miracles, and persuade himself that they can be thus accounted for. Magic never opened a passage through the sea for a host to pass over on dry ground—magic never fed five thousand people on a very small quantity of provisions

—magic never opened the eyes of the blind, unstopped the ears of the deaf, and raised the dead to life.

There is another case much insisted on by those who deny that miracles are decisive proof of divine interposition. It is said that a miracle was wrought by the witch of Endor, in calling up Samuel from the dead. The account is given in the twenty eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel.

Saul having met with grievous disappointments, was brought into circumstances of great perplexity and distress. In this situation, being rejected by God, and unable to procure from his prophets any knowledge of his own destiny, he had recourse to a woman who had a familiar spirit. This woman was probably a ventriloquist. She professed to be able to call persons from the dead, and cause them to speak audibly. She supported her pretensions by the power which it is well known all ventriloquists possess. Such was the person to whom Saul had recourse at Endor. He requested her to bring up Samuel from the dead. Samuel, we are informed, actually appeared, and addressed Saul for a considerable time, in a very serious and solemn manner.

We shall not undertake to prove that all this was the effect of human artifice. There was undoubtedly a real miracle wrought in this case, but it was not wrought by the woman, or by any evil spirit through

her instrumentality ; for it appears from the narrative, that what took place was totally unexpected by the woman, and that she was exceedingly terrified when Samuel appeared. The truth is, that God, for the purpose of reproving Saul for his wickedness and predicting his speedy death, did perform a real miracle, by causing Samuel to appear and address him. This miracle, therefore, was as decisive proof of divine interposition, as any miracle whatever.

In addition to the considerations which have been suggested, would our limits permit, we might adduce many passages of Scripture which exhibit the Supreme Being as the sole governor of the world, and which appropriate to him all miraculous works, and urge them as demonstrations of his divinity and sole dominion over nature. But it is time to bring this article to a close.

If we mistake not, the objections which have been urged against the doctrine stated in our fourth proposition, have been shown to be without foundation. We may, therefore, consider that doctrine as resting on an immovable basis. The miracles which have been wrought are infallible proof of divine interposition ; and as God would not work a miracle in attestation of falsehood, they conclusively prove that those by whom they have been wrought, were divinely inspired, and that the Bible is the word of God.

WHAT ARE MINISTERS TO DO IN THE GREAT CONTROVERSY OF THE AGE?

THERE are abundant indications that the great controversy of the age, perhaps the final controversy before the conversion of the world, is to be that between a formal and a spiritual religion; between the elements of Popery and the elements of Protestantism. These two systems have been brought of late into frequent and vigorous collision. Truths long since thought to be settled are again called in question; principles on which the faith of successive generations has reposed, are by turns assailed and undermined. We are beginning to discover that the Reformation was not so thorough, nor so generally successful as we have hitherto supposed; and that instead of resting among the spoils of victory, we must gird ourselves for battle.

The sturdy strokes of Luther, indeed, broke the right arm of the papacy in Europe, and drove Leo the Magnificent, humbled and vanquished from the field. But the papacy though wounded did not die. Blows and wounds seemed only to arouse it from the indolence consequent upon a long and quiet supremacy, and to stimulate it to the defense of its prescriptive rights; or if these should be no longer tenable, to inflame it with a zeal for new acquisitions. The "mother of harlots," driven from sanctuaries which she had defiled through ages of darkness, went forth to cover the earth with her Cerberean offspring.

The Roman pontiffs finding that their dominion in Europe was waning before the rising sun of liberty and truth, turned to other quarters of the globe, and endeavored by the propagation of the "Catholic faith" among the heathen, to compensate for its declension throughout Christendom. Nor was the craft

of satan at all inadequate to the emergency. Embroiling the Reformers in disputes concerning minute points of faith, diverting their minds from the spread of the truth to the formation of creeds and sectarian systems of theology, he at the same time infused into the Romish church the spirit of propagandism, and in the person of a Spanish knight, raised up a new order of zealots to revive the dying hierarchy, and make its name and power co-extensive with the world. The "Society of Jesus" were the first missionaries of modern times; and while the Reformers were exhausting their resources upon Germany, France, and Britain, the Jesuits were employing their casuistry, their cunning, their wealth and their power, in persuading or coercing the "infidels" of Africa, America, and India, into submission to the papal see. Xavier, the "apostle and saint," penetrated to the farthest Indies, planted "the church" in the empire of Japan, and died whilst on his way to mark the "celestial" themselves with the sign of the cross. Thus it was that the great battle of the Reformation ended.

Popery, driven in part from the field which she had held for centuries, sought to retrieve her honor and fortune in distant climes; while Protestantism busied herself in securing her conquests or in preparing for future wars. The two systems indeed were still antagonistic; they often came into fierce and bloody conflict; but as the temporal power of the Pope declined, their collisions became less frequent, till each occupied its own field with little molestation from the other. Protestantism, however, has continued to increase in resources and strength, and to become more and

more active in the spread of her principles. The missionary fire has been gradually kindled in her bosom. A zeal less frantic, and more pure than that of Xavier and Loyola, now animates her sons in a far holier cause; and they have gone forth at length to do what the Reformers left unattempted, what Romanism has attempted in vain, to evangelize the world. This stupendous undertaking has stirred up afresh the jealousy and rivalry of the Romish church; and thus the two systems are brought to confront each other more distinctly and more universally, than at any period since the Reformation. The Protestant missionary finds himself every where by the side of the Jesuit; the preacher is called to encounter the priest. The "two editions" of Christianity must be presented to the heathen side by side, that they may choose not only between paganism and the Gospel, but between the religion of Christ and the religion of Rome. The attentive reader of our missionary journals can not have failed to mark, how uniformly within the last few years evangelical missionaries in every quarter, have complained of the interference of the emissaries of the papal church with their labors, by falsehood and intrigue, by bribery and corruption, by denunciation and even violence, sanctioned in some instances by the authority of a great and formidable nation, which seems anxious to atone for the expulsion of the Jesuits from her own soil, by introducing them among converted savages at the point of the bayonet.

Besides all this, those who are laboring in faith and hope to infuse the life of the Gospel into the dead mass of formalism bearing the name of Christianity, in the East, are often thwarted in their endeavors, by the insidious calumnies of a class of men claiming to be the ambassadors of the true church of Christ, who represent them as schismatics

and virtual impostors, and who give the right hand of fellowship to the ignorant and superstitious prelates of a degenerate hierarchy, rather than to their own countrymen and brethren in the Lord. Facts such as these lead us to the painful conclusion, that even out of the Romish church, there are those who would sustain and propagate, in preference to the pure and simple *doctrines* of the Gospel, that *formalism*, that *system of "church principles,"* which has the essential characteristics of Romanism. The interest of this class of persons in Mar Yohannan, for example, turned altogether upon the question—whether he was a genuine bishop, whether his Persian cloak was an apostolic vestment, and whether his church regarded the sacred number *three* in the orders of her ministry. Instead of inquiring of him, "What is the condition of your people in that land of heathens? Is there a church there? Are there good men? Are there tokens of the influence of the Holy Spirit? What is the state of knowledge and instruction? What are the morals?"—questions which Christian benevolence would have been forward to suggest, their first and invariable inquiry was, "*How many orders have you?*"* If the Bishop answered *three*, the word operated as a charm to allay their anxiety; it not only made them sure of his salvation, but gave them new assurance of their own. Thenceforth nothing could disturb their peace, or awaken their solicitude, in respect to the Nestorians, but the thought, that that simple and grateful people, through their intercourse with "separatists," might learn to value the Gospel more than their hierarchy, a living, spiritual faith in Christ, more than a "valid ministry and ordinances." Indeed, it

* Mar Yohannan's letter in Mr. Perkins' Residence in Persia, p. 365.

seems to have been seriously apprehended, that the offense which they had already committed against the church, in allowing the Presbyterians to hold an ordination in one of their consecrated places, would be sufficient to consign the entire people to "uncovenanted mercy."*

While formalism is thus coming into collision with an evangelical faith upon missionary ground, it is entrenching itself more strongly in Christendom. Popery, deeming centuries of exile from her ancient seats at Canterbury, Oxford, and Westminster, a sufficient penance for her past indiscretions, is attempting to regain possession of the soil of England. She looks upon the abbeys, the minsters, the cathedrals, which, notwithstanding the shocks of successive revolutions, remain as monuments of her former magnificence, and longs to restore to them her monks and priors, her priests and altars, her incense, her music, and her ritual. She feels that she has a lien upon these venerable piles; that the ground on which they stand belongs to her by right of preoccupancy; and she appeals to all that is superstitious or romantic in the present possessors, to their love of pomp and ceremony, to their admiration of the picturesque and beautiful, to their veneration for antiquity, and their filial affection toward their *mother* church, to restore her to her former privileges and possessions. Nor does she make the appeal in vain. It is responded to from the halls of Oxford, by those who would keep that ancient university "moored in the stream of time." It is responded to by all who covet spiritual domination and temporal ease. It is echoed through many a "long drawn aisle and fretted vault," from many a lonely ruin and deserted tower.

The effect of the magnificent ar-

chitecture and pompous ritual of a Roman Catholic cathedral even upon the imagination of a Protestant and an American, may be illustrated by the following extract taken at random from the correspondence of a "traveling New Yorker," (evidently a man of intelligence and education,) with one of the leading journals of his native city. Speaking of the various objects of attraction to a stranger in Belgium, he says: "The *cathedrals* are among the most interesting objects in all Catholic countries, but in Belgium they are remarkably attractive. In Bruges the cathedral of St. Sauveur has little external beauty, though highly ornamented within. We entered during the celebration of high mass, as the notes of the organ were echoing through the 'long-drawn aisles,' and the incense was making the air heavy with perfume. An old woman brought us chairs from a huge pile of them in a corner, (the pavements of these churches being undefaced by pews or benches,) and we seated ourselves till the conclusion of the services. How bare and naked seem our churches in comparison with these! All around hang old paintings of scriptural and legendary events, oftentimes masterpieces of art. The painted windows give the interior a 'dim religious light,' and repeat their rich colored figures upon the tessellated pavement. Porphyry, agate, and other precious materials adorn the walls, and the columns and pilasters are of variously colored marbles; smaller chapels occupy recesses branching off from the main building, and each has a glittering shrine dedicated to a different saint. The votaries of each lavish decorations upon their favorite; a lamp burns before each shrine night and day, and there is always some one kneeling there absorbed in devotion. Statues, busts, and effigies surmount the tombs of the great men who are buried there, and on the very slab

* See N. Y. Churchman of Nov. 12, 1842.

over which you walk is often seen a famous historical name, 'familiar as household words.' The pomp of the ritual, with its accessories of music and incense and the kneeling of the multitude, can not fail to impress even the most rigid Protestant, and force him to admit that we may have gone too far in our sweeping ecclesiastical reforms."

Now the mere existence of so many monuments of the palmy days of Popery in England, invested as they are with the romantic associations of feudal times, appeals strongly to the organs of "veneration" and "ideality" in the admirers of a religion of taste and sentiment, or rather to the deeper seated superstition and vanity of the human heart, and awakens a desire for the restoration of a system which developed itself under such forms of beauty and grandeur as to be more splendid even in its ruins than others in their prime.

The truth is, Romanism never was uprooted in England. Its branches were lopped off, but the trunk remains, and the sap is in it. Occasionally it sends forth fresh and vigorous shoots, and it will again spread its arms over the land, unless the axe is laid at the root, and the ploughshare driven deep into the soil. The English church reformation—a movement not like the Reformation on the continent, which had its origin in an honest inquiry after truth, incited and directed by the Spirit of God—a movement begun in the caprice of a licentious king, and terminated by the statutes of an imperious queen; this partial, temporizing reformation must be invigorated, spiritualized, and made triumphant by the faith and zeal of the nineteenth century.

The struggle between the evangelical and Romish elements in the established church of England, (the evangelical spirit of her articles—the Romish spirit of her liturgy,) is looked upon with intense anxiety

by every intelligent observer of the signs of the times. What the issue will be is doubtful. Whether we shall witness the overthrow of a corrupt and oppressive establishment, or the ejection of the friends of evangelical religion from the bosom of a dominant and tyrannical hierarchy, no human sagacity can predict. We hope for the former, we fear the latter. The endeavor to infuse the spirit of humble and energetic piety into the whole body of the Anglican church, in spite of its Prayer-book, its rubrics, its petrified forms and frigid constitution, is almost as futile as the early dreams of Luther about the reformation of the church of Rome. The only reformation to be hoped for is, such a reformation of individual souls as will lead them to throw off the huge mass of formalism under which they are buried, and come out into the life and light and freedom of the gospel of Christ. But we doubt whether even such a reformation is practicable to any extent within the bosom of the English church. We fear that Puseyism, with the standards,* the liturgy, and above all the *very nature of man*, so much in its favor, will eventually triumph over all the efforts of the evangelical party, zealous and praiseworthy as they may be. That our fears are not altogether groundless, may be seen from the rapid spread of the Oxford divinity, the general revival of Popish ceremonies in the established church, and the exultation of the Romanists over the new allies whom they have found in England, and whom they hope ere long to welcome in all respects as brethren. The Jesuits have not been indifferent to the approximations toward the superstition and idolatry of their own church, which have been made in the worship of the church of Eng-

* See Dr. Pusey's letter to the Bishop of Oxford on the tendency to Romanism imputed to doctrines held of old, as now, in the English church.

land. The following extract from a late number of the Dublin Magazine will show us how narrowly they are watching every retrograde movement of Protestants.

"It is to us a matter of considerable gratification, that we have it in our power to communicate to our readers the result of inquiries instituted in order to ascertain the progress made towards Catholic unity in England.

"The parties employed in the London district report as follows: Out of two hundred and fifteen churches and chapels of the establishment visited, there are one hundred and fifty three in which the congregation bow reverently to the altar at the naming of our Savior, evidently acknowledging his presence in the holy elements; in the remaining sixty two churches there appeared some confusion of ideas upon the point, both with clergy and flocks; in some few instances, the altar and holy eucharist appeared to be altogether despised; in thirteen churches the clergy bow lowly on passing and repassing the altar; in twenty seven the sacred elements are placed on the altar before the worshipers at each service, the reverence tendered being therefore to them rather than to the altar itself; in all these last mentioned churches the clergy and the whole congregation turn to the altar; in seventeen of these the altar is decorated with tapers; in nine churches the blessed crucifix is placed near the altar; in forty seven the holy emblem of the Passion is placed before the congregation either on or above the altar. It is most gratifying to observe, that the blessed Virgin is represented (mostly in the windows over the altar) in twenty five instances, besides many other apostles and canonized saints; in twelve instances these representations of the Virgin have remained from Catholic times unmolested; in all the churches recently constructed a space for pro-

cessions has been left in front of the altar, and in some few instances shifting benches have been substituted for pews. In forty seven churches the hours of service have been assimilated to those of matins and high mass of our holy church. The unhallowed service formerly read on the fifth of November, charging the Catholic church with the crime of the gunpowder plot, is almost entirely discontinued; it is only observed in twelve churches out of two hundred and fifteen visited. Surely every member of our holy church should redouble his prayers, seeing how they have availed to bring about this blessed approximation to Catholic unity. We may anticipate shortly, should liberal councils prevail in the nation, *that at least one Catholic service may be performed each Sabbath in the churches of the establishment, without at all interfering with those who may continue to differ from us, and without any material alteration in the arrangements of the national churches.* This, surely, is the least concession which we can require from those who monopolize at least nine tenths of all the buildings erected by the Catholics."

Such are the confident expectations of Papists respecting the recovery of the ground which they have lost in England. The evangelical party in the established church feel that there is just occasion for alarm at such tendencies to Romanism in their worship as have been mentioned. And yet how feeble often are their remonstrances against these growing corruptions. A very popular female writer,* who manifests much of an evangelical spirit, suggests as an all-important reformation, that hereafter worshipers should not "*face the table*" when they bow at the name of Christ! She can not release herself from the bondage of form sufficiently to

* Charlotte Elizabeth.

abandon the idle and superstitious ceremony altogether. There is much of such superstition finding its way into churches in our own country, which trace their origin to the church of England. Mar Yohannan, who was a shrewd observer of men and things, detected at once those tendencies to idolatry here, over which Jesuits are exulting in England; and like Nestorius of old, he gave his testimony against them. In replying to the uncharitable and abusive remarks of the "Churchman" respecting himself and his people, he says: "Your church came out from the church of the Pope. Is there not some leaven of the Pope still remaining in many of you? Take care; if you say 'no, this word is a mistake;' I have proofs. What are those *pictures* in some of your churches? This is a mark of the Pope! I know you do not worship the pictures; but your children, who rise up after you, seeing them in the churches will worship them." This observation accords equally with sound philosophy and uniform experience.

One of the most able and discerning theologians of the Roman Catholic church, (Dr. Wiseman,) remarks, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury: "It seems to me impossible to read the works of the Oxford divines, and especially to follow them chronologically, *without discovering a daily approach towards our holy church, both in doctrine and in practice.*" We presume that minds of less discernment than his have perceived the same dangerous tendency.

In France it is well known that Popery is regaining the power and influence of which the Revolution deprived her. The king lends his ear to the counsels of the Jesuits; the courts give their sanction to the oppression of Protestants. An attempt to establish Protestant worship in any commune where it has not been hitherto sustained, is frowned

upon by the police, and suppressed by the authority of law. There is no true toleration in the kingdom, though it was for this in part that she waded through seas of blood. The struggle between Protestantism and Popery there, may lead to another civil war.

Nor can America be indifferent to a controversy covering so wide an extent, and involving principles so important. The Roman Pontiff covets this fair inheritance and would make it the seat of his dominion. He has not only sent his spies to survey our land, but he has sent some of his most skillful generals to conquer it. He is intrenching himself strongly within the United States, and we must meet him not only on the prairies of the west and the savannas of the south, but among the hills and valleys of New England; on this very soil of the Pilgrims, where the pure faith of the Gospel has dwelt unmolested for two hundred years. And though there can be no reason to apprehend the triumph of Popery here, if we are vigilant and faithful, we are called to contend against no mean foe, but one well skilled in controversial tactics, of vast resources and amazing subtlety.

Besides, there is a considerable class of nominal Protestants in the midst of us who have a stronger affinity with the hierarchical features of the Romish church, than with the evangelical features of the various bodies of Christians around them, and who are ready to form an alliance with Romanists under the banner of the "one Catholic church," as soon as they can agree upon the terms of union.* There has been a large importation of Oxfordism during a few years past, and both bishops and presbyters are struggling to discharge their indebtedness to the mother country, and to manufacture the same system for the United

* See letter of Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis.

States. We think however that they will need a protective tariff, for hitherto the domestic article has been quite inferior to the foreign both in material and finish. It is altogether too coarse a thing for the American market.

From this hasty survey of the moral aspect of the world, it is apparent that every thing is tending towards a decisive struggle, not merely between false religions and the true, but between different forms of Christianity itself. And there are interpreters of prophecy who believe that there are intimations in Scripture, that Satan is to marshal all his forces on earth under the banner of a false Christianity, and that God will then pour out his wrath upon the "prince of the power of the air," and thus achieve the triumph of truth and holiness. From this universal war of principle, no man can shrink. It will be waged in our land, and in the land of our fathers; in the islands of the sea; on the plains of India and the mountains of Khoordistan. Every man must decide in his own soul between the power and the form of godliness, between Christ and the priest; and every man must contribute by his example and endeavors to advance the kingdom of our Lord and Savior, or to uphold the dominion of that "Wicked One." But to evangelical ministers, far more than to any other class of men, this controversy is invested with peculiar interest and importance, and upon them it must bring peculiar duties and responsibilities. They are to be the leaders of one of the conflicting parties; the champions of truth and liberty and holiness. On their skill, their judgment, their decision, their energy, their faith, will depend under God the glorious result. He who enters the ministry unprepared for this great controversy with error and sin, is without preparation for the work to which the providence of God, the wants of the age and the voice of prophecy

alike are calling him. Ministers of the Gospel, every where, and especially those with whom life has not yet passed its meridian, should be carefully enquiring, and helping each other in the inquiry, respecting their duties in reference to this great controversy of the age. Let them ask how this controversy ought to affect their studies, their preaching, their intercourse with each other, their relations to churches of various names and systems, and their arrangements and combinations for the propagation of the Gospel.

On this general question of what is required of ministers in respect to the conflict between formalism and spiritual religion, we offer the following suggestions.

First, the ministers of the word of God, are now called to a new diligence in the study of the Bible.

By the study of the Bible, we do not mean merely that dry, critical investigation which discovers in it nothing but the collocation of Greek and Hebrew particles, nor that metaphysical analysis, which finds there nothing but the skeletons of creeds and systems of theology, important as criticism and didactic theology may be. We mean also and chiefly that study which familiarizes the mind with the great facts of Christianity, and imbues it with the spirit and power of the Gospel; that study which exhibits Christ as "the power of God, and the wisdom of God," in opposition to the philosophy of the Greeks and the formalism of the Jews; that study which brings the mind into sympathy with the mind of the Spirit in the things which He has revealed. We apprehend that there is too little of such studying of the Bible among ministers, possibly even less than among private Christians. The very nature of their pursuits, makes them conversant with the Bible as a book from which they are to derive instruction for others rather than themselves; it calls for the patient and

laborious investigation of the meaning of words and phrases; for the precise definition of terms; for the elaborate discussion of doctrines; for the explanation of mysteries and the harmonizing of apparent contradictions; and so it may insensibly unfit them, in a measure, for that simple, child-like reading of the word which is so edifying to the unlearned believer. The Bible is in danger of becoming to them a book of "themes and texts for the pulpit;" a book of arguments for their favorite theories, a book perhaps of most recondite subtleties and abstractions, rather than of simple and obvious truths adapted to the comprehension even of the weak and to the wants of every soul.

While we would by no means discountenance the taste for critical and profound investigation which characterizes the Congregational ministry of New England, but would rather encourage it among the evangelical clergy of all denominations, we would at the same time recommend the study of the word of God, with reference to that spiritual tone and character which distinguish its teachings from those of heathen sages and Jewish Rabbins. The New Testament was written in an age of formalism. The religion of the Jews, the best the world then knew, had degenerated into a system of ostentatious fasting and alms-giving, the tithing of mint, anise and cummin, the washing of cups and platters, and the garnishing of the sepulchers of ancient saints. The law was overladen with tradition—the substance hidden in its own shadow. Christ introduced a spiritual religion. He recognized no Rabbinical distinctions among the precepts of the law; but inculcated the one great duty of love. He recognized neither Jerusalem nor Mount Gerizim as the exclusive place of worship, (for the Samaritans claimed the authority of the *fathers* for worshiping in their mountain, as confidently as

the Jews urged that of Jehovah for worshiping on Mount Moriah,) but inculcated the doctrine that God as a spiritual being was to be addressed with sincere and spiritual worship at all times and in all places. In all his instructions to his disciples, our Savior aimed either directly or indirectly to counteract the "traditions of men," and the superstition and mummery of the Pharisees. Hence these instructions are admirably adapted to the present age of revived Pharisaism. Modern formalism, like that which existed among the Jews, does not stand opposed to particular interpretations of Scripture, so much as to the whole tenor of the Bible. It is not therefore to be met with learned disquisitions upon *ὅρα* and *δρα*, it is not to be confronted by a skeleton as dry and rigid as itself, but by the life and spirit of the Gospel, pouring forth from every page of the New Testament, as it were fresh from the lips of Christ himself. It rejects the fundamental principles of Christianity; not merely as they stand arranged in creeds, but as they are found alive and glowing in the Bible. Those principles therefore must be exhibited in the preaching of the Gospel, more as the Bible exhibits them. They must be held up to view more distinctly in the light in which they were originally presented, as the elements of a spiritual religion in opposition to a religion of form. That this may be done effectually, the Bible must be not the mere text-book of ministers, but their "meat and drink."

Secondly, it is also important, in respect to this controversy, that ministers should study the subject of church polity. Formalism presents itself under the imposing title of "the church." It prides itself upon its organization, and well it may, for in that it has its being. It boasts loudly of its "apostolic order, succession, and ordinances," and makes the acknowledgment of these the

condition of salvation. It is well to look into these pretensions, and see upon what they are founded. Perhaps it will appear that the principles on which they rest derive no sanction from the word of God. Perhaps it will appear that the high-sounding title of "the holy Catholic church," was unknown to such simple-hearted writers as Peter, Paul, and John; and that their ideas of "catholic unity" rose no higher than that spiritual union which believers have with Christ, and with one another through faith in their common Lord. Perhaps it will appear that as the apostles traveled from place to place and organized churches, they consecrated no bishops above the rank of presbyters; and that they never allude to a single diocesan in any of their epistles. Perhaps we may even find that the whole brotherhood at Jerusalem made choice of an apostle in the place of Judas, and at Antioch participated in the consecration of Barnabas and Saul to the missionary work. We make these suggestions modestly, and in the form of conjecture, hoping not to incur too much of the displeasure of those charging prelates and fierce knights of the "three orders" who are daily starting up around us. The subject however is worthy of investigation. And it is no less interesting than important. Ministers should be well informed themselves respecting what the Bible teaches on the subject of church polity, and should instruct their people in the principles of their own ecclesiastical system. We have known the plan of instructing a promiscuous assembly in the Congregational Catechism to be adopted with great success. The principles of church organization there inculcated should be instilled into the mind of every descendant of the Puritans, and spread before every inquirer after truth upon a subject which is daily becoming more and more interesting to every Christian

mind, and more and more important in its relations to that great controversy of which we have been speaking. If the very idea of a church which every *churchman* entertains, can be shown to be unscriptural, as we believe it may, the strong pillars of formalism will be shaken, and perhaps the entire system overthrown.

As to "the fathers," who have indeed become the fathers of "many generations," if all who claim to be their descendants are truly such, those who have leisure and opportunity may do well to consult their writings; but we may safely leave the claims of hierarchies to patristical authority, to be examined by such profound scholars and thinkers as Augustus Neander and Isaac Taylor.

Our third suggestion is, that evangelical ministers should acquaint themselves fully and accurately with the doctrines, ceremonies, and polity of the Roman Catholic church, and with the claims of those whose sympathies are with that organized, visible communion, called the "one catholic and apostolic church," rather than with the vast communion of believers which constitutes Christ's true spiritual body. If we would gain a speedy and decisive victory in this great moral conflict, we should ascertain the true strength and position of the enemy, and be careful and judicious in the selection of our weapons, and in the time and method of attack. Much of the effort of Protestants against Popery in the United States has been misdirected. Through a failure on the part of controversialists to apprehend exactly the points of difference between the two systems, the advocates of Romanism and its kindred associations have in some instances seemed to triumph over the defenders of evangelical faith. Our opponents are very ready to take advantage of any misrepresentation or indiscriminate denunciation of their

views on our part, to excite popular sympathy in their own behalf. And in respect to one or two great public questions, they have evidently gained much in consequence of ill-advised Protestant effort. We must beware how we give them the benefit of that sympathy which is always accorded to those who seem to be the victims of misrepresentation or injustice. We must conduct this controversy with candor, and with a sincere love of the truth. In this mode we shall gain the respect if not the confidence of our opponents, and be enabled to expose their errors with greater clearness and effect. Besides, this is the only mode of conducting the controversy to a permanent result,—of establishing the truth firmly and forever. There are undoubtedly in the Roman Catholic system, certain great, leading principles, which are the very essence of that system, whether in or out of the Papal church. This is true of every form of error. The foundation of infidelity and its kindred delusions lies in an imperfect view of the moral government of God, and of human responsibility and guilt under that government. The infidel makes sin a trivial or a necessary thing, and then denies the accountability of man, or distorts the clemency of God. The Universalist almost annihilates the distinction between right and wrong, and then denies the doctrine of a future retribution. The Unitarian rejects the doctrine of man's entire sinfulness, and as a consequence of this he rejects the doctrines of regeneration, the atonement, and the divinity of Christ. In like manner there is some fundamental error in the Roman Catholic system, from which all its monstrous and glaring absurdities spring. We should ascertain where the root of the system lies. We should not satisfy ourselves with a superficial examination and partial exposure of its fallacies; we should undermine its

foundation, and explode its corner stone into fragments, by the force of truth.

But we need not dwell upon a point so obviously important. We will only add, that in our next number we shall endeavor to present to our readers, a synopsis of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, carefully compiled from her own authorities, viz. the "*Acta Conciliorum, et Epistolæ Decretales, ac Constitutiones summorum Pontificum*," the "*Theologia moralis et dogmatica Reverendi et Eruditissimi Domini Petri Dens*," and "*L'Exposition de la doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique, par Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux*."

We would further recommend to our ministers of the Gospel in all evangelical churches, that they furnish themselves with weapons for this controversy, by studying attentively the history of the Reformation. The study of ecclesiastical history, in fact of *all* history, is important for this end. Every minister should understand the history of the first three or four centuries of the Christian era; should be able to show in what manner the hierarchy took its rise, and supplanted the simple constitution of the primitive churches; to trace the growth and establishment of that spiritual despotism which through ages of darkness held the world in chains. We rejoice in the publication of so many learned and accurate works upon the early history of the church, in a form and at a price, which brings their valuable contents within the reach of all. Moreover, recent events have shown us the importance of a thorough knowledge of *all* history;* for when the astute Bishop of New York—*astute*, in dis-

* A lecture on the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the middle ages. By Rt. Rev. Dr. Hughes, Bishop of New York. Delivered at the Tabernacle, on Monday eve-

inction from the rival pretender to the same title—attempts to persuade an American audience, that “the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the middle ages” was favorable to liberty, we need some champion of religious freedom and truth, with the promptness and ability with which Mr. Cheever has come forward, to expose the sophistry and fraud, and to exhibit the church of Rome in its true historical character, as a hierarchical despotism.

But a knowledge of the history of the Reformation, or rather a *familiarity* with its great principles and events, is indispensable to all who are to engage in the great controversy. The mere fact of the existence of this controversy, the fact, that it is necessary again to debate those points upon which the minds of Luther, and Calvin, and Zuingle, exhausted their strength, shows us that, notwithstanding their wisdom, piety, and zeal, there was some serious defect in their manner of conducting the great controversy of their age. We must study the history of those stirring times, we must ascertain what were the errors of the Reformers, what the peculiarities of their situation, what the difficulties which encompassed them, why it was that the church, which had been delivered from the yoke of despotism by a mighty arm, and led forth into the light and liberty of the Gospel, turned back from the very borders of the land of promise, and wandered in the wilderness; why it was that she had not faith and courage to complete the work of her redemption, so aus-

piciously begun. Surveying these things in the calm, clear light of history, and gathering wisdom from experience dearly purchased, we can conduct the reformation of our times to an issue more glorious and enduring, than was ever anticipated by the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

The last suggestion which we have to offer, and the most important, is, that ministers should cultivate a higher tone of spirituality in their lives and in their preaching. The true antagonist to formalism is spirituality—spirituality not in words and opinions, but in life and power. This great foe to the Gospel must be vanquished by the power of prayer and holy living, rather than by force of argument. True Christianity must be put in contrast with that which falsely bears its name, in the lives of its professors. The “sons of God” must be “blameless and without rebuke, shining as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life.” It should be borne in mind, that the errors of Romanism are deeply seated in the depraved heart of man; that they have their “origin in human nature,”* and can therefore be uprooted only in the complete renovation of the soul by the Spirit of God. Let then the evangelical ministry of our land, become yet more emphatically evangelical; more evangelical not only in doctrine but in life, not only in preaching but in practice; let them exhibit to their people the necessity of eminent holiness; let them pray and labor every where for the revival of pure and undefiled religion; let them deal in faithfulness and love with the souls of men, and soon will the true church of God “arise and shine,” and error, superstition, and sin, will flee before her as the mists of the morning.

ning, Dec. 18, 1843, by request of the Irish Emigrant Society. New York, 1843.

The Hierarchical Despotism. Lectures on the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the middle ages, in illustration of the nature and progress of despotism in the Romish church. By Rev. Geo. B. Cheever. New York, 1844.

* See Archbishop Whateley's profound treatise on this subject.

ROMANISTS AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY.*

THE Rev. Thomas Brainerd of Philadelphia, some three years ago, maintained in a sermon before the presbytery of which he is a member, the proposition, that "existing causes furnish no ground to fear, that Romanism will ever become the prevailing religion of this country." Within a few months past the sermon has been published; and we find it so much in accordance with our own way of thinking on that subject, that we are constrained to commend it very earnestly to the attention of our readers. In what we are now intending to say about Romanists in the United States, and the duties of Protestants in regard to the Roman Catholic controversy, we shall make free use of the materials and hints afforded us by Mr. Brainerd's judicious and timely pamphlet. The question, How ought Roman Catholics in this country to be regarded and treated?—and the more general question, What ought we to do in respect to the efforts which are made for the advancement of the Roman Catholic religion here?—are worthy of a serious consideration.

Roman Catholics, particularly in this part of the United States, are generally foreigners—strangers in birth and lineage, strangers to our history and our religion—marked to some extent by a distinctive physiognomy, and to a greater extent by differences of language, or at least of dialect. In every country, the foreigner as such, and especially

the foreigner of another religion, is liable to become the object of prejudice and of popular hatred. It is in the character of foreigners that the Roman Catholics present themselves to our consideration, when we inquire what kind of treatment is due to them. How ought we to treat strangers, of a religion hostile to our own, who are brought to our country in the providence of God—fugitives, as our fathers were, from the oppressive institutions of the old world?

The Hebrew national law, with its ecclesiastical establishment, is the great storehouse of proof-texts for the doctrine and discipline of intolerance. Were we writing for any other than American readers, it would be necessary for us to begin with the refutation of the argument drawn from the supposed pertinency of such proof-texts. But where, as with us, the principle of ecclesiastical establishments, and all distinctions between lawful and unlawful religions, are renounced on all sides, we have no occasion to touch upon a topic so elementary. We will rather begin by citing from those Mosaic Institutes—so little understood, and so greatly abused—one simple precept, the principle of which is universal, and the application of which to our immediate purpose is too obvious to be disputed. "*Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*" The "stranger," in the land of the Israelites, was not of course a proselyte or convert to the national religion. The proselyte indeed ceased to be a stranger; he became in all respects one of the chosen people. We find then in this command, a precept pertinent to our inquiry. It teaches us how we ought to treat

* Our country safe from Romanism. A sermon delivered at the opening of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, at its sessions in the Western Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, April, 1841. By the Rev. Thomas Brainerd, Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philad. 1843. 8vo. pp. 45.

foreigners of another religion, who come to enjoy here the blessings with which our religion has enriched our country and made it the glory of all lands.

How evangelical Christians, of various names and various ecclesiastical connections, ought to treat each other, is coming to be pretty well understood. The Methodist, the Baptist, the Congregationalist or Presbyterian, and the Episcopalian, can treat each other kindly; and while they differ in various degrees on certain points of doctrine and of ecclesiastical regulation, and are thus separated more or less distinctly in respect to some formalities of church communion, they can feel toward each other as neighbors and friends, and can freely interchange all acts of good neighborhood. Notwithstanding many counteracting influences, they are gradually getting over those sectarian animosities which once interrupted the intercourse of fellow-citizens.

Even toward those who are regarded as under serious and fatal delusions, there is much of a reasonable tolerance. The opinions and doctrines of such men are denounced as dangerous to the individual and to society; they themselves, as embracing those doctrines, are naturally looked upon with a somewhat closer scrutiny; their claims to the Christian name are even rejected; yet in society, the Socinian, the Universalist, and the Deist, are judged individually by their personal characters, rather than by their religious opinions. No social proscription is exercised against them for their opinions merely. No religious test is made a condition of fair standing in society. This is as it should be. Argument, discussion, instruction, the manifestation of the truth in love—these are the methods by which error is to be suppressed, and truth is to win its way.

But the Roman Catholics, for va-

rious reasons, do not seem to enjoy, in some quarters, the full benefit of this tolerant disposition. They are, as a body, foreigners. Their religion is in every relation hostile to every other form of Christianity. It is associated, in history, to a great extent, with the most arbitrary principles of government, and with sweeping and bloody persecutions. Their ecclesiastical system owns for its head a foreign potentate, who has a temporal as well as a spiritual jurisdiction, and who, in other ages, has given away thrones and realms at his discretion, and has put his feet upon the necks of kings. Their priests, cut off from those sympathies that bind other men to home and country, are invested with indefinite power. Their worship shocks our moral sense with its childish mummeries and gross idolatries. And withal they entertain, and are not very reserved in exhibiting, the most sanguine expectations of making their religion, at no very distant period, the predominant religion of the whole country. For such reasons as these there is, in some quarters, a feeling towards Roman Catholics altogether unlike the feeling towards the adherents of any other form of religion.

In attempting to show how they ought to be regarded and treated, it may be necessary for us to forestall a possible misapprehension of our views, by saying, in the first place, that the nature and bearings of the questions between the church of Rome, and the great catholic communion of evangelical churches, ought never to be overlooked. If all positive religion is not a delusion—if all systems of religious faith are not equally false and worthless—the difference between that Christianity of tradition which is held by the Roman Catholic church, and that Christianity of the Bible which is held by Protestant Christians, is such as admits no compromise. He who intelligently and

heartily admits the one, can not, without hypocrisy, profess any sympathy with the other. No Roman Catholic asks you to admit—no Roman Catholic who understands his own system, can but be offended if you pretend—that the differences between his religion and the religion which Protestants profess to deduce from the New Testament, are unessential. What are the questions at issue between the two systems? They are such as these. Whether the living oracles of God in the Scriptures, or the traditions and decisions of the church, are to command our faith? Whether we are to address our prayers to God alone, or to saints and angels? Whether we are to worship God in spirit and in truth alone, or with the aid of images and pictures? Whether the penitent sinner may safely commit his soul to Christ alone, or must have absolution from the priest, and experience the justifying and sanctifying power of sacraments? Whether the dying believer, trusting in the Redeemer, goes, like the believing malefactor from the cross, to be with Christ “this day in paradise,” or sinks into a pit of purgatorial fire, there to abide till the priests can be hired to pray him out by saying masses at so much apiece? Whether true personal religion consists in repentance and faith, a heart cleansed by the word and Spirit of God, and a life devoted to the service and the imitation of Christ—or is made up of such matters as making the sign of the cross, repeating prayers in Latin, confessing to a priest, wearing an *agnus Dei*, and eating fish on Friday? Such questions as these can not be treated by an intelligent and honest man as if they were of little consequence. To him who takes the Bible alone for his authoritative standard, the religion of Rome is polytheism; for instead of worshiping only the one living and true God, it sets up a thousand infe-

rior divinities to whom the suppliant looks in prayer—the tutelary saints of temples, cities, countries, and of individuals; and to them it offers more petitions and vows than to the Father of spirits. It is idolatry; for it bows down to graven images; it deals in amulets and incantations; it worships a piece of bread, not as symbolically representing, but as actually being, the Supreme Divinity. It is a system at war with the Bible; for it forbids men to search the Scriptures for themselves; and it requires them to surrender their judgment and conscience to the church and to the priest, instead of permitting God’s word to come into their own minds as the law of liberty. With such a system, the believer of the simple Gospel can have no fellowship. It was with reference to such departures from the truth as it is in Jesus, that the Apostle wrote, “If there come any to you and bring not this doctrine”—the doctrine of Christ—“receive him not into your house,” as you receive the preachers of the Gospel to help them on their way; “neither bid him God-speed; for he that biddeth him God-speed is a partaker of his evil deeds.”

We say then, it is plainly wrong for Protestants to unite with Roman Catholics in their worship of images, of saints and angels, or of the consecrated wafer. To go into one of their churches as a mere spectator, gaping and wondering perhaps, but refusing to kneel when they kneel, or to stand when they stand, is to treat them and their worship with an unnecessary incivility, and with an incivility which they feel to be offensive. To give an external conformity to the service there offered, is to partake in their idolatry.

We say farther, it is wrong for a Protestant to place his children under the moral and religious training of Roman Catholic schools. He who places his daughter in a nunnery boarding school, or his son in

a Jesuit college, for instruction, knows that he puts that daughter or son to be trained into spiritual and intellectual servitude, and to be converted if possible to that religion which puts a clasp upon the Bible and a veil upon the cross, and which admits a priest to all the secrets of the conscience, armed with power to save and to destroy. Such a parent tells his child in effect, that the Bible is not a light and a treasure; that Luther and the Reformers were in the wrong; that the blood of the martyrs was shed in vain; and that it is well to pray to the Virgin Mary in order to obtain her good offices in procuring blessings from her Son.

We say still farther, it is wrong for Protestants to aid by their voluntary contributions in building Roman Catholic churches, or in otherwise extending or supporting the Roman Catholic religion. To afford such aid to that superstitious and despotic hierarchy, is to bid them God-speed. He who gives them such aid, gives them the right hand of fellowship, and becomes a voluntary upholder and promoter of their system. When did Roman Catholics in Rome, in Spain, in Austria, in France, in Mexico, or in South America, ever contribute voluntarily to the building of a Protestant temple, or the advancement of Protestant Christianity? They are consistent with themselves. They refuse to put contempt upon their own faith and worship.

Having spoken thus freely of the Roman Catholic system, we may now proceed to the remark that the individual Romanist is not to be treated by us as responsible for all the errors—still less for all the tendencies—of the system in which he has been educated. The errors in which he has been educated, are errors in some sort of combination with truth; and it may be that the truth taught with the error has had much to do in the formation of his character. The system of Romanism with all its errors, is not charac-

terized so much by the direct denial of essential truths, as by overlaying those truths with the corruptions that have been accumulating for seventeen centuries. For minds of an enlightened habit of thinking, and for minds that yearn after the Gospel and can not be satisfied with forms, that system has various ingenious modes of reconciling its superstitions and traditionary doctrines with the essential truths of Christianity. Thus the Roman Catholic church has held within its enclosures such minds as Fenelon, and Pascal, and Sir Thomas More. The grace of God *may* employ that truth which is buried under Roman errors, as the instrument of spiritual renovation and sanctification to many an individual whose mind is yet, in one degree or another—like that of Apollos before Aquila and Priscilla taught him, or like that of the centurion Cornelius before Peter came to him—fettered and darkened.

It is possible then, for one who has been trained in the Roman Catholic church, to acquire and to receive into his heart, such views of God and of Christ's redeeming work, as shall be made effectual to his salvation. It is very possible that a Romanist, making frequent confession to a priest, much in bondage to the forms and traditions of his church, much perplexed and weighed down with the burthens grievous to be borne which a usurping authority has laid upon his conscience—may yet be earnest, contrite, conscientious—may walk humbly with God—may hope in Christ, and be in the way to be saved through Christ; while after all he can not work himself out of the delusions by which he has been enslaved. A Roman Catholic *priest*—though it is so natural for Protestants to regard him as a deceiver—*may* be an honest man; nay, he may be, before God who knows his infirmities, an Israelite indeed. Luther was such a priest—long after he began to un-

derstand, as well as to feel, the power of the Gospel; and long before he began to entertain a thought of throwing off the yoke of Roman bondage. So was Zuingle. So were others of whom we have now no time to speak.

Every individual Roman Catholic, then, ought to be held, by his Protestant neighbors and acquaintance, in just that degree of respect which his individual character may seem to deserve. We are not to confound the individual with the organization in which he is included, for he is an individual still. Romanism may be Antichrist, sitting in the place of God, and inscribed with names of blasphemy; but he, the individual, though he be a devout Romanist—nay though he be a priest of Rome—is to stand or fall before God, according to his individual character. We are not to look upon him as if he were the inventor of the holy tribunal and its tortures, or as if he had volunteered to bring faggots to the stake of John Rogers. We are not to impute to him, as a part of his character, whatever nameless abominations have been committed within the walls of convents, or by the aid of the confessional. We are not to look on him as stained with all the falsehoods, frauds and perjuries to which the priestly diplomacy of Rome, has at one time and another lent its sanctity. Romanist as he is, he is your neighbor, as much your neighbor as the Samaritan was neighbor to the Jew; and you are to treat him, not as a representative of a system that has figured so terribly in history, but as an individual man, according to the manifestations of his individual character.

We take another position. The Roman Catholics in this country, are not to be regarded as hostile to our political institutions. There is a vague impression, if we mistake not, pretty widely diffused, that these Romanists—these naturalized for-

eigners—are at heart hostile to our laws and liberties. Much has been said about a conspiracy on the part of the Pope and the Popish powers in Europe, to overwhelm us with a flood of Roman Catholic emigration and Roman Catholic missions, and thus to overthrow our republican governments. That there may be such a conspiracy, in manner and form as set forth by those who are most afraid of it, we will not deny. That the court of Rome is determined to do every thing possible towards making this a Roman Catholic country, is undoubtedly true. That the great body of devout Catholics, throughout Europe, are praying earnestly, in their way, and are contributing largely, for the propagation of their faith in these States, and with extravagant hopes of success, is a well ascertained fact. That the emperor of Austria and some other Roman Catholic potentates, take an interest in the enterprise, appears from authentic documents, and that they and their councillors may hope that America by being Romanized will cease to be republican, is altogether probable. But these hopes, these contributions and prayers and efforts do not prove—nay, the alleged conspiracy if admitted as a matter of fact in its whole extent, does not prove—that the myriads of Roman Catholics who come to our country, come with the design of aiding in the overthrow of this great republic. If there is a conspiracy, how can it be proved that they are the conspirators? What is it that brings them hither? Who does not know that they come as fugitives from oppression? Who does not know that they come hither for the very reason that the government of this country, in its form and principles, is utterly unlike the governments under which they and their fathers have been in bondage? No, whatever dangers are to be apprehended from the influx of these strangers, are altogether of another sort.

There is danger that in their ignorance and in their ill-taught zeal for democracy, they may become the dupes of demagogues. There is danger that, uninstructed as they are in respect to the working of republican institutions, and accustomed as they have been to regard all law as the mere dictate of arbitrary power, and to look on every officer of the law as the natural enemy of the people,—they may be slow to realize that here the law instead of being the antagonist is the only guardian of liberty; and that the ministry of the law exists only, that the individual may be safe and free under the protection of the commonwealth. There is danger that accustomed as they have been to see government administered for the benefit of privileged classes, and thus to feel that the wealth of the rich has been, in part at least, unjustly extorted from the poor, they will bring their prejudices with them; and will be slow to learn that here the poor man, free to labor, and free to spend or to accumulate the earnings of his labor, has the same interests as well as the same rights with the richest. There is danger that coming as the great majority of them do, from a country which has been for ages misgoverned and oppressed by a Protestant government—where a Protestant church, established by law and maintained by the bayonet, has been a standing outrage on a Roman Catholic population—and where, till a recent period, the profession and exercise of their religion has been attended with civil disabilities,—they will bring their old religious animosities along with them,—and will presume that Protestants here are ready to oppress them as Protestants have oppressed them in their native country,—and will thus be a more easy prey to such as are disposed to take advantage of their prejudices, for the sake of arraying them in hostility against any portion of the native citizens of their adopt-

ed country. Such dangers, it is obvious, will be increased instead of being counteracted, if these multitudes coming to cast in their lot with us and to share in our privileges, find themselves denounced and dreaded, in one quarter and another, as coming to overturn our republican constitutions, and to aid the political designs of European governments. The dangers in the case are to be counteracted by other methods.

Our next point is one which we are at a loss how to state, except in the form of a truism. All the rights of Roman Catholics in this country, and especially their rights in respect to religious liberty, should be carefully regarded. The law, of course, makes no difference between them and us. The theory of society as here organized, knows no man as a Papist or as a Protestant. One of our states was founded by a Roman Catholic proprietary; and the boast of that state is, that it takes precedence of Rhode Island itself as having first attempted the establishment of a perfect religious freedom. The name of a Roman Catholic stands conspicuous among the signatures to the Declaration of Independence, along with the names of Puritans from New England, and Cavaliers from Virginia. Roman Catholics have equal rights in the United States with Presbyterians or Baptists. No man dreams of altering our laws in this respect, or of taking away any of the legal liberties or rights of Roman Catholics.

In conformity then with the spirit of these laws, we say that this class of strangers ought not to be subject to any social proscription. For example—it ought not to be made a principle in any quarter, that a Roman Catholic citizen, if in other respects the best qualified candidate for a particular office in the government, is not to receive the votes of his Protestant fellow citizens. For another example—their ministers ought to be recognized with all due

courtesy as clergymen, by the ministers and people of other denominations. Not that the right hand of Christian fellowship is to be given to them, as if they were ministers of Christ's own Gospel, instead of being priests of a corrupted and perverted Christianity. Not that an ignorant clown, if such an one happens to be invested with the insignia of that priesthood, is to be treated with the courtesy due to learning and civility. Not that a man of justly suspected morals, if such an one happens to steal into the line of that "apostolical succession," is to be treated as irreproachable. But the Roman Catholic prelate or priest is in this country a clergyman,* having the same rights with a Protestant pastor, or with a prelate or priest of the Anglo-Catholic communion; and as such he is to be treated just as other clergymen are treated in society, according to his personal character for learning and for morals.

And here let us touch upon a question respecting which religious householders are sometimes in doubt,

* In this country, either we have no clergy at all, or else all who make the Christian ministry, under any ecclesiastical name or constitution, their professional employment, are clergymen. He to whom preaching and the administration of religious ordinances is a profession, that is, the business in which and by which he lives, is a clergyman in the only sense in which the word can be properly used under American institutions. Here the words 'clergyman' and 'minister,' are used as synonyms. In countries which have a state church, the clergy are those whom the state has made the established and endowed ministers of religion. Thus in England, a 'clergyman' is in holy orders in the church of England; but a 'minister' in common parlance is a dissenter. Sidney Smith is not a minister, but a clergyman. John Pye Smith is not a clergyman, but a minister. The late Robert Hall was a minister. The late C. C. Colton was a clergyman. Those who read of "the dancing clergy" in England, or of fox-hunting and card-playing clergymen, should remember this distinction.

and often in difficulty. It is a common thing for Roman Catholics to be hired for domestic service in Protestant families. Every family ought to have, as a family, its daily worship. Here is the question—'What is my duty as the head of a family in respect to persons thus employed under my roof? Shall I compel them by the power which my relation to them gives me—shall I compel them against their own convictions and ideas of duty—to conform to the worship of my family?' We answer, No. You are not responsible for them in this matter. You are bound to invite them kindly, and to use reasonable persuasion and friendly counsel; but you are not bound to use any coercive or authoritative influence. In selecting those whom you will admit to this relation in your family, you have a right to prefer such as are willing to join with your family in the worship of God, if you can find such candidates for domestic service. And just so the Roman Catholic girl, in selecting a place of service, has a right to choose a Roman Catholic family, if she can find one, rather than a Protestant family. The relation between you and her is not that of master and servant, in the patriarchal sense of those words, or in the Jewish, or the Roman, or the feudal. It is simply the relation of employer and employed. And we are sure that by using any coercive influence upon her, to induce her to join in a worship which she regards with a religious horror—even if you have the power to do so—you will neither enlighten her ignorance, nor overcome her prejudices. If you must employ these ignorant and priestridden people under your roof—if you have no option but to admit them into your family—your duty does not require you to put any restraint upon their consciences. Let them feel that so far as their liberty is circumscribed, it is by their priest,

and not by you, that they are hindered from doing as they please. Let them see that the genius of your religion is liberty; and in due time they may begin to feel that the genius of their religion, as they have it under the priest, is slavery.

The "school question," as it is called, which has arisen in New York, must come up sooner or later, wherever there are public schools and Roman Catholic children. As to the particular form in which it has arisen in New York—as to the degree of wisdom with which the controversy there has been managed—as to the arrangements under which the school system of that city has been or is now conducted, we say nothing; the details not being now before us, we are not qualified to pronounce any judgment on those matters. The question is to us not a New York question, but a general question. How shall the Roman Catholics be treated in respect to common schools? As foreigners and as Roman Catholics, they are incomparably the most ignorant class of our population. What duty do we owe them—what duty do we owe to ourselves and our posterity—in respect to the education of their children, and their training into some sort of competency for citizenship? The question is too large to be discussed in all its bearings. All that we shall attempt is to suggest two principles, which, though obvious, seem to be in some danger of being overlooked.

1. It is better that Roman Catholic children should be educated in public schools in which the Bible is not read, than that they should be not educated at all, or educated in schools under the absolute control of their priesthood. If the Roman Catholics in this country learn only to read and write, it will be impossible for their priests always to hinder them from thinking. If in addition to reading and writing, they

learn the elementary lessons of arithmetic and geography, they will in time become an intelligent and reading population, surrounded with a thousand sources of instruction and a thousand excitements to inquiry. Intelligent individuals may be devout Romanists; but that an intelligent, reading, thinking population, can be a prieststridden population in a free country—who will believe? Let the Roman Catholics be uninstructed, and they will constitute an inferior and therefore a dangerous caste. Let them be excluded from the public schools by any regulations which, however reasonable or well intended, have the effect of excluding them; and then let them be taught in schools of their own under the absolute control of their priests; and the great object of their training will be, to counteract all tendencies to the right use of knowledge in the way of thinking, and to make them from generation to generation a distinct body, governed in all things by their hierarchy, and cut off as much possible from all sympathy with American society.

2. Whenever the Roman Catholics are permitted in this country, to look to their bishops and priests as the asserters and guardians of their religious liberty against the Protestant majority, it may be presumed that there is a mistake somewhere. When a Roman Catholic prelate becomes, in the estimation of his people, the champion of religious liberty, things are in a false position. Let the Roman Catholic feel, that the liberty of *not* reading the Bible is to be taken away from him or from his children; and immediately that liberty becomes infinitely valuable in his eyes. He will suffer for it—he will keep his children in the grossest ignorance rather than give it up—he will die for it, if need be; and the priest who asserts that liberty for him, will seem to him like a guardian

angel. Such is human nature. But let the question take another shape—let the Roman Catholic who can read, or the Roman Catholic child who is learning to read, understand that his liberty of reading a book which every body else reads, is taken away from him by the priest; and his human nature feels itself wronged. The priest instead of seeming, as before, the champion of liberty, becomes, as he is in fact, its enemy. How plain is this. A Roman Catholic child asks, 'Why do I not go to school?' The answer is, 'Because the Protestants will make you read the Bible if you go there.' The child puts the blame entirely upon the Protestants. But suppose the question to be, 'Why do I not read the Bible at school as other children do?' To this question the obvious and only possible answer is, 'Because the priest—or the church—forbids you to read that book.' In this case, the child can not avoid seeing that it is the priest or the church that circumscribes his liberty. He can not avoid seeing, that other children have a privilege which the priest says he shall not have.

We are far from supposing that a full solution of all the difficulties in "the school question" is contained in these two hints. Yet we are confident that any determination or discussion of that question, in which these considerations are disregarded, will prove to be unfortunate.

To sum up, as in a word, much that has been already said, and much more that might be said, under the inquiry now before us, we say, Roman Catholics in our country ought to be treated personally with all kindness. They should be invited by all proper means to the fountains of knowledge, and to the exercise of free thought. They should be encouraged to forget all their national badges and distinctions, and to become, as completely

as possible, and as soon as possible, Americans, in full sympathy with American institutions and American history. They should be made to know and to feel, that the spirit of Christianity—of Protestant Christianity—is the spirit of liberty, of light, and of universal love. They should be made to see that they are surrounded by friends, and are welcome to a share in the boundless inheritance of privileges for which our fathers bled. In no other way than by the exercise of such kindness, is it possible to avert the dangers which are involved in the presence among us of these great and growing multitudes, aliens by birth and blood, strangers to our history and institutions, and trained in a religion utterly hostile to our own. It is not a merely legal naturalization, and a participation in the right of suffrage, which can convert a Bavarian or Irish peasant into an American. All the kindly influences of society must operate upon him to transform his sentiments, till his national prejudices and his religious bigotry shall give way, and he is brought into sympathy with American habits of thought and feeling.

So much for the spirit in which the Roman Catholic should be met by the American Protestant, on American soil and under American institutions. Let him encounter no bigotry, no religious hatred, no proscription in society, no intolerance or unkindness, nothing inconsistent with the spirit of complete and universal religious liberty. All this implies no indifference to the errors and mischievous tendencies of Romanism as a system of religion. Nor is there any contradiction between this and the most earnest efforts, for the maintenance and extension of true Christianity in opposition to that system. That such efforts are necessary, no intelligent man will be likely to deny. Romanism, under the protection of our

free institutions, is entrenching itself upon our soil, and will not be easily dislodged. It is arranging its forces and extending its agencies and means of influence in every direction. With a keen foresight, it has been for these twenty years laboring to pre-occupy the west, and to fasten itself upon the undeveloped vigor of those young states, that it may hold them in its clasp and rise with their mighty growth. Not only does it tax its benighted subjects, to their utmost endurance, in the prosecution of its plans; but the reviving zeal of Romish devotion in the old world comes to its aid, with the accumulated contributions of imperial princes and of hungry peasantry. Cathedrals, churches, convents and colleges, rise on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi, as monuments of the friendly interest which Austria takes in the intellectual and religious welfare of America. Great and continued effort, guided by the soundest wisdom, must be put forth to counteract that gigantic scheme for the extension of the papal dominion, of which these things are the first development. The conflict of the Reformation is to be revived, under new auspices, and in a new form, upon the soil of America. We do not complain of this. We will not say that we regret it. Why should we not rejoice in it?

We come then to the inquiry, How ought this conflict to be conducted? What must Protestant Americans do to resist and defeat these designs of the Papacy? In what spirit, with what instrumentalities, in what method, should we contend for the faith against the superstitions and the spiritual despotism of Rome?

First of all let us say, we can allow no place to despondency or discouragement in respect to the result. There is in some quarters, if we mistake not, a disposition to exaggerate the progress which Ro-

manism is making in these states—a disposition which would fill the minds of the American people with the most extravagant fears of being brought into bondage by that power which, in other ages, kindled the fires of Smithfield, suppressed inquiry by the tortures of the Inquisition, and exulted in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's. It seems to be supposed by some that let us do what we may, we shall find ourselves too late; and that the strength and progress of Romanism among us are such as leave us but little chance of success. In such a state of mind, it is natural to conclude either that it is hardly worth the while to attempt any thing; or that something must be done by legislation, or by party combinations, to prevent the Romanists from acquiring a political influence. Thus an exasperated feeling springs up. The poor foreigner who comes hither to cast in his lot with us, and to find freedom and a home under our favoring sky, is regarded as an enemy, and is thus taught to look upon us as enemies to him. In this way, regarding him as an invader, we think little of doing him good; and he, on the other hand, learning to regard us with responsive hostility, clings to his superstitions with a closer grasp, and yields himself up more entirely to the dominion of his priest.

But what are the facts in the case? What is there to justify an anti-Popery panic? Is Popery a new thing upon the soil of America? More than forty years before the settlement of Jamestown—more than half a century before the Mayflower moored in the bay of Plymouth, a Roman Catholic colony had been commenced within what is now our country; and at this day houses are standing at St. Augustine which are said to have been erected before the earliest colonization of Virginia. Only four years after the settlement of Boston—two years before a be-

ginning was made in Connecticut, a Roman Catholic English colony was planted in Maryland. Such was the beginning of the competition between Romanism and Protestantism for the possession of this great domain,—more than two hundred years ago. A hundred years ago, all the region west of the Alleghany Mountains was claimed by a Roman Catholic government, and a chain of French settlements, forts, and trading-houses, strengthened by Jesuit missions, stretched from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to New Orleans. The very names along that ancient track are redolent of Rome as well as of France. St. Clair, St. Joseph, and St. Mary, St. Anthony, St. Charles, and St. Louis—the lakes, the streams, the cities, consecrated by the names of tutelary saints, from the Falls of Niagara to the delta of the Mississippi—are memorials of that gigantic scheme of French and Popish dominion which, after having been long prosecuted at a vast expense of treasure, toil and blood, passed away at the peace of 1763. What a defeat was that which the empire of superstition suffered, when it became the manifested decree of Providence that this wide region, from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, should be sacred to religious liberty, and open to Protestant enterprise and the influence of evangelical institutions. And shall we now be discouraged or dismayed because in a population of more than seventeen millions, a million, or a million and a half, are Papists? The proportion of Roman Catholics to the entire population within the territory now belonging to the United States, was perhaps greater a century ago than it is now.

But some are alarmed at the great increase of the Roman Catholics in this country of late. Within ten years, the numbers of their dioceses and bishops, of their clergy, and (as

it is believed) of their people, have been more than doubled. At this rate of increase, it is argued, we shall soon become a Roman Catholic people. We would by no means make light of these facts. To us they are full of serious meaning. Still we insist that in these facts there is no reason for discouragement or dismay. The Jews in this country, for a few years past, have been doubling and redoubling their numbers more rapidly than the Romanists. Bavarian Jewish pedlars, with their head quarters at New Haven, are at this moment performing their circuits, with one-horse wagons, through all the highways and byeways of Connecticut itself. Does it therefore follow that the Jews will ere long become the majority? No; the increase of the Jews among us is not by proselytism but by immigration. And the reason why that immigration has doubled and redoubled their number, is the well known fact that twenty years ago they were but a handful. This great and sudden increase will be found some years hence to have taken place by an arithmetical and not a geometrical ratio. An immigration of two thousand a year will in ten years double the number of twenty thousand. But if it is to be doubled again in the next ten years—if the forty thousand is to swell to eighty thousand—the annual immigration must be doubled; and Europe, instead of giving us two thousand Jews *per annum*, must give us four thousand. We need not say that these numbers are taken at random, for the sake of illustration, and are not to be considered as an attempt to tell exactly how many Jews there are in this country, or how great is the yearly increase of their number. Apply this illustration to the increase of the Roman Catholics. They have doubled their number in ten years. How? Why as all men know, and as they themselves confess, by immigration. The

reason why they have doubled within ten years, is that ten years ago they were only something more than half a million. They are not increasing in a geometrical ratio. The annual increment does not itself increase in proportion to the increase of the mass to which it is added.

The foreigners who come to this country annually are estimated at 70,000. Of these, some 50,000 probably, are by birth and training, Roman Catholics.* Should this continue to be the average annual immigration; should there be no general wars in Europe to employ the superabundant population, as of old, in armies, or to sweep them off in battles; should there be no great political changes there to inspire the oppressed with new hopes, and to strengthen their attachments to their native soil; should nothing begin to divert towards some other portions of the world now waiting to be colonized, that stream of emigration which is at present setting so steadily towards our country; then at the end of another ten years, there will have been added to the Roman Catholic portion of our population, half a million of souls beside the natural increase. Thus ten years hence, the Romanists in the United States, will have multiplied to something like two millions and a quarter. This may seem alarming to those who look no farther. But remember that meanwhile the Protestant population will have increased from sixteen millions to more than twenty millions. The increase of Protestants by birth and immigration, is to the increase of Romanists by birth and immigration as five to one. And then, in the next succeeding period of ten years, the disproportion will be still greater, unless the immigration of Catholics shall far exceed its present rate of fifty thou-

sand annually. Why should we fear that this country is to be brought into subjection to Rome, and all its institutions subverted, by this Roman Catholic immigration? In what year of our Lord, are the Roman Catholics likely to be the majority?

Is Popery multiplying its disciples by conversions from among the native American people, the children of Protestant parents? That there are some such conversions is a matter of course. There is no error so absurd, no system so monstrous, that it can not be recommended effectually to some minds in some way predisposed to receive it. Strange would it be if a system so imposing as Romanism, and so adapted to the various propensities of human nature, should make no proselytes in such a country as this. Here and there some ignorant person may be bewildered by a show of argument. Here and there some one whose senses have been half subverted by what are called "church principles," may be logical enough to carry those principles out to their legitimate conclusions, and to renounce the Protestant name. Here and there one is moved by the "pomp and circumstance" of Romish worship, by the pictures and statues of saints—by the sign of the cross that scares away evil spirits, and the holy water that sprinkles the unclean—by the vestments of the priesthood, and the swinging censor—by the awe with which the assembly kneels before the visible object of adoration in the shape of the consecrated wafer—by the associations of romance and poetry, and the picturesque ideas of feudalism and monkish sanctity, connected with the church of the middle ages—or peradventure by some of those doctrines which so fascinate the imagination even of enlightened minds of a certain constitution. Here and there a girl, placed by unthinking parents in a convent school, or a boy committed to the tuition of Jesuits in a

* We take these estimated numbers as we find them in Mr. Brainerd's Sermon, p. 15.

Roman Catholic college, has come out after a sufficient course of training, a hearty proselyte. In the Romish church too—as in some other churches—matrimony is sometimes effectual as a converting ordinance. But after all, what is the number of these conversions to Romanism? Does not Mormonism itself make two converts where Romanism makes one? Are not some persons proselyted even to Judaism? Do not Roman priests themselves admit that the conversions from their church in this country are as yet more numerous than the conversions to it. Experience then has not yet shown that the American people are at all inclined to abandon the right of private judgment, to forego their hereditary privilege of reading the Bible for themselves, and to give their consciences and souls to the keeping of a priesthood.

Why then should we admit one discouraging thought? The truth is with us, and the God of truth, in this conflict with systematized superstition and spiritual despotism. The argument against the Roman Catholic perversions of Christianity, is as strong now as it was in the days of Luther, and as convincing too, if it can but get a fair hearing. And in managing that argument before the American people, we have every advantage we can ask for. The argument is to be conducted before a people who have the Bible in their hands, and who, if they acknowledge Christianity at all, will refuse to acknowledge any Christianity which can not be proved out of the Bible. The argument is to be conducted in the language of the people,—the English language,—the language of Wycliffe and the Lollards,—the language of the “Book of Martyrs,”—the language in which Latimer and Ridley greeted and cheered each other at the stake,—the language in which Cranmer breathed out his repentance as he thrust into the fire the hand, “that unworthy hand,”

which had signed his cowardly recantation,—the language of Milton and Bunyan,—the language richer than any other in an Evangelical literature, the popular, devotional and religious literature of Protestant Christianity. The people who are to be argued or in some other way persuaded into an acknowledgment of the Pope’s infallibility, and into the belief that a priest—ignorant perhaps, or profligate, or both—has power to forgive sins—the people who are expected to renounce the Bible as a book which it is unsafe for them to read, and who are expected to give up the right of electing their own religious teachers and ecclesiastical officers, and to submit meekly and absolutely to a religious despotism,—are none other than this free and freethinking American people. The genius of this people, as shown in their history, in their political and social institutions, and in all the indications of their national character, is utterly hostile to the claims of the Romish hierarchy. The history of every religious sect in this country, the Roman Catholic sect not excepted, shows that the irresistible tendency of things upon our soil is to democracy in church as well as in state.

Away then with all feelings of discouragement, as if there were, or could be, some doubt whether the despotism of Rome may not yet be established over us, or over our posterity. The Roman Catholic church in this country is not, and never can be, what the Roman Catholic church was, when it domineered in England in the person of the bloody Queen Mary. It is not, and never can be, the Popery which has been for ages the subject of successive panics in England. Here it is not, and never can be, an established church, delivering over those whom it judges heretical, to be punished with fire and sword by the secular power. It is nothing but a sect among other sects, all standing on

one level and enjoying the same political and social privileges. As a deadly heresy, an utter perversion of Christianity, a system fitted to demoralize and degrade the people, it is to be feared, just as we fear any other system of deadly error embodied in the form of a sectarian organization. We have Papists among us; and so we have Jews, rejecting "him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write." We have Papists and so we have Shakers and Swedenborgians and Mormons. We have Papists, and so we have Universalists and Socialists. These various sects, and others, are to be feared in various degrees, according as their doctrines are more or less destructive to religion and good morals, and their sectarian arrangements more or less imposing and efficient. The Papist here is nothing but a sectarian among sectarians. He must take his stand upon the common ground of liberty, and of the universal equality of religious rights and privileges. He can not succeed here by getting the private ear, and misguiding the sickly conscience, of the monarch. He can not succeed by perverting a few leading minds among the aristocracy. He can not succeed by intriguing to overthrow the established church and to get his own established in its place. He can succeed only by converting the people one by one. Let him try. The field is open. Let him do all he can. What we have to do is to meet him in the field of open argument before the people. Away with every thought of discouragement in such a conflict.

We proceed then to another position. It must be borne in mind, that the controversy with the system of the Roman Catholic church—involving the question between ecclesiastical despotism and religious freedom, and the question between formalism and spiritual Christianity—is the great controversy of the age now begun; and the policy

of Protestant Christians must be shaped accordingly. The cry of "Popery," spontaneously uttered in so many quarters against those views of Christianity, which, though always held in the mongrel communion of the half-reformed church of England, have been lately set forth with a new earnestness and eloquence by the writers of the Oxford school—is not without a true and serious meaning. That in the Roman Catholic system, which is first and chiefly to be contended against—that which constitutes its center and the seat of its life—that corruption from which every other corruption of the great and complex system takes its rise—is the identical thing which constitutes the religion of what is now called "Oxford theology." It is simply "church principles." It is simply the doctrine of salvation by the church and through the priest, instead of salvation by Christ alone through the grace of the Holy Spirit. In this doctrine of salvation by the church and through the priest, lies the germ of all that system of despotism and superstition which we call Romanism. The controversy of the age is not with the Roman Catholic church, but with the Roman Catholic system of religion, whether in the germ or in the full development, whether taught at Rome or at "Riverside," whether at Oxford or New York. The doctrine, that membership in the visible church makes a man a member of Christ, instead of the doctrine that a man must belong to Christ before he belongs to the church—the doctrine of a human priesthood with power to open and to shut the gates of heaven—the doctrine that baptism with water ministered by priestly hands is regeneration and justification—the doctrine that the benefits of Christ's atoning death, instead of being received directly by the repenting sinner, in the simple act of faith, are conveyed by the

hands of the priest under the form of the sacramental bread, and are received by the bodily action of eating—these doctrines and such as these, whether in Latin or in English, are the foundation doctrines of the Roman Catholic system of religion. These doctrines, and others akin to them, are that formalism which overlays and stifles the spirituality of Christianity. This kind of formalism out of the Romish communion, though it may disown the Pope, and be very sorry for the errors and excesses into which the church of Rome has fallen, is the same thing in essence with the formalism commonly known and spoken of as Popery. It is simply Romanism schismatically separated from Rome. It is Popery without its offensive grossness. It is Popery shorn of some extravagancies, but not therefore the less to be contended against. To contend against the Roman Catholic system of religion only in combination with the Roman Catholic church, and to give the right hand of fellowship to the same system when it appears in other connections, is to betray and not to defend the cause of spiritual Christianity.

We say then that the true policy is not to assail the Roman Catholic system in its outermost branches, but to strike at its root—to argue not chiefly against its particular forms of superstition and of domination over conscience, but against its essential formalism. And this is to be done in no way so effectively as by a clear and continual assertion of those two great positive principles of spiritual religion—Justification by faith alone, and Regeneration by the free and unbought grace of the Holy Spirit. The fundamental question between the Roman Catholic religion and the religion of the New Testament, is not the question of the Pope's supremacy or infallibility; it is not the question whether Peter was the first bishop of Rome; it is not the

question of transubstantiation, or of the catholicity of the Council of Trent; it is not the question whether the honor paid by Romanists to the Virgin Mary and to the other saints of their great pantheon is idolatry; it is not the question whether the genius of Romanism is essentially bloodthirsty and persecuting, or whether the ignorance and degradation of the masses in Roman Catholic countries is to be ascribed to the priesthood. The grand question between the two religions is simpler and plainer than any of these. It is a question upon which every reader of the Bible is as competent an umpire, as a juror on a question of fact after hearing the evidence. It is, in effect, the question, What must I do to be saved? How is it—where is it—that the guilty conscience can find peace? What answer shall be given to him who cries out, pricked to the heart with the conviction of his alienation from God? Fix the attention of the Papist on the state of his own heart in the sight of a holy God; let him ask with an awakened conscience how God can forgive him, and how he can have just evidence that he is reconciled to God; teach him to rely in simplicity upon the faithful saying that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; let him find in the spirit of adoption within him crying Abba Father, and in the fruits of the Spirit in his heart and life, the evidence that God hath first loved him and hath begun a good work within him; and then the whole controversy between the Romish system and the evangelical, will be seen by him in a new light; there will fall from his eyes as it were scales; link after link the chains of superstition and spiritual bondage will be broken; and he will walk ere long in the full liberty of the sons of God. The formalist is to be converted from his errors, not ordinarily by being made a theoretical Protestant first, but by being

made to experience the power of the Gospel. Therefore it is that the thing which Romanism most hates and fears, and the thing with which the romantic and rubrical sensibilities of Oxfordism are most offended, is evangelical Christian experience, the work of the Spirit of God convincing men of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, and leading them to Christ, the only priest and the only mediator.* That outpouring of the Spirit which so gloriously accompanies the clear and earnest exhibition of the Gospel in its simple purity—that Divine blessing which attends the humble, praying effort to convert men, one by one, from sin to holiness, must be our great hope in the controversy with the religion of Rome.

One blessed effect of the hostile presence of Romanism, and of a

kindred system, in the midst of our people, is that it naturally constrains evangelical churches and pastors of every name to fall back upon those elementary views of the Gospel which they hold in common. Thus they understand themselves better, in their several distinct positions, and at the same time they understand each other better, and are more ready to recognize each other as standing on one basis. And what is still more important, they understand the Bible better; and are better prepared to exhibit the Gospel in its original simplicity. The true way to understand the Epistle to the Romans, or that to the Ephesians, or the sermon on the mount, is to expound it to a Formalist, whether Papist, Puseyite, or Pharisee. Thus in the progress of this conflict, we may hope to see new light breaking forth on all sides from the oracles of God, and a new consciousness of spiritual affinities bringing the various branches of Christ's true Catholic church into a more vigorous coöperation and a more generally acknowledged union.

* Opposition to that evangelical Christianity the preaching of which is attended by this work of the Spirit of God—opposition to what Bishop Brownell's 'presbyters' call 'Revivalism,' or in other words to that system which is accompanied by the spiritual phenomena commonly known as "experimental religion"—is the ground of an acknowledged sympathy, and will probably be, sooner or later, the ground of a complete union between the Episcopalianism of New York and the Unitarianism of Boston. Thus the Churchman, the "official organ" of the Anglo-Catholic Bishop of New York, speaks of "the Christian Register, an organ of the Unitarians in Boston," in these terms: "A journal to which we are diametrically opposed on the very fundamentals of faith, but to which nevertheless, we are not ashamed to acknowledge that we are drawn by many cords of sympathy, and among them an hostility to the popular religion of the day, (variously called *Orthodoxy*, *Calvinism*, *Revivalism*, and the *Lutheran heresy of Justification*,) and an ardent desire that men may practically know, and realize, and exemplify the blessing of that redemption from sin and misery which our blessed Savior has placed within their reach."—(New York Churchman, Feb. 17, 1844.) We think any intelligent observer would be interested in watching the moral affinities between the system of which the Churchman is the organ, and that represented by the Christian Register.

While we thus insist on the importance of regarding and prosecuting this controversy as involved in that more comprehensive and extended controversy between formalism and spiritual Christianity which signalizes the age, we would by no means deny that Romanism in its details should be made the theme of discussion. On the contrary, we say that the claims, doctrines, and entire system of the Roman Catholic church, should be discussed just like any other subject of equal importance. The whole controversy between Rome and the Reformation should be studied under all the lights of Scripture, philosophy, and history, in theological seminaries. One point after another, as occasions may arise, should be presented to the learned, or to the public at large, through the press. Never, we believe, were the evangelical ministry

of this country better prepared for such discussion than at this very time. Those various inquiries and debates respecting the doctrines of grace, which have given a character to American theology ever since the days of Edwards, have done much towards training our theologians for such a conflict as that to which they are now called. And within the last thirty years, by the instrumentality of men who are yet living to rejoice in the results of their labors, there has been awakened extensively a taste for thorough biblical studies, which is making our theologians sound and careful scholars as well as acute logicians.

Romanism then must be discussed freely, manfully, thoroughly, as every thing else is discussed in this land of a free press, a free church, and a free pulpit. We have no wish that it should be discussed for popular agitation and excitement. The people may need to be instructed, lest they be led astray; but there is little occasion to introduce into this controversy those anti-Popery panics which have had so much effect on English politics ever since the days of Henry VIII. In this view it may be doubted whether the labors of traveling lecturers against Romanism are expedient. If the lecturer is one of a kind and tolerant spirit, who is particularly acquainted with the subject in all its relations, and who can catch the favorable attention of Romanists themselves, and put them upon inquiry and reflection respecting themselves and the system by which they are held in bondage; and if at the same time he can wisely and discreetly touch the kinder feelings of his Protestant hearers, moving them to prayer and Christian efforts for the conversion of the ignorant and superstitious, we will not deny that such a lecturer may do great good. But if he is one who goes from place to place stirring up hate and strife—if his appeal is continually directed to the

excitement of political or sectarian jealousies and animosities—we can not but think that he might serve God and his country better in some other employment, and that the cause of evangelical truth and piety would be better without him.

It is not to be taken for granted in the discussion now required, that the question between Romanism and pure Christianity was entirely settled at the Reformation, and that we have nothing to do in these days but to repeat the statements and iterate the arguments which we have received by tradition from our fathers. Admit that Popery has not changed, still the world has changed; and the Reformation has changed; at least so far as to involve completely and fairly the admission that the Reformers did not fully understand their own cause. In a sad and most important sense, the Reformation of the sixteenth century was a failure. We do not mean that it was not, so far as it went, and so far as it was received and carried into effect, a real and glorious reformation. Nor that those Reformers had not the truth wholly on their side in the controversy. Nor that they were not raised up by God to achieve a work second in importance only to the work performed by the Apostles. Nor that the characteristic doctrines of the Reformation, as opposed to the doctrines of Rome, are not essentially the doctrines of the Gospel. But notwithstanding all that the Reformation was, and all that it accomplished for the church and for the world, every man who reads with philosophic eye the history of those times, and the history of succeeding times even to the present day, will be constrained to say that the Reformation was in a painful sense a failure. Look at those countries where the Protestant movement was utterly suppressed,—Italy, Spain, Belgium, and tell us whether the Reformation was not a failure there.

Look at France, where Protestantism, once rallying under its standard half the strength of the kingdom, was compelled after ages of convulsion and slaughter to sink into the condition of a depressed, weak, insignificant minority; and tell us whether the Reformation was not a failure there. Look at countries where the Reformation prevailed,—Geneva, Holland, Northern Germany,—see the wide decay of evangelical piety and of evangelical doctrine—see the formalism which the law has established and which public sentiment has recognized as the Reformed religion; and tell us whether notwithstanding all the moral differences between those countries and the Roman Catholic countries around them, the Reformation was not in some sad sense a failure there. Who will tell us in respect to England that the Reformation there has done what it ought to have done? Who will look even upon Scotland in all the glory of the new reformation through which she is now passing, and tell us that the old Reformation was not in some sad sense a failure there. The Reformation was to some extent a failure,—not, as the hooded owls hooting from the towers of Oxford would have us believe, because it went too far,—but because it was not permitted to go far enough, because it did not consistently and thoroughly carry out its own principles—because while emancipating the state from the power of the church, it did not emancipate the church from the power of the state. The Reformation from the very beginning was entangled in political influences from which it had no capacity of escaping. The Reformers did not found their institutions on that “voluntary principle” of which Wycliffe seems to have had some glimpses almost two centuries before them. They admitted the right of civil government to intermeddle with religion, and to use the sword for the

suppression of heresy and schism. They recognized and adopted into their system the baleful *principle* of religious persecution. Thus the Reformation failed of being carried forward to perfection. It became secularized, it decayed, it sunk into a dead formalism, from which it is now at last beginning to revive. Here then is an admission, universal in this country, that the Reformers were in error. On this point, then, if on no other point, we are in advance of the Reformers. From this vantage-ground, Romanism is now to be reexamined. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was in an error, and therefore it could not settle the question between Romanism and the Gospel. The discussion must be taken up anew, and reexamined in the clearer light in which we, of this nineteenth century, are permitted to stand.

But it is not true that Romanism remains unchanged. The church of Rome in the pontificate of Gregory XVI, is not what the church of Rome was in the pontificate of Leo X. Her position in respect to the world is changed, and she must needs adapt her policy, and the instrumentalities by which she works, to her position as it now is. And in fact, notwithstanding Rome's boasted infallibility, no system is more flexible than hers to accommodate itself to times and places. The superstitions and dogmas which are essential to her gains, and to her despotism over the souls of men, she never surrenders. But on points unessential to the end for which her system exists, she can easily suit herself to those with whom she has to do. Romanism, considered as a religion, or as showing the way in which a sinner may obtain salvation, is formalism, superstition, despotism, every where. In this point of view, it is the same in Spain and in Ireland, in Italy and in the Sandwich Islands, in Austria and in America. But its policy changes, its arguments change, its

political doctrines change, according to the climate and the soil where it is planted. Here therefore we are to see—nay, we begin to see already, a new type of Romanism; superstition accommodating itself to the freedom of the press; ecclesiastical despotism allying itself with political democracy. On this point the testimony of De Tocqueville—himself a liberal minded Roman Catholic—deserves to be considered. “There are no Romish priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances, for extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, or who cling more to the spirit, and less to the letter, of the law, than the Roman Catholic priests of the United States. No where is that doctrine of the church, which prohibits the worship reserved to God alone from being offered to the saints, more clearly inculcated or more generally followed.”* That is, the Roman Catholic system of religion, in seeking to adapt itself to the genius of a democratic people, is undergoing a change. In this country, then, the controversy with Romanism must be a new examination of the whole field of inquiry as it may open before us. And as the controversy here is not to be a controversy on the question which religion shall be established with exclusive or superior privileges, one element of animosity which has characterized the controversy in other countries and in other times, ought to find here no place whatever. The circumstances of the controversy here are so far new, that unless we take up the question anew and throw new light upon its principles and its details, we shall fail of doing justice to the truth.

But it is not by discussion alone that the crisis in our country is to be met. We proceed then to another topic, on which it is not necessary for us to insist particularly.

To the inquiry, what must be done to counteract the efforts which the Roman Catholic church is making in these states, we answer, let every necessary effort be made to bring our whole country under the enlightening and saving influence of evangelical institutions. If any part of our country is left to the dominion of ignorance, infidelity and fanaticism, there Romanism may hope to triumph. The Gospel then must be preached in all the extent of our country, not merely as it may be preached by the wandering book-peddler—not merely as it may be preached by the itinerant missionary or circuit rider—not merely as it may be preached by an illiterate and unprofessional, though pious, ministry—but as it can be preached by the intelligent and devoted pastor living among his people, hoping to die among them, and giving himself wholly to the work of making known the Gospel. The great enterprise of Home Missions as it is pursued by our various evangelical bodies, all of which may now be regarded as laboring in the common cause of planting throughout the Union, an educated ministry, and in one form and another a pastoral ministry,—must be pursued with new vigor. Every where the ground must be occupied, as speedily as possible, by an intelligent professional Christian ministry, presiding over evangelical congregations as pastors and teachers. In the presence of such churches, supplied with such a ministry; Romanism may exhaust her resources in vain. All our evangelical enterprises at home, should be estimated in their relations to the one enterprise of bringing the whole country under the influence of such a moral organization,—Christian churches with learned, devoted, and studious pastors. Where there is such a ministry, performing its appropriate functions, there will be an educated and reading people, with schools for their children, with the

* *Democracy in America*, Vol. II, p. 27.

Bible in their dwellings, with the sabbath school and the Bible class, and with a constant demand for standard religious volumes. Where there is no ministry in a pastoral connection with organized congregations, there the success of all other forms of Christian effort—the success of the itinerant preacher—the success of the Tract Society's book-vender—the success of the sabbath school—the success of the Bible Society's distribution of the Scriptures—is to be measured by the progress of the people towards the permanent organization of churches with a studious and teaching ministry.

No department of the great work of establishing a truly Christian organization of society throughout our country, is more important than that which seeks to establish colleges and other similar institutions under evangelical influence. The college, including the theological seminary, is essential to such a state of society as is described when we speak of Christian churches with a learned and studious ministry. What would the churches of New England be—what the clergy of these churches—without the colleges of New England? And New England can never be reproduced upon the mighty rivers of the west, without reproducing there the entire New England system of education, popular and professional.

The Romanist movement at the west, concentrates itself upon a few prominent points. Here and there in some large town the idol cross stands as the symbol, not of the Gospel that makes free, but of the superstition that debases and enslaves. Here and there in some great emporium, arises a magnificent cathedral, with its appendages perhaps of college and convent. The traveler, passing hastily from one such point to another, and taking no notice of what lies between, may be ready to conclude that America has already become one of the most Catholic of countries. But the strength of Pro-

testant Christianity, instead of being thus concentrated, is diffused. Protestantism builds no cathedrals, and therefore perhaps it shows less than Romanism, to the eye of a stranger, at St. Louis or at Cincinnati. The strength of Protestantism in the west is not at St. Louis, nor at Cincinnati, nor at Chicago, nor at Cleveland or Detroit, but at a thousand localities where the lords of the soil, cultivating their own possessions, dwelling as yet perhaps in no better tenement than a log cabin, come together every sabbath day with their households to worship the God of the Bible. The gathering of five thousand Papists in a cathedral, with all the pomp of Romish worship, is a great affair no doubt. But the gathering of fifty thousand Protestants in five hundred different places at the same hour, to pray and to read and hear the Gospel in their own language, is a greater affair. Were the Romanists, with their present numbers dispersed as widely as the Protestants are, they would be lost. Undoubtedly the policy which they are pursuing is for them the true one. They are strengthening themselves at points which are hereafter to become centers of Roman Catholic influence. Our policy on the other hand, which builds no cathedrals, requires us to cheer and strengthen and bind together by vital sympathies, the multiplied dispersed and feeble congregations whose worship is performed in rude and temporary structures or under the shadow of the ancient trees. Such aid we are giving continually through the channel of home missions. Such aid we are giving also with equal if not greater efficiency by coöperating in the establishment of colleges that shall be centers of sound and thorough evangelical education. What the cathedral is to the Roman Catholic system, that, and much more than that, the college and theological seminary is to the Protestant evangelical system.

The attempt which Romanism is making to acquire influence over the American people by institutions of education, is the most striking illustration which we have yet seen of the earnestness with which she enters upon her enterprise in the United States. If Protestants would but leave the field of liberal education at the west to be occupied by Romish colleges and convents, how easy a thing would it be for the Jesuits to go on rejoicingly with their great work of Romanizing our country. If the Protestants will waste their strength upon a host of ill-concerted, ill-managed, starveling institutions under the name of colleges, and will allow the Jesuits to build up a few substantial colleges, with ample apparatus, with great libraries, and with a reputation for sound scholarship, the Jesuits will be almost as well pleased as if they had the whole field to themselves. But if a reasonable number of well organized colleges and theological seminaries can be planted at the west, and can be sustained and provided with books, and all necessary aids of study and instruction, till they have struck their roots deep into the soil, and till the communities around them have been pervaded by their influence; the Jesuit may pack up his relics and pictures, and go back to Rome.

We have one more topic which we must touch upon in answer to the inquiry before us. There should be a more extensive intercourse and correspondence among Protestant Christians throughout the world, and a more combined and vigorous effort to carry the Gospel into Roman Catholic countries, even into those which have been deemed impregnable.

All the developments of the controversy with formalism are forcing evangelical Protestants to think less of the points that divide them, and to fix their attention more upon that truly catholic Christianity, which they hold in common. We say

then that the signs of the times are imperatively calling them to consult together for their common welfare and edification, and for aggression and defense against a common enemy. We do not say that the Presbyterian and the Methodist, the Baptist and the Congregationalist, must at once abandon their several peculiarities of order and of doctrine, and must unite in one great undivided ecclesiastical organization, with one confession of faith, one form of government, one system of arrangements for the propagation of the Gospel. In this place, we only suggest the question whether there may not be among evangelical Christians of various names and connections, more of correspondence and mutual consultation, a more explicit recognition of the obligation to mutual communion, and a clearer holding forth of their actual unity in faith and hope; and whether, as the result of this, there may not be more of coöperation in the advancement of the common cause; and a new impulse given to the reformation and revival of Christianity, throughout Christendom. Why might there not be, on some fit occasion in New York, such a thing as a full conference of evangelical ministers of various denominations, from various parts of the United States, at least for prayer and mutual edification, if not for consultation and inquiry respecting the advancement of religion? Nay, why might there not be, ere long, some general conference in which the various evangelical bodies of this country and of Great Britain, and of the continent of Europe, should be in some way represented, and in which the great cause of reformed and spiritual Christianity throughout the world, should be made the subject of detailed and deliberate consideration, with prayer and praise? That would be an "ecumenical council," such as never yet assembled since the Apostles parted from each other at

Jerusalem, a council not for legislation and division, but for union and communion, and for the extension of the saving knowledge of Christ. Suppose such a convention, met at London, or Edinburgh, or Geneva; suppose that the facts respecting the state of evangelical and experimental piety, are reported from one country and another in succession, and brought under the deliberate consideration of the assembly there, and then after having been digested and discussed are carried back by the various representatives to all the regions and churches, from which they came. Suppose the resources of the various evangelical churches throughout Christendom are reported, their institutions of education, their arrangements and opportunities for the diffusion of religious intelligence, their means of self-defense and self-extension, their methods of aggression on the world around them, and their plans and enterprises for the propagation of the Gospel among the nations. Suppose all this knowledge summed up and discussed in connection with the inquiry, what more can we do, and how can we best sustain and help each other? Suppose that upon that assembly the Spirit of God is poured out, as the spirit of grace and supplication, the spirit of love and faith and zeal. What would be the effect of all this upon the churches and upon the world? How easily may the reader nominate in his own thoughts a delegation from the Congregationalists, from each of the two great Presbyterian bodies, from the Baptists, and from the Methodists, whose presence in such a convention to report with one accord the facts respecting religion in America, and the progress of living Christianity in connection with the voluntary principle,—would electrify the Protestant world. We make this supposition, not as expecting to see it completely realized at present, but rather because the mere conception warms our hearts, and

can not but warm the heart of every Christian reader.

The time has come when Protestantism must not merely defend itself, and try to maintain its own ground in America and Europe against the industrious machinations of the Jesuits, but must begin to act aggressively upon countries that have heretofore been deemed exclusively, if not hopelessly, Papal. The Reformation is reviving, under better auspices, upon its ancient seats; and now it must be pushed into regions from which it has been, in other ages, too successfully excluded. Our Foreign Evangelical Society, and some kindred institutions, are operating with encouraging success to aid in restoring and quickening the decayed Protestantism of France and Switzerland. Thus Geneva, with its new theological school, and its enterprising evangelism, has become the center of a spreading religious revival for all that part of Europe. But such efforts as these are not enough. The war with formalism, the inquiry after primitive and spiritual Christianity, must be carried into countries where formalism has held for ages an undisputed empire. Who, of the millions that have read the story of George Borrow's adventures in Spain, need doubt that the time has come when the question, What is the Christianity of the New Testament?—What is the way to be saved from sin, and to be at peace with God?—may be made to awaken thought and discussion in that proud but degraded land of chivalry and superstition? The mind of Spain is at this moment in an attitude in which it may easily be moved to demand freedom of thought, freedom to read the Bible, and freedom to worship without a priest. It is not Lutheranism or Calvinism, by those names, that can be carried into Spain and propagated there; it is not as Episcopalianism, or as Presbyterianism, or as Methodism,

from some "heretical" country, that Protestant ideas can be made to reach that people; but as pure Christianity, fresh from the Bible—the Gospel of freedom, of life, and of the Holy Spirit; it is as a new reformation, that the conflict must be begun in such a country as Spain. Who can doubt that in these days of universal agitation, when changes are so fast coming over all the earth, Romanism may in this way be effectually assailed in her strongest entrenchments. Italy itself, the very citadel of Antichrist, is not impregnable.* The thousands and tens of thousands of patriotic minds in that country, yearning after political freedom, faint and weary with repeated disappointments, are settling down into the conviction that Italy must be reformed before Italy can be free; and while they are endeavoring to use all practicable means for the intellectual and moral reformation of their countrymen, they are looking round in all directions for sympathy and aid. Many of the noblest and most gifted minds of Italy are at this moment exiles in Protestant countries—exiles like those of old from England, who saw in their city of refuge, guarded by the Alps and kissed by the blue waters, the inspiring sight which never faded from their memory, "a church without a bishop and a state without a king." The exiled Italians in New York, in London, in Paris, wherever they come within the reach of evangelical Christians, are a living medium of communication with the mind of Italy. They hold in their hands the links of an unseen chain along which electric light and fire may pass to thousands of Italians in their native country. Through

them we may operate to waken inquiry, and to direct the inquiring in Tuscany, in Lombardy, in Piedmont, and at Rome itself. With their aid, and through such agencies as they may enable us to arrange, we may send the Bible into Italy with whatever other books are most suited to touch those spiritual sensibilities which superstition stifles; and the *prohibito* and *prohibitissimo* of the custom-house and the police, will only cause such books to be read with the more eagerness. Italy is not impregnable. Let us write upon our banner, *Tendimus in Latium*; and while the Jesuit is building his churches on the banks of the Ohio, the Hudson, and the Connecticut, let him look out for the banks of the Tiber.

We are happy to observe some indications of an awakening interest in behalf of that most interesting body of men, the Italian exiles. Every truly American mind, every Protestant mind, ought to sympathize with them in what they are enduring as the confessors of liberty, and in those hopes for their glorious country which disappointment and banishment are unable to extinguish. We do not desire to see a political crusade against the governments of Italy; though we know not how those who are now holding public meetings and raising contributions throughout the country to effect a political revolution in Ireland,—in which we wish them much success,—could object to the holding of public meetings and raising contributions to "repeal the union" between Lombardy and Austria. But we do desire to see Protestant Christians everywhere cheering these exiled patriots with the warmest sympathy, and fixing their hearts upon the religious reformation of Italy, and the restoration of the Gospel to Rome.

* The Christian Alliance; its constitution, list of officers, and address. New York, 1843.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.*

ABOUT three and forty years ago, four obscure young men met by accident in the room of one of their number, in the ninth story of a house in Buccleugh Place, city of Edinburgh. Their conversation, as was natural in those stirring times, turned upon politics. Those were the days of political marvels—when old things were passing away—when old landmarks were thrown down, and constitutions were become more perishable than the paper on which they were written. They were the closing days of the French revolution, when the fierce spirit of democracy had been condensed by the iron pressure of one man into a spirit of military dominion—the days of Hohenlinden and Marengo. The years 1800 and 1801, were years of special interest to the British politician, for it was the era of complete tory ascendancy throughout the empire. Lord Castlereagh had succeeded by dint of his cool courage and wariness, in leading the Irish nation into an union, against which they are now struggling with all their national ardor, although, thus far, happily without blood. William Pitt, with an obsequious parliament at his bidding, had finally committed the nation to a war, compared with which all modern wars have been but holiday pastimes—a war, for which every Englishman still pays, by taxes upon the bread he eats and upon the clothes he wears. At the right hand of William Pitt, stood a man who wielded over the minds of the Scotch, an influence such as his master then held over the minds of the English,

and Daniel O'Connell now holds over the minds of Irishmen. All favor, all preferment, all patronage, flowed from him in a plenteous and a ceaseless stream. He was himself the prototype of Scotch character, of Scotch energy, Scotch honesty, Scotch wariness, and narrow Scotch prejudices. Up to him they all looked. Far above them all he stood, with outstretched hand, the dispenser of public favor; just as he now stands overlooking his native city from the summit of her proudest monument.

To resist this absolute dominion of Dundas—to denounce the wasteful extravagance of the continental war—to effect the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and the removal of various other minor abuses which we shall name hereafter, were the leading objects of the whigs of Scotland. In conversing upon these exciting topics, one of the young men suggested that as periodical literature was then coming into vogue, they might aid the liberal cause by establishing a Review. This was acceded to with acclamation. The first editor, who was appointed on the spot from their own number, in speaking of the event, says, "I remained long enough in the city to edit the first number of the Review. The motto I proposed for it was,

'Tenui musam meditamur avena.'

We cultivate literature upon a little oatmeal.

But this was too near the truth to be admitted, and so we took our present grave motto from *Publius Syrus*, of whom none of us had, I am sure, ever read a single line; and so began what has since turned out to be a very able and important journal." Such was the origin of the Edinburgh Review. The four

* Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. By Henry Lord Brougham. 2 vols. Carey & Hart, Philad. 1842.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. By T. Babington Macaulay. Complete in 4 vols. Carey & Hart, Philad. 1843.

young men who originated it were then all obscure. They have all since become famous. The first was Francis Lord Jeffrey, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Sessions. The second was Lord Murray, advocate for Scotland. The third was Lord Brougham. The fourth was the Rev. Sidney Smith, curate of Salisbury Plain, and now dean of St. Paul's.

This latter gentleman was the projector, and for a considerable time the editor of the Review. His articles, which are to be found in nearly all the early numbers, are easily distinguished by the vigor, and even bluntness of their style, by the poignancy of their wit, and by the manly independence of their sentiments. And to be independent then, was something more than than to be independent now. He wrote at a time when the name of *liberal* was a by-word and a hissing; when the ascendant spirit of toryism had closed the lips of reformers by closing upon them all the avenues to preferment; when to oppose the reigning powers was to incur the risk of being branded as a leveller and a jacobin. The evils against which Smith and his co-reviewers took up arms were multiplied and deep seated.

The Catholics were at that time, held in a state of dependence and degradation. Their condition had been somewhat improved from the time, when no Papist could purchase a freehold, or inherit from an intestate Protestant, or serve on a grand jury, or marry a Protestant, without exposing the priest who celebrated the marriage to be hanged. But they were still ineligible to a seat in parliament, or to the higher posts of the law, the army and the navy. They were still 'treated as marked and degraded persons.' In opposition to this rigorous oppression of his fellow subjects, Sidney Smith wrote some of his most able and vigorous essays,

which had an important influence in bringing about Catholic emancipation. Those were the days too of sore bondage to the dissenters.* Woe be to the educated young man then, who loved the souls of men more than he loved a benefice! Did he resist the apostolic authority of the bishops—or was he guilty of any such 'irregular benevolence,' as praying too much in the college, or exhorting too much among the neighboring poor! There was but one alternative. He might either recant, and return to the bosom of mother church, or he might be allowed to wander through the kingdom, a religious outlaw, to preach in barns and meadows, and to be pelted by the mob as long as they chose, if they only spared him his life.

The game laws were at that time brutally oppressive. Man-traps were laid by law in every copse and park, and no man could cross a hedge without an imminent risk of having his brains blown out by a spring-gun. By this cruel system the lives of many poachers were taken annually, while their comrades in frequent cases, revenged themselves by taking the lives of the game-keepers. Prisoners tried for capital offenses, were then denied the benefit of counsel. The African slave trade, one of the last relics of barbarism to retire before the advancing light of civilization, was still a disgraceful source of wealth to many English capitalists and traders. Every year rich merchants were retiring to villas and pictures, purchased with the price of human blood; every year myriads of living men were borne away to lands of which they had never heard, under the same flag which floated at Trafalgar and the Nile. Against these enormous evils, as well as against the many petty abu-

* Vide article on "Toleration" in Ed. Review, for 1811.

ses which had grown fast to toryism during its long continuance in power—like the barnacles which grow fast to the bottom of a vessel during a long voyage—the Edinburgh Reviewers waged a fierce, and a finally victorious contest.

We love, even now, to take down the old volumes of the Review, and search out the short pithy articles from the pen of Sidney Smith. They are always easy to be detected. His wit is so playful, and at the same time so caustic; his style is so nervous; there is throughout an earnest boldness and loftiness of spirit, which assures you that he is a real man engaged in a real warfare. He never condescends to *prettinesses*. There is scarcely a single sentence in all his productions which a boarding school girl, or a sophomore, would call a *splendid* sentence. His style is always energetic, and often elegant, without ever attaining to the rolling eloquence of Brougham, or the mellow richness of Macauley. His distinguishing feature is plain common sense. For all cant, whether in the pulpit, on the platform, or in the college—for the cant of political valetudinarians, who have a morbid horror of all change—especially for the most intolerable of all cants, the cant of bigoted prelatists, he has no compassion. He is a churchman, but a churchman escaped from the cloisters, one who recognizes a world outside the cells of Oxford in which he was educated. We can not let this subject pass, however, without stating that his writings on Methodism are often highly reprehensible in spirit and manner.

As a specimen of our author's style and his just observation of things, we give the following passage from his review of Dr. Renzel.* It is an admirable critique on English preaching, but will apply

in some of its particulars to our own hemisphere.

"Pulpit discourses have insensibly dwindled from speaking to reading; a practice of itself sufficient to stifle every germ of eloquence. It is only by the fresh feelings of the heart that mankind can be very powerfully affected. What can be more ludicrous than an orator delivering stale indignation, and fervor of a week old; turning over whole pages of violent passions written out in German text; reading the tropes and apostrophes into which he is hurried by the ardor of his mind; and so affected at a preconcerted line and page, that he can proceed no further!

"Of British education, the study of eloquence makes little or no part. The exterior graces of a speaker are despised; and debating societies (admirable institutions under proper regulations) would hardly be tolerated either at Oxford or Cambridge. It is commonly answered to any animadversions upon the eloquence of the English pulpit, that a clergyman is to recommend himself not by his eloquence, but by the purity of his life, and the soundness of his doctrine; an objection good enough, if any connection could be pointed out between eloquence and heresy; but if it is possible for a man to live well, teach well, and preach well, at the same time, such objections resting only upon a supposed incompatibility of these good qualities, are duller than the dullness they defend."

Did the limits of our article admit, we would like to make a number of extracts, but we can not omit the following humorous passages on natural history, from a notice of Mr. Waterton's "Wanderings in South America."†

"The sloth in its wild state, spends its life in trees, and never leaves them but from force, or accident. He moves suspended, rests suspended, sleeps suspended, and passes his life in suspense—like a young clergyman distantly related to a bishop. Every animal in that country has its enemies. The tortoise has two enemies, man and the boa constrictor. The natural defense of the tortoise is to draw himself up in his shell, and to remain quiet. In this state the tiger, however furnished, can do nothing with him, for the shell is too strong for the stroke of his paw. Man however, takes him home, and roasts him—and the boa

* Edinburgh Review, 1802.

† Edinburgh Review, 1826.

constrictor swallows him whole, shell and all, and consumes him slowly in the interior, as the Court of Chancery does a great estate. Insects are the curse of tropical climates. Chigoes bury themselves in your flesh, and hatch a large colony of young chigoes in a few hours. They will not live together, but every chigoe sets up a separate ulcer, and has his own private portion of pus. Flies get entry into your mouth, into your eyes, into your nose; you eat flies, drink flies, and breathe flies. Every thing bites, stings, or bruises; every second of your existence, you are wounded by some piece of animal life that nobody has ever seen before, except Swammerdam and Meriam. An insect with eleven legs is swimming in your tea-cup, a nondescript with nine wings is struggling in the small beer, or a caterpillar with several dozen eyes in his belly, is hastening over the bread and butter. Such are the tropics. All this reconciles us to our dews, vapors, and drizzle—to our apothecaries rushing about with gargles and tinctures—to our old, British, constitutional coughs, and swelled faces."

The Rev. dean of St. Paul's is still living in the full vigor of his intellect, with his natural force unabated. He has not long since compiled a complete collection of his essays, which the London publishers have issued in three elegant volumes. In revising these essays for publication, the author remarks—"I see very little in my reviews to alter, or, repent of; I always endeavored to fight against evil, and what I thought evil then, I think evil now. To set on foot such a journal in such times, to bear patiently the reproach and poverty which it caused, and to look back, and see that I have nothing to retract, and no intemperance to reproach myself with, is a career of life which I must think to be extremely fortunate."

Sidney Smith was succeeded in the editor's chair by Francis Jeffrey, now Lord Jeffrey. His principal assistants in conducting the Review, were Lord Brougham, Walter Scott—for a time—Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Francis Horner. The writings of this latter young statesman are now deeply interesting, as af-

fording a brilliant presage of what we might have expected from him, if Providence had spared his life. For a man of his years they are singularly grave and thoughtful, and are all characterized by that childlike gentleness of spirit which still makes the name of Horner a cherished name in the literary circles of his native city.

About the year 1808, Sir Walter withdrew his pen and patronage from the Review, on account of its very strong political bias, but more especially because—to use his own phrase—he "owed Jeffrey a flap with a fox-tail for his review of *Marmion*." Scott then secured the services of Gifford, the Hebers, Southey, Rogers, Ellis, and Canning, and established the London Quarterly Review, which has ever since continued to be a formidable rival. The circulation of the Edinburgh at that time was as high as nine thousand copies, and its political influence was immense. In literary matters its dicta were well nigh supreme. To its pages the timid author went, like the Greek to the midnight oracle of the Pythionissa, with his lips trembling and his knees smiting together; for in the affrighted imagination of both, the sentence for which they waited would be final and immutable.

When Lord Jeffrey was raised to the bench, the Review passed into other hands, and is now, we believe, conducted by Prof. Napier of the University. Among its more distinguished contributors for the last twenty years, have been Bulwer, Sir David Brewster, Prof. Whewell—Carlyle, who has written a very few pieces—Lord Brougham, who published his sketches of political characters, first in its pages—Mr. James Stephen, the author of the much admired articles on *Ignatius Loyola*, and the *Port Royalists*—and last, and greatest of all, the Hon. T. Babington Macauley, member of Parliament for Edinburgh.

In the hands of these eminent men the Review has lost none of its early spirit. That spirit of enlightened progress, and of determined resistance to oppression, which gave it birth, has been its characteristic spirit during its later history. In the great contest for parliamentary reform—the contest between the many and the few, between ‘Manchester and Old Sarum,’ the Edinburgh Reviewers waged a manful warfare; and for bringing about that result which such high tories as Mr. Alison deplore, but over which the mass of English freemen gratefully exult, they deserve a large share of the public gratitude.

Having thus given a short and imperfect sketch of the history of the Review, we will proceed to speak more at length of its two great pillars, Lord Brougham and Mr. Macauley. To them more than any other two, perhaps more than all others, it owes its present popularity.

Henry Brougham is descended from an ancient family of Westmoreland, but was born in St. Andrew’s Square, Edinburgh, in a house directly opposite to that which gave birth to the historian Hume. He received the rudiments of his education in the High School of the city. From this, he entered the University, whose chairs of mathematics, rhetoric, and philosophy, were then filled by Playfair, Blair, and Stewart. Edinburgh at that time contained many young men who were destined to the highest eminence. A tall, ungainly lad from the sheepcotes of the Tweed had come up there, to learn enough of Latin to enable his future *Monkbarns* to prattle about Roman castles, and enough of law to serve Mr. attorney Pleydell, in the ‘Kippletringam suit of ejectment.’ The rest of his time was passed in overhauling old armor at Holyrood, and groping among the closes of the Canongate. Sir Walter was at

least ten years the senior of Brougham, but among his equals were the young Lords Kinnaid and Murray, master Southey, and Adam Ferguson, a very sprightly, mischievous lad, named Francis Jeffrey, and a very grave, modest lad, named Francis Horner. In these two latter cases, the boy was truly father of the man. All these young men became associated in a club called the ‘Speculative Society,’ for improvement in elocution and debate. Once a week they met to rehearse the arguments gathered in the lecture-rooms of Blair and Dugald Stewart, and to re-enact the political contests which were then calling forth the highest energies of Pitt, and Sheridan, and Burke. Henry Brougham distinguished himself here for his brilliant argumentative powers; and if tradition is to be trusted, he was by no means backward in their more convivial gatherings. He also showed a great aptness for the exact sciences. A paper, written at twenty, on the higher geometry, was published among the Transactions of the Royal Society, and translated into numerous foreign tongues.

In 1801, he was admitted to the bar, when he assumed at once a commanding position. His great attainments, his astonishing quickness of perception, and his powers of overwhelming sarcasm—developed even at this early age—made him already an object of fear, when most young men are still objects for compassion and patronage. He soon introduced himself to the world in the character of an author, by the publication of his “Colonial Policy of the European Powers”—a work of which it is sufficient to state, that it excited the warm admiration of the younger Pitt. In 1810, he was brought into Parliament through the influence of the Duke of Bedford. As in the case of Chatham, Canning, and many other eminent statesmen, his first

constituency was a 'rotten borough.' Thanks to the Reform bill, this abomination is at an end; and the young member enters the hall of legislation with the open passport of popular choice, instead of being smuggled in through some private, trap-door entrance, by a borough-mongering peer.

Brougham's first appearance as a speaker, like that of many other young men of talent, was a failure, because, like them, he did not understand the temper of that peculiar and fastidious body—the English House of Commons. Genius, aided by constant practice, soon overcame this difficulty, and in the discussion of the "orders in council," in 1812, he took his place in the front rank of parliamentary debaters. The immense amount of statistics brought forward by him during this protracted discussion, astonished the House; his quickness in seizing an argument, and his tact in turning it to full advantage took them by surprise; but it was toward the close of this splendid effort, when he poured forth all the volleys of his tremendous sarcasm and irresistible invective, that wondering surprise was converted into awe and alarm. The House passed the bill; the press applauded from one end of the kingdom to the other; deputations from the large towns came up to London with presents of massive plate; and the young commoner suddenly 'found himself famous.' This masterly effort was soon followed by another labored speech, upon a subject which has ever since occupied much of his time and attention. It is by his labors in the cause of popular education that Brougham is most widely known, and upon them, more than any other achievement of his wonderful mind, does he found his claim to the grateful remembrance of posterity. His bill for a committee of inquiry into the moral and intellectual condition of the lower orders in

London, was brought forward in May, 1816. The committee were appointed, and made a voluminous report. Their labors were confined to the important questions of—the condition of the poor—the best means of improving that condition—the propriety of connecting religion with education—the nature of existing charitable institutions—and the administration of the two great universities. We would like, did our limits permit, to lay before our readers some portions of this report. They exhibit an amount of moral and intellectual destitution, that can scarcely be imagined by a people whose boast it is, that a whitewashed school-house rises in every hamlet, and but one in fifty of her citizens is unable to read the word of God.

Encouraged by the successful labors of this committee, and alarmed too by the frightful details contained in their report, Brougham went a step further, and in 1820 introduced his celebrated bill for general education by common schools. This bill became at once the subject of violent and universal attack. The aristocracy were opposed to it because it would unsettle the popular mind, and elevate the lower orders to a place disproportionally high in the scale; churchmen were opposed to it on account of its fancied danger to the establishment; while the dissenters cried out with one voice against a system of education managed by Episcopalians, a system which taught their children that there could be no worship without a liturgy, and "no church without a bishop." The system was certainly defective, but it deserved a better fate than it received—for after a most uncompromising warfare on the part of its enemies, and an inefficient support from its few friends, the whole measure fell to the ground. Undaunted by his failure within the walls of Parliament, Brougham commenced his labors without, and the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful

Knowledge," was the result. This association owes its birth to him, and he was made its president. Its object is to publish in a cheap form and circulate, various treatises on natural philosophy, mathematics and history. These essays are from the pens of standard authors, and have been widely read in every part of the United Kingdom, among the weavers of Paisley, among the cotton spinners of Manchester, and even in the mines of Cornwall; and who can tell how many Fergusons and Arkwrights of another age may attribute the first awakening of their love for scientific truth to the tracts of this "Society for diffusing Useful Knowledge."

We have no time to speak of Brougham's several efforts in this enterprise, or many others of a public character, or to follow him through all the steps by which he has passed to the highest places of political and judicial eminence, the peerage, the premiership and the woolsack. He is now, and for the last fourteen years has been a member of the House of Lords. The first object of interest to an American who attends the sittings of that body, is Lord Brougham. The stranger enters the small room in which they hold their sessions, and immediately before the throne he sees a huge, square cushion, which reminds him of a cotton bale, and which is known all the world over as "the woolsack." Upon it is seated a grave old man of a serene countenance, enveloped in flowing robes. He is Brougham's successor, Lord Lyndhurst, a native of our own New England, and the man who now disputes with but two or three rivals, the distinction of being the first lawyer of the realm. On the cushioned bench in front, sits a slender man, with a thin, wrinkled countenance, dark hair, and piercing eye, clad in a rusty coat, and perhaps chewing opium all the while he is taking notes of a speech that is "being" delivered. His whole

appearance to-day is as shabby as that of a Grub-street hack; to-morrow he may be tricked out to the last degree of dandyism. His affectation of uncouth manners is as singular as his affectation in dress—one day "doing the honors" at a soiree of ambassadors—the next day, brawling with a coachman in the street for half a crown.

But his opponent has concluded, and he is just rising to reply. His first sentences, like those of most great orators, are exceedingly ordinary, and delivered in a style that any schoolboy might have equalled. He turns to the bundle of small slips of paper beside him, takes up one of them, and after holding it close to his eyes for a moment, throws it behind him, and goes forward. The storm is rising. His manner is becoming every moment more animated; his voice, never pleasing, is growing more loud and shrill; his arms swing back and forth in uncouth, but most efficient gestures; the House is perfectly stilled, and by the time he arrives at the second head of his argument, it is apparent that he has gained a complete command of his auditors. The second note adds but fuel to the flame, and on he goes, like a fire on the prairies, burning, blazing, scorching and consuming all before him. His opponent quakes with alarm and surprise as he beholds the strong cords of his logic snapped asunder like tow in the flame, and shrivelled into thin air; and at last, blistered with sarcasm, and galled with vindictive irony, he falls down discomfited beneath the fiery tempest that overwhelms him. Such work is too warm to last long. The orator's voice and manner grow more feeble; his victim lies before him, flayed alive, and quivering at every nerve; and he sits down, perfectly overcome with the gigantic effort. The audience caring to hear no more, take their hats and disperse; and our American friend walks

away with the firm conviction that if Daniel Webster is not the greatest man in the world, that man is Lord Brougham.

Such displays as we have described are rarely witnessed now; they belong rather to the time when he was simple *Henry Brougham*, fighting for distinction in the House of Commons. The peerage often proves an extinguisher upon talent. The goal is then reached, the prize is won, and upon a man who has become habituated to the stirring scenes of the lower house, a removal to the house of peers, with its scanty attendance, its quiet gravity, and its aversion to forensic display, always has a benumbing and deadening effect.

Brougham's forte lies in his tremendous sarcasm, which in the hands of such a rapid thinker and speaker, becomes a weapon of overpowering force; but there is another faculty in which—with perhaps the exception of our own Webster—he is unrivalled. It is that of reducing general truths into a concise form, easily quoted and easily remembered, and thus rendering them texts and watchwords to all future times. The memorable expression which occurs in his speech against the appointment of Wellington as prime minister, is a case in point. "In other times," said the orator, "the country may have heard with dismay that the 'soldier is abroad.' Let the soldier be abroad, if he will; he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage—a personage less imposing, in the eyes of some perhaps insignificant—the *school-master is abroad*; and I trust to him armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array." But the greatness of Lord Brougham is not confined to oratory alone. He is a great statesman, and a respectable politician—a great advocate, if we may judge by his masterly defense of Queen Caroline—a great reviewer and metaphysician—a wri-

ter on science, and a writer of penny tracts for the "Society of Useful Knowledge." Like Dr. Clarke he seems fully of opinion that a man can not have too many irons in the fire.

It is however as a reviewer that we have to deal with Lord Brougham at present, and in this department he has taken a respectable place in the first rank. And how has he come there? Certainly not by the graces of style; for it is impossible to conceive of a style more irregular and disjointed, more cumbersome and intricate, than that usually employed in his essays. His sentences frequently extend over half a page, and are filled with words of a proportionate length. And his sentences are not merely long—which with some writers is a small fault—but they are so filled with inversions, with parentheses within parentheses, wheels within wheels, with repetitions of epithets, and with qualifying clauses, that the reader who attempts to go through them without stopping, finds himself at the end breathless and confounded. Let the reader of this article turn to the 184th page of the first volume of his "*Statesman of the time of George III.*" and he will find one of these enormous paragraphs, which we would quote here, did we not think it too great an imposition on both publisher and reader. Close by, and often in direct contrast with such centipedes as the foregoing, we sometimes find passages as short and sharp as an epigram. Such passages we have spoken of as occurring occasionally in his speeches, and always with a point and power that makes us wish they occurred more often. And their occurrence at all is purely the result of accident. Lord Brougham's style is a perfect type of his mind. He is a man who is governed by no rules. His mind is active, powerful, daring, and if we may use such a term, reckless. It is guided by sudden impulses, rather than by

steady and matured deliberation, and is encumbered with an enormous amount of information hastily gathered and ill-digested. Being constantly occupied with a great variety of objects, and excited by an ardent, restless ambition, it is always kept under the most intense pressure.

When such a mind is called to act through the pen, it seizes at once upon the prominent points of the subject treated, and brings them before us without much discrimination, and without much regard for order. If the thought arises before his mind in a simple, intelligible form, it is thus presented. If, on the contrary, while he is pondering the idea, and seeking for the fitting words, his fertile memory suggests some fact which he deems appropriate, or his quick perception starts an objection which must be provided for in a parenthesis, or his imagination throws off a long array of epithets—he seizes upon them all together, forces them into one overloaded sentence, and then hurries them out of the way to make room for another flood of ideas waiting for utterance. In this way he goes on to the end, heaping up every thing that comes within his reach, and leaving the reader astonished at the immense collection—not of hewn timber and polished stones such as the sacred temple builders gathered together, so cunningly framed that no sound of iron tool was heard in their erection, but rather a confused pile of earth, and rocks, and trees, and shapeless drift-wood thrown up by a mighty inundation.

Such a writer, it is plain, can never be read for the mere graces of style, as we read the *Sketch-Book* or the *Spectator*. What then is the secret of his popularity as a moral and political essayist—why is he so much read? We doubt indeed if he would have been as much read at any other time. During the last thirty years his writings have been

popular for the same reason that Paine was popular at the beginning and Burke at the close of the French revolution. He has been one of the chief organs of popular sentiment; he has expressed through his vigorous, unceasing pen the feelings of the movement party in the English nation. Never sufficiently cool and wily for a great political manager, and never possessed of that highest inventive power requisite for originating new measures, he has directed the whole force of his mind to the exposure of existing evils and the advocacy of reforms to which other minds had given birth. His labors in behalf of the great measures of Parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, Law reform, and the repeal of Test and Corporation acts, for all which he wrote innumerable treatises, but none of which he himself originated, are a proof of this assertion. His 'Public Education' measure, which was indeed his own production, gives greater evidence of liberal philanthropy in its general design than of practical sagacity in its details.

But the writings of Brougham are popular, not merely because they are expressive of the popular spirit of reform, but because they are in themselves highly eloquent and instructive. In spite of the overgrown sentences, huge words, and involved parentheses, there is running through all his essays a full vein of nervous eloquence, which speaks directly to the heart. And a man can not but be instructive who, like our own Adams, has acquired some knowledge of every thing known. His attainments are wonderful. What an astonishing acquaintance with parliamentary history and statutes of the realm, as well as with private opinion and personal characters, is displayed in his reviews of the times of George III. and his successor; and these papers were prepared, not in the

leisure of retirement, but in the intervals of parliamentary business, newspaper writing, scientific research, and constant legal engagements. The gossips of the London club-rooms recite many anecdotes of his intellectual feats, such as that he once mastered two quarto volumes in an hour, and even wrote three letters, read three newspapers, and disposed of three applicants for church livings in the space of fifteen minutes! But we need no apocryphal stories of town-gossips to convince us of the amazing activity of a mind which wearies with no labor, and needs no repose; which, disdainingly the ordinary limits of human attainments, has made inroads into every domain of intellectual research—which has left its impress on every great measure of English legislation for the last half century, and now at the age of threescore and ten is able to cope with the most powerful of its cotemporaries.

After Sidney Smith had retired from his connection with the Review, Brougham and Jeffrey were its principal supporters until 1825, when a new ally appeared, who at one bound outstripped all his associates, and placed himself at the head of the critics of the age. To use his own language, 'Homer is not more certainly the first of poets, Shakespeare is not more certainly the first of dramatists, Boswell is not more certainly the first of biographers, than is' *Macaulay* the first of reviewers. His first production, the essay on Milton, came before the world like the romance of Waverley, with the authority of no great name; and it needed none to insure it a place among the most remarkable productions of the time. That essay has never been surpassed, even by himself in his later years. It contains all his beauties and all his faults in their highest degree. We have in it a beautiful theory not altogether free from the errors of a man of ardent imagination; we have

in it all the boldness verging on presumption with which he commonly brings forward his opinions; we have the style of his sentences occasionally wrought down to monotony; and we have too sometimes a sacrifice of rigid, critical correctness to *piquancy*—a very common temptation to dashing writers who delight in epigrams and pointed antitheses. But at the same time we find there all that exquisite perception of the grand and the beautiful, and that earnest sympathy with the 'deep soul of man,' which fitted him so well for communion with the great patriot-poet. We find in it that overflowing richness of illustration drawn from every source of knowledge, combining the simplicity of Paley with the elegance of Burke. We find in it that lofty love of liberty which speaks so eloquently through his vindication of the Puritans; while throughout the whole, as through a picture gallery, his historical genius has hung a line of portraits as true, as glowing, as life-like, as ever sprung from the pencil of Rembrandt or Vandyke.

The whole province of history Macaulay appears to have mastered—not merely the dry details of battles, sieges, and royal genealogies—but the prevailing spirit of ages and nations, the nice shades of character, and the hidden motives of the principal actors. This knowledge he works into all his productions, till they become like the living tapestries of Scott. The period he has chosen from which to draw his most splendid portraiture is the stirring times of the Protectorate and the Restoration. In no other times could he have found such a group to adorn his canvas. Those were the days of the Puritans, the stout-hearted pioneers of that civil liberty, which, in spite of crowns, and swords, and mitres, has endured to this present, and is now the blessed heritage of us all; the days of the hysterical Vane, and the

sturdy Hale, of Hampden, the purest of English patriots, and Cromwell, the most sagacious of English statesmen; those were the days of the traveling tinker and the blind poet, to whom were vouchsafed the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Paradise Lost*. While drawing the masterly portraits of these friends of civil and religious liberty, Macauley never fails to hold up to scorn the panders and bigots and buffoons that disgraced the court of the Stuarts—the Danbys, the Ruperts, the Buckinghams, the Jeffreys, and even the great idol and prototype of Puseyism, *Archbishop Laud*—the man who “minuted down his dreams, counted the drops of blood that fell from his nose, watched the direction of salt, and was affrighted by the falling down of his own picture, and the note of a screech-owl.”

But Macauley by no means confines himself to this his favorite period. With all history he seems familiar. In one of his articles we are following the reckless Peterborough through the Peninsular war of succession; in another we are listening to Socrates in the Athenian market-place; in another we are among the minarets and palm-trees of Benares, or witnessing a conflict with Hyder Ali on the banks of the Ganges. With this latter country Mr. Macauley has acquired a more minute familiarity from his long residence there. He spent many years in India under a commission from government to draft a new code of laws which should reconcile as far as possible the existing laws with the English code. This work he performed with signal ability, and after his return home was called to a place in the late ministry.

We have never met with a writer who equals Mr. Macauley in the beauty and vigor of his illustrations. They are always simple, and always appropriate. “A good government,” he says in one of his essays, “like a good coat, is that which fits the

body for which it is designed. A man who upon abstract principles pronounces a constitution to be good without an exact knowledge of the people who are to be governed by it, judges as absurdly as a tailor who should measure the Belvidere Apollo for the clothes of all his customers.” The amusing comparison of Horace Walpole’s diseased mind to the ‘swollen livers’ used in the manufacture of Strasburgh pâtés, and the beautiful fable of the ‘disciple of Epictetus and the disciple of Bacon,’ in his masterly critique on Bacon and his philosophy, occur to us at present as among the happiest of his many happy illustrations. These illustrations he draws from every source, yet without any appearance of pedantry. He has laid all the stores of literature and science under contribution. The language of Scripture (which we love to see quoted where the subject is dignified) he frequently uses with great appropriateness. Upon the standard poets and dramatists, the classics, the pulpit, the laboratory, and the bar, he draws largely; and there is no work from which he has introduced so many sprightly and striking allusions as from the Arabian Nights!

It would be hardly proper to class some of Macauley’s productions under the name of reviews. They are not reviews; they are *orations*, which might have been delivered during a heated debate from his place in the House of Commons. His matchless eulogy of the Puritans, his defense of Cromwell, or his argument on “church and state,” might have been delivered in reply to some carping Puseyite on a bill for the ‘relief of dissenters;’ and we question whether a loftier panegyric on ‘Athenian literature’ has ever been pronounced within the walls of his own university on the banks of the Cam. Mr. Macauley’s manner is always impassioned. He never lags, and is never tedious.

Whether describing a battle, or criticising a play, or discussing a philosophical system, or chastising a bad poet, he is always carried forward in the same flow of never ceasing, ever changing picturesqueness and brilliancy.

For ourselves we are sincerely glad that his writings have been republished and circulated so widely in this country. We wish that such specimens of manly eloquence were in the hands of every American youth. We wish that in the study of models for their style, they may

have before them a writer who always uses the *English language in its native strength and purity*. We wish that from the perusal of his writings, even our senators may learn wisdom; and that every preacher and teacher and student through the land may be well convinced, that "for magnificence, for pathos, for vehement exhortation, for disquisition, for every purpose of the poet, the orator, and the divine, this homely, unpolluted dialect, the dialect of plain workmen, is perfectly sufficient."

AUGUSTUS NEANDER.*

THE likeness which forms the frontispiece to our present number, gives some idea of the physiognomy of one of the most distinguished living theologians of Germany. We have thought it might afford pleasure to our readers, as many of them have already heard his name and known something of his writings, and it is probable he will become still more extensively known among us in consequence of the recent republication of his "History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles," and his "History of the Christian Religion and Church during the

three first centuries," the former, translated by Mr. Ryland of Northampton, England, a "dissenter," we believe—and the latter, by Mr. Rose, a clergyman of the church of England. In the first and third volumes of the Biblical Repository, edited by Dr. Robinson, are given a few notices of Neander's life and writings, and a very brief biographical sketch, extracted from the German "Conversations-Lexicon," is prefixed to Ryland's translation. From these sources we may be allowed to repeat the few prominent facts of his history which are known to the world, and then we shall attempt to note some characteristics of his mind.

Those who have had opportunities of marking the lineaments of the Jewish face, will not be surprised to learn that Augustus Neander was born of Jewish parents. The place of his birth, as stated in the "Conversations-Lexicon," was Göttingen, and the date, January 16, 1789. But he was brought up at Hamburg. As an awkward, bashful boy, he frequented the shop of an eminent bookseller of that city, where he spent whole days in reading a variety of books which

* History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By Dr. Augustus Neander, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Counsellor, etc. Translated from the third edition of the original German, by J. E. Ryland. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia, 1844. Large 8vo. pp. 331.

The History of the Christian Religion and Church, during the three first centuries. By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the German, by Henry John Rose, B. D., Rector of Houghton Conquest, and late Fellow of St. John's Coll. Cambridge. In one volume, containing, &c. Philadelphia, 1843. Large 8vo. pp. 466.

attracted his attention. He drew the notice of the principal, who became interested by his thirst for knowledge, and liberally afforded him every facility for acquiring it by reading, and sent him to the Gymnasia of Hamburg, where his education began.

At this time he was still of the religious persuasion of his fathers. It was not until shortly before his entering the University of Halle, in 1806, that he embraced Christianity, doubtless from an earnest conviction. He must have been strongly bound to his early patron, by a sense of gratitude, yet the several years of his intimate connection with that individual had not, it seems, induced him to renounce his hereditary faith. Nor would he have been subject to any disabilities, in a Prussian university, had he remained attached to the synagogue. We are not aware that Neander, at any period of his life, was overborne by the rationalistic infidelity of Germany. A deep faith in Christ, from a personal sense of spiritual need, seems always to have been a controlling principle of his mind, since he outwardly embraced Christianity; and we are disposed to believe, in the absence of positive information, that his renunciation of Judaism was owing to that germination of true piety in his soul.

He finished his academical studies at the University of Göttingen, under Professor G. J. Planck, who is distinguished in Germany principally for his works relative to ecclesiastical history. Here he afterwards remained a short time, holding the place of a Repetent* in that University. In 1812, he was called to be Professor Extraordinary of Theology at Heidelberg. The year

previous he had come forward there with an essay, the title of which—"De fidei gnoseosque ideæ qua ad se invicem atque ad philosophiam referatur, ratione, secundum mentem Clementis Alexandrini"—indicates that he had already gone far back in the history of religious opinion, to trace the distinction between that liberty connected with faith in a Redeemer—the emancipation from sin with which Christ makes free, and that fancied self-emancipation from sin, which gnosticism borrowed from oriental philosophy, and taught might be attained by the mere spontaneous efforts of the mind itself, and the notion of which had intertwined itself with the truth in the theological school of Alexandria. In the year 1814, or '15, Neander became Professor Ordinary of Theology at Berlin, where he has since remained, being now in the fifty fifth year of his life.

All his published writings have reference to the history of Christianity. Their titles may be found noted in the Biblical Repository, Vol. 3, p. 70. His principal works are the history of the church in the time of the Apostles, of which the title has been already given, and the "*Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche*," i. e. "*Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church*," to which the former is properly an introduction, and which is not yet finished. In 1841, it was brought down to A. D. 1294. The work translated by Mr. Rose, to which we have already referred, is only a portion of this great work.

The writer had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Neander, some years ago, at Berlin, and has ever since retained a lively impression of the character of this distinguished man. The attempt to draw some of its features, that others may learn to know and love him, is too grateful to the feelings of one who partook of his hospitalities, to be declined; though so

* A small appointment peculiar to Göttingen, given to young men who have been already admitted to the privilege of teaching in the University without salary, for which they are required to give a few public lectures.

slight a sketch as this can not but come short of its subject.

Neander is a man who thinks humbly of himself, and has great benevolence of heart. He is somewhat reserved, and quite negligent of the "convenances" of society. But whether seen in his study, or at his table, or in the lecture-room, his manner is delightfully simple, childlike, and forgetful of self, and his countenance expresses a sweet complacency in the enjoyment of those around him. When the writer was in Berlin, an occasion occurred with him, which is wont to create a sort of self-apotheosis of feeling in the distinguished men of the German universities. His bust had been made in marble at the request of his pupils, and was presented to himself on his birth-day, wreathed with flowers, with all the honors of a "Fackelzug," or torch-procession. He was addressed with gratulation and flattery. And quite in keeping with all this, and almost essential to the ceremony is it considered in Germany, that the lauded professor should indulge in at least a few modest expressions of self-congratulation by way of confirming the estimation of others. But not so with Neander, high as are his claims. As the students were gathered around his window, he simply thanked them for this distinguished mark of their esteem, of which he felt himself entirely unworthy, and reminded them, that, in thus rendering tokens of esteem and affection to man, they must not forget that Being to whom the highest love and reverence is due; and his manner assured of the sincerity of his soul. So in the discharge of his official duties, he appears at the farthest distance from vanity. He is forgetful of himself, even to a fault. In illustration both of this trait and of his kindness of heart, we may be allowed to refer to a story current in Germany, that a certain old hat was retained in ser-

vice by him not a little time after it had become entitled to the privileges of an "emeritus," and would have been worn with the most unwitting simplicity still longer, had not an occasion presented of bestowing it upon some one to whom it was a charity. A particularly pleasing manifestation of his love of doing good, is his frequent familiar intercourse with his pupils, to converse with them on the various topics of theology, with special reference to difficulties and dangers connected with their individual states of mind. He draws them out to express themselves freely, points out to them more particularly than he can in public, the errors they should avoid, and the truths they should be convinced of, and bows with them in prayer to Him in whom is Life, and whose Life imparted to the soul is its Light. He is also known to contribute largely according to his means, to relieve the temporal necessities of young men struggling against poverty to obtain the riches of a cultivated mind.

This spirit is the characteristic of Neander, which would probably first strike any one on becoming a little acquainted with him. Nor is it without a more special reason that we mark this, first; but because it is rare to find in the scholars of Germany, that prime condition of true wisdom, a childlike humility; and because, where it is found, there exists a principle which imparts a healthy, natural life to those accumulated acquisitions of learning for which the Germans are so distinguished, but which often burthen their minds as a dead weight upon them, or are waywardly perverted to error. The garner of mere historical truth may be ransacked, and every thing in it be brought to view, but it remains a mere inanimate mass, or has only a deceptive significance, to the mind which has not the enlightening and life-giving

power belonging to docility and a desire to benefit mankind. It was said with much depth of meaning by Wilhelm v. Humboldt: "Wie man es immer anfangen möge, so kann das Gebiet der Erscheinungen nur von einem Punkte ausser demselben begriffen werden, und das besonnene Heraustreten ist eben so gefahrlos als das Irrthum gewiss bei blindem Verschleissen in demselben. Die Weltgeschichte ist nicht ohne eine Weltregierung verständlich,"* i. e. "However one may make the attempt, the field of the phenomena of events can be comprehended only from a point out of itself, and to step out of it with discretion is as void of danger, as error is certain, if one is blindly shut up within it. The history of the world is not intelligible, apart from a government of the world." And the mind is not fully possessed of 'this essential point of observation, till it has understood its own relations to that Being whose providence orders all, and is deeply convinced, that whatever it truly knows, it must learn in humbly tracing the workings of that Providence which we can never fully find out, and in throwing itself into the current of that great design of a benevolent Creator, to do good, which characterizes all His arrangements.

But Neander does not possess this spirit without that *deep sense of the soul's need of redemption, and that abiding in Christ as a Savior from sin*, which is the source from which it springs. In one of the notes to his history of the apostolic age, he says with emphasis: "I know of *no sin* from which a man could be justified on the standing-point of the law." He once himself stood on that ground, and many a hard struggle he undoubtedly had to attain to a legal righteousness. Certain it is, his writings

are very full of allusion to "the radical evil of human nature," "the existence and action in all ages alike of the same tendencies of human nature opposed to Christianity, which it must overcome, in order to take root in the soul," and to "the power of Christianity, alone, to transform and ennoble human nature in its inward being." Indeed, the key to his whole view of church history, is the recognition of a contest carried on at different times in different forms, but ever essentially the same in principle, between a corrupt nature in man and the healing influence of the plan of redemption through a Divine Savior crucified, and a belief in the power of the cross as sufficient to gain a universal victory over moral evil, and finally to renovate the world—inferred from personal experience of its having subdued one's own unruly propensities opposed to God, and having made effectual one's own endeavors after conformity to His will, which had without it been utterly fruitless.

Perhaps it may have been expected, that in this introduction of Neander to our readers we should give an outline of his theological opinions. But this is not our intention. His views of the authenticity of certain books in our canon of Scripture, and on some topics of dogmatic theology, would not harmonize with the prepossessions and sentiments of our religious community, nor would we wish to commend them to public notice. These points belong to the discussions of our theological lecture-rooms. They are the less deserving of our notice in this attempt to characterize an individual, since it is so true, as Neander himself observes, that "as the influence which Christianity exercises over mankind is not always accompanied with a clear discernment of its principles, there have been many erroneous tendencies which, though hostile to Christiani-

* Wilhelm v. Humboldt's *Gesammelte Werke*. Berlin, 1841. Bd. I, 18.

ty, have derived their nourishment from it,—half-truths torn from their connection with the whole body of revealed truth, and hence misunderstood and misapplied.” Neander “holds the Head which is Christ;” he can have no sympathy with rationalism, which he himself spoke of to the writer as “the most unconsolatory of doctrines, leaving no interest more even in this life;” and should his days be prolonged, he will, we doubt not, gradually accede to certain truths which we indeed think to be established, but which he does not yet own with the rest of Scripture doctrine, rather on the negative ground, which a fair mind may be allowed to occupy, that they are wanting in evidence sufficient to satisfy an opposer, than because his own intimate conviction is against them. This is the state of many among the German scholars, and the influence of the prevailing rationalism has made it still more difficult for some to come to the full knowledge of the truth. Let us be patient. The example of such a man as Reinhard might make one almost wish to pass through the terrible ordeal of German infidelity, in order to come in the end to that firm belief which can not only brave, but can repel, all opposition of error however armed.

Another characteristic of Neander’s mind is *an enlarged charity*. By this we intend the habit of recognizing true religion under every variety of form. This arises from a clear discernment of its vital essence, and keeping this constantly in view. In conversation with the writer, on one occasion, Neander spoke of the reluctance, or inaptness of some persons to recognize a Christian heart under manifold developments, and said it arose from an inclination to substitute something else in the place of that which is and can be, only the work of the Spirit. These words express just the feeling

which one can not fail to trace in his writings. It is a most pleasing trait of character and absolutely indispensable to the historian of the church. All the dealings of God with man under the system of redemption have been marked by progress in the unfolding of truth, and in its influence over the lives of men. At times the light of true piety and religious knowledge has seemed to be almost extinguished, but even the drawn cowl, which might be taken as a sure token of darkness in the soul, and the wild extravagance of fanaticism, and a slavish acting of the ceremonies of a burthensome ritual, has in many an age kept safe the precious seed of Christianity, and borne it, as in a storm, or in the sluggish under-current of a frozen stream, to germinate anew in a warmer atmosphere and under a more congenial culture. At those very periods when the principle of Christianity has seemed least powerful, it has been afterwards found to have been gathering strength, in the experience of mankind, to manifest itself with new energies. Besides, the antagonist principle is constantly changing its shape, and so must the form of true religion, if that continues to exist, have temporary modifications adapted to the sort of conflict which it has to sustain in a particular age. But how overwhelmingly discouraging as well as untrue, must be the view of the history of Christianity which that person takes who can discover the divine life only under just one aspect. If we mistake not, the present is quite a suitable time to direct attention from all sides to this spirit of enlarged charity, *as alone consistent with historical truth*. There is no laxness in it, but the highest sort of strictness. Mild and liberal as is Neander, he is still firm in his opinions. He makes the critical study of the Scriptures the foundation of all his views of what Christianity is, and tarries long on that ground, till

he feels his foothold firm upon it. His expository lectures are a beautiful example of a mind sincerely loving truth, and strict with itself, searching deep into the oracles of God. Such a man could not be a latitudinarian. Hence while there is a blithe familiarity with his subject, and a joyousness of spirit in the treatment of his topics, which would appear to spring from a ready responsiveness to good every where recognized under some form, there comes, occasionally, across the expression of his sentiments a peculiar shade of solemnity, indicative of a profoundly religious feeling of the responsibility attached to the alternative of truth, or error, which is well expressed by the sacred motto, selected by himself and subscribed with his autograph, which accompanies our engraving of his likeness: "Wir sehen jetzt durch einen Spiegel in einem dunkeln Worte,—dann aber von Angesicht zu Angesicht," i. e. "We see now through a glass darkly, but then face to face." In the preface to his history of the apostolic age, he says, his "endeavors have been confined to representing primitive Christianity according to its principal models of doctrine, in its historical development," and he shows in what sense he speaks of dogmatics as having a relation to church history, in the following sentences, which we can not forbear to quote. "Without renouncing our subjectivity, without giving up our own way of thinking, (a thing utterly impossible,) to those of others, or rendering it a

slave to the dogmas of any school, which the petty arrogance of man would set on the throne of the living God, (for this would be to forfeit the freedom won for us by Christ,) our efforts must be directed to the constant purification and elevation of our thinking, (otherwise subject to sin and error,) by the spirit of truth. Free inquiry belongs to the goods of humanity, but it *presupposes the true freedom* of the whole man, which commences in the disposition, which has its seat in the heart, and we know where this freedom is alone to be found."

With these hasty reflections on the character of Neander, we commend his writings on ecclesiastical history, to the special attention of our readers. His style is one of the most difficult to render into English, but both the translations which we have before us, seem to convey the whole sense of the original, though Mr. Ryland sometimes goes so far as to sacrifice good English usage to the preservation of the very tone of the German, while Mr. Rose prefers apparently, in all cases, to maintain the integrity of his mother tongue. The "Planting and Training of the Church," is translated from the third edition of the German; the other work from the first of the original, which began to appear in 1826. This the author is now republishing, in a second edition, which is said to be quite written over again. We can not but wish to see the whole of the larger history, and the latest form of it, in a good English dress.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.*

It is a remarkable feature in the history of certain religious opinions that they never die. Theories of philosophy are examined, and when once proved to be false are abandoned, and never have a resurrection. But not so with the religious errors that have "their origin in human nature." From generation to generation, there are those who revive that which is ancient and condemned, and thrust it forward with all confidence and self-satisfaction. Some of these doctrines, after being thoroughly examined and shown to be untenable, quietly slumber for ages; but others are more restless, and more frequently force themselves into notice. Of this latter class, is the doctrine and claim of *apostolical succession*. It seems to be established that this question must be re-discussed as often as once in about thirty years. Many remember the time when this and kindred topics were thoroughly examined by Dr. John M. Mason and Bishop Hobart of New York; many more in another part of the country remember a similar discussion by Dr. John H. Rice of Virginia and Bishop Ravenscroft of North Carolina. Recently, however, the same unchurching claims are put forth with increased arrogance. Another generation has come upon the stage; and time must be spent to fight this battle over again, and again to de-

monstrate how perfectly groundless are the assumptions of high-church Episcopalians.

It is, obviously, with reference to the recently revived zeal with which the claim to apostolical succession is now urged in this country, that our Methodist friends, who, though their church government is Episcopal, are far enough from Episcopalianism,—have issued from their publishing establishment an American edition of the zealous, popular, and pungent "Essay on Apostolical Succession," by their English brother, Mr. Powell. We can not but regret that the circulation of such a work is confined to the channels by which Methodist books are conveyed to Methodist readers. And we hope that the gentlemen who superintend at the "Conference Office, 200 Mulberry Street," will allow us to say, that when they publish such books, they may do much good by availing themselves of the ordinary channels of circulation, and making it the interest of "the trade" to be their agents.

What are the claims of the pretenders to apostolical succession, we will state in words of their own choosing. The religious newspaper called *THE CHURCHMAN*, edited by Rev. Dr. Seabury, is commended by Bishop Onderdonk of New York to the confidence and patronage of all Episcopalians. In this paper we find the following strong presentation of the claims and position of the Episcopal church.

"A ministry of the apostolical succession *empowered to act as Christ's ambassadors and representing him on earth*; the divinely appointed *limitation* of the blessings of salvation and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, *to communion with this ministry in the sacraments, word and ordinances of the church*; *regenera-*

* An Essay on Apostolical Succession; being a defense of a genuine Protestant Ministry against the exclusive and intolerant schemes of Papists and High-Churchmen; and supplying a general antidote to Popery. Also a critique on the Apology for Apostolical Succession, by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, B. C. L., Chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, and a Review of Dr. W. F. Hook's sermon on "Hear the Church," preached before the Queen, June 17, 1838:—By Thomas Powell, Wesleyan minister. New York: 1842. 12mo, pp. 354.

tion in baptism; salvation suspended on faith and works; the supreme authority of Scripture *as explained and interpreted by the church*;—these are the principles which are plainly written in our *Prayer-book*, and on these we stand; and these we are resolved, by God's grace, to maintain both in life and in death."

This is plain and manly; we can not but respect so frank a declaration. All can understand from this short but comprehensive statement, precisely what the Episcopalians in these United States claim for themselves.

Before proceeding to the examination of the great foundation principle on which the whole superstructure is reared, it may be well to set forth distinctly, the various particulars included in this statement of the Churchman.

These then are the CLAIMS OF EPISCOPALIANS.

1. *That their ministers exclusively are the successors of the apostles*—"a ministry of apostolical succession." It is upon this ground that they denounce all non-prelatic sects as having no church, no ministers but impostors, no baptism, and no valid ordinances.

2. *That their ministers alone are empowered to act as Christ's ambassadors.* If this is true, then all others are indeed "impostors," and deserve the severest condemnation, for presuming to act in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ in administering the affairs of his church on the earth.

3. *That salvation is limited to that and kindred prelatic churches.* The language of the Churchman is too plain to admit of any doubt here. "The divinely appointed *limitation* of the blessings of salvation and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, to *communion with this ministry in the sacraments, word, and ordinances of the church.*" The meaning is obvious; it is that God has limited, restricted, confined, "the blessings

of salvation and the gifts of the Holy Spirit," to communion with the ministers of the Episcopal church. This is no new position, but one maintained for many years. Says Dr. Sherlock, in his continuation and vindication of the defense of Dr. Stillingfleet, (page 389,) "Whoever separates himself from the church of England, cuts himself off from the catholic church, and puts himself out of a state of salvation. Separation from the church of England is a schism, and a schism is as damning a sin as idolatry, drunkenness, or adultery."

So Bishop Taylor, when speaking of the necessity of the succession of bishops to make ordination valid says—"Without this, no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite or sacrament, legitimately can be performed."

Says Dodwell in his work "One Altar and one Priesthood," "None but the bishop can unite us to the Father and the Son. Whence it will further follow, that *whosoever* are *disunited* from the visible communion of the church on earth, and particularly from that visible communion of *the bishop*, must consequently be disunited from the whole catholic church on earth; and not only so, but from the invisible communion of the holy angels and saints in heaven; and, which is yet more, from CHRIST AND GOD HIMSELF. It is one of the most dreadful aggravations of the condition of the DAMNED, that they are banished from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power. The SAME is their condition also *who are disunited* from Christ by being disunited from his visible representative," viz. the bishop. This is amiable, and illustrates how the advocates of apostolical succession grow in humility, and charity, and every lovely grace.

But there are more recent authorities on this point. Dr. Hook tells

us, "Unless Christ be spiritually present with the ministers of religion in their services, those services will be vain. But the **ONLY** ministrations to which he has **PROMISED** his presence is to those of the **BISHOPS** who are successors of the first commissioned apostles, and the *other clergy* acting under *their* sanction, and by *their* authority."

If there is any force in language, these extracts assert, that God himself has rendered salvation impracticable except in the Episcopal church. The unblushing audacity with which all this exclusiveness and unchurching is laid upon God, is worthy of the men who thus magnify their own importance. Because "the divinely appointed limitation" has confined salvation within the pale of the Episcopal church, therefore it is that her bishops and inferior ministers tell us, yea tell all the reformed churches of Christendom, on whom God has largely poured out the blessings of his Spirit, that we are left for our hope of salvation to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." The covenant of redemption, they say, is with them, and if any man desires salvation he must come into the Episcopal church. This is cool, complacent, and we doubt not they think it is meek, humble, and charitable.

4. *That salvation is obtained from their ministers in the reception of the sacraments.* "Divinely appointed limitation, &c. to communion with this ministry in the sacraments, word and ordinances of the church." There can be no mistake here. The Churchman teaches that men are saved, not by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as was the penitent and believing thief on the cross, but through the church, by grace which God has committed to the keeping of her ministers. So that whenever the sinner will come to her ministers for baptism, for confirmation, for the Lord's Supper, then he will receive "the blessings of salvation

and the gifts of the Holy Spirit." In the Oxford tracts, No. 35, we have the following: "A person **NOT COMMISSIONED FROM THE BISHOP** may use the words of baptism, and sprinkle or bathe with the water on earth, but there is *no promise* from Christ that such a man shall admit souls to the kingdom of heaven. A person *not commissioned* may break bread, and pour out wine, and **PRETEND** to give the Lord's Supper, but it can afford no comfort to any to receive it at his hands, because there is *no warrant* from Christ to lead communicants to suppose that while he does so here on earth, they will be partakers of the Savior's heavenly body and blood. And as for the *person himself*, who takes upon himself without warrant to minister in holy things, he is all the while treading in the footsteps of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, whose **AWFUL PUNISHMENT** you read in the book of Numbers. Compare Numbers 16 with Jude 2."

5. *That baptism administered by their clergy is regeneration.* "Regeneration in baptism." Dr. Seabury stands not alone in this position. Says another, even a bishop, "Let them be assured, that those who are sacramentally baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, become by that act, not in name only, but in deed and in truth, members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven." So the standards of the Episcopal church teach. In the form prescribed for the public baptism of infants, this prayer occurs, which the minister is required to offer after the baptism. "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to *regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit*, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church." The same prayer must be used in the private baptism of children. There can be

but one legitimate interpretation put upon this language; it is that which the great body of the bishops and inferior clergy of the Episcopal church hold, viz. that by baptism the child is regenerated or born again—is changed from an heir of wrath to a child of God and an heir of glory; for the change is said expressly to be effected by the Holy Spirit. This great change is secured by the official act of the minister, as Christ's ambassador and representative on the earth. And so certainly is this regeneration thus effected, that according to the 26th of her articles, the personal wickedness of the minister does not vitiate the act. From this article it appears that it is just as certain to produce regeneration if performed by a drunkard, an adulterer, or a liar, as by the holiest man. We are much of the same opinion, but for very different reasons, as the reader may judge.

That the Prayer-book represents spiritual regeneration as taking place in baptism, can not be seriously called in question; since all the other services of this church proceed on that supposition. The direction given to the sponsors after the baptism is as follows: "Ye are to take care that *this child* be brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him as soon as he can say the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten commandments, and is sufficiently instructed in the other parts of the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose." The Catechism carries forward the same supposition. "Quest. What is your name? Ans. N. or M. Quest. Who gave you this name? Ans. My sponsors in baptism; wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Again, in reference to confirmation it is required—"So soon as children are come to a competent age, and can say the creed, the Lord's prayer,

and the ten commandments, and can answer to the other questions of this short catechism, they shall be brought to the bishop." But for what purpose? It is that they may be confirmed—that they may "in the presence of God and the congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow made in their name at their baptism, ratifying and confirming the same." The first prayer which the bishop *must* offer, is in these words: "Almighty and everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins, strengthen them," &c. Here is a distinct recognition, that they are converted, regenerate persons,—regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, and that all their sins are forgiven. But when were they regenerated? Between their baptism and their confirmation, all that is required of them is that they learn to repeat the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the twenty two answers to the short catechism. All this can be done as an act of mere memory, without any grace of God, without any other conversion, or any other evidence of conversion, than the mere fact of baptism. The act of confirmation does not regard them as furnishing any evidence of conversion or spiritual renovation subsequent to infancy; it goes back and regards the *time of baptism* as the time of regeneration. It takes it for granted that *then*, and *by that act*, the child became a regenerate person, and it proceeds accordingly.

The next step is to the communion table, where candidates are received on the strength of their having been regularly baptized and confirmed, and thus made members of the church of Christ. So to the very last, this same doctrine of "REGENERATION IN BAPTISM" is maintained. The burial service is not to be used for any *unbaptized*

person, nor for the *excommunicated*, nor for the *suicide*; and for what reason? The reason is that this service considers all whom it consigns to the grave as regenerate persons; and that according to its judgment, the unbaptized person is as certainly unregenerate as the excommunicated or the suicide. There is no flinching here. No matter of what crimes a man may have been guilty, if he has not committed suicide, if he has not been excommunicated, if he has only been *Episcopally baptized*; though he may have lived a drunkard's life and may fill a drunkard's grave; though he may have been an habitual adulterer; though he may have wronged the widow and the fatherless; though he may have plotted treason and imbrued his hands in blood, and done many other crimes, which, according to the Bible, shut him out from heaven, still he is regarded as a regenerated person, because, in infancy he was baptized, and is accordingly buried as a saint—a brother, and his body is committed to the grave, “looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ.” Nor does it appear that the minister has any discretionary power in extreme cases. The corpse over which he is required to officiate, may have been brought forth from a den of prostitution; it may be the corpse of a professed atheist, or of as profane and profligate a man as ever died without repentance; it may be the corpse of a murderer who died upon the gallows, and “made no sign;” but if the baptism of the deceased is on record, and if the bishop has never annulled that baptism by a formal sentence of excommunication, then “the minister, meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, and going before it either into the church or towards the grave, SHALL say or sing” this burial service.

Thus, from the beginning to the end—from baptism, all along through every stage, even to the burial, the Prayer-book goes on the plan, that men are *regenerated in baptism*, if it is administered by a minister of that church. We think Dr. Seabury was Episcopally right, when he said “*regenerated in baptism.*”

6. *That justification is not wholly of faith.* “Salvation suspended on faith and works.” “Therefore we conclude,” says Paul, Rom. 3: 28, “that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.” Gal. 2: 16, “Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law but by faith of Jesus Christ—for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.” Was Paul mistaken, or are Episcopalians wise above that which is written?

7. *The Bible is not the sole authority in religion.* “Scripture as explained and interpreted by the church.” Another says, “The Holy Scriptures as they were interpreted by the church, during the first two centuries after the ascension of the Savior.” From these and many similar testimonies which we could present, it appears that Episcopalians do not regard the Bible as the sole authority in all matters of religion. Such a doctrine, effectually denies the right of private judgment to the individual members of that communion. Her thirty fourth article strongly looks that way. “Who-soever, through his *private judgment*, willingly and purposely doth openly break the *traditions* and *ceremonies* of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the conscience of the weak brethren.” Of what avail is the qualifying clause, “*which be not repugnant to*

the word of God," if the Scriptures are to be received only "as they are explained and interpreted by the church," for in this case the same church that fixes the ceremonies and traditions, also determines the sense of Scripture. In the twentieth article it is written, "The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;" and of what value is the seeming but nugatory restriction, "yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written." If the church is, by authority, the expounder of what the Bible reveals, she will always so interpret the Scriptures, as not to condemn the views she takes, and then who-soever differs from that interpretation, becomes subject to her anathema; and, if communion with her is essential to union with Christ, her anathema excludes from heaven. The sixth article declares, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Of what importance is this article, if "the church" is the interpreter of the Bible. Her decisive interpretation, and not the Bible in its plain and obvious teaching, becomes the supreme authority. All the assertions, then, of her articles concerning the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, are worthless and deceiving, if the Bible must be put into ecclesiastical keeping, and allowed to speak only as certain so-called successors of the apostles decree that it ought to speak,—“explained and interpreted by the church”—“interpreted by the church during the first two centuries.” Verily, the consciences of the people are put by this system into the keeping of the church. Thanks be to God, his

word in this land has free course; it will run and be glorified, despite of all the arrogance of priests and prelates.

Here then is a precious catalogue of claims, which the clergy of the Episcopal church, in this nineteenth century, are urging upon the credulity of men. They claim apostolical succession—that salvation and the gifts of the Holy Spirit are limited to their church—that salvation is secured in the use of the sacraments administered by their hands—that their baptism is regeneration—that works are essential to justification; and that the church must interpret and explain the Scriptures, in order that they may be a proper rule of faith and practice. These claims are not put forth in haste, but with deliberation, and as the result of a careful examination of the published standards of that church: "These are the principles which are plainly written in our Prayer-book." They are not set forth as matters of trivial importance, but as the very foundation principles of their system: "On these we stand, and these we are resolved, by God's grace, to maintain both in life and in death." That this position is the result of deliberate and full conviction, we can not for a moment doubt, when we consider the boldness with which these claims are uttered, and the tenacity with which they are held, notwithstanding all the fearful consequences which necessarily follow. By virtue of these claims, they unchurch all evangelical Christians, denying their ministry and their ordinances; they denounce as impostors, such men as Calvin, Owen and Bunyan, Doddridge and Watts, Hall and Fuller, Edwards and Brainard, Bellamy and Strong, Dwight and Rodgers, Payson and Richards, and a great host of others, than whom better men have not lived—men whom God has signally owned, and whose memory is precious to the spiritually

mined. Such men, and the churches they served, are coolly handed over, for their hopes of salvation, to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." There being no such mercies recognized in all the Bible, it is only a "euphuistic" way of consigning to damnation, millions of evangelical but unepiscopalian Christians, on the continent of Europe, and in England, as well as throughout these American states. "Be astonished, O ye heavens!" These lovers of prelacy with "cool atrocity" consign to eternal death, the pilgrim fathers of our country—men, who, for the sake of God, endured hard trials, took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and the imprisonment of their bodies—men, who, for the sake of conscience, and the liberty to worship God according to the teachings of the Bible, braved the ocean and the wilderness, and here planted a nation which God has blessed above all nations of mankind. In perfect consistency with the spirit of this arrogance, these same prelatists, while they constitute a mere fraction of the religious people of this land, call the numerous hosts of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, &c. &c., "DISSENTERS." Such language has its alliance with other institutions, than those which exist in this land of scriptural and republican equality. It is a strange use of the word—for dissent implies a minority; the setting forth of opinions contrary to those of the majority. A majority dissenting, would be a strange thing under the sun, in this land, where the MAJORITY RULES. As our Episcopalian friends are among the least of the tribes, and as they hold sentiments strangely at variance with those entertained by the overwhelming majority of Christians in the United States, propriety of language requires, that they should acknowledge themselves, and by all other denominations be regarded, as THE

DISSENTERS. As they have begun to feel no small trouble in being styled "the PROTESTANT Episcopal church in the United States of America," we would propose that at their next general convention, they change their name to the DISSENTING Episcopal church in the United States of America, and thus sail under their true colors.

As the claims which we have enumerated, are preferred with much earnestness and with unceasing iteration, and as they involve responsibilities of the most serious nature, they demand, not only a careful examination, but thorough and repeated exposure. This must be our apology for once more dwelling upon assumptions which have been refuted so often.

We do not think that we have stated these claims too strongly. We have been careful to use the language of Episcopalian champions; we have gone to the Prayer-book, whither they have sent us, for the proof. It would be no difficult matter, from the recent charges of their prelates—from the sermons of the inferior clergy—from their printed volumes and their religious newspapers, to collect any amount of evidence, that might be required, to show that these claims are actually asserted. One bishop, when speaking of other denominations, calls them "a meeting, a society, a thing of human invention." The same so called bishop, when speaking of the ministers of other denominations, calls them "gross impostors." He also informs the readers of his sermon, that "the eternal interests of millions are involved in this question of apostolic succession." He then declares, that others "have no ministry, no baptisms, no valid ordinances, no churches, no forgiveness of sin, no tangible evidence of pardon." Of course, if we have "no forgiveness of sin," we have no salvation, and must perish forever. Such sentiments go forth not only unrebuked,

by the inferior ministry, but commended. And what mean the things which occur in the practical application of these claims? How many **Episcopalian** ministers are there who will give a letter of dismission to a private member for the purpose of uniting with a church of another denomination? Why the refusal, or evasion, in such cases? Simply because they do not recognize any churches but their own. To dismiss a member to a **Congregational** or **Presbyterian** church, would in their estimation, be dismissing a member to the world of sinners. Why were the two sons of an eminent **Presbyterian** minister, when they entered the **Episcopal** communion, **REBAPTIZED**? Why was the son of an eminent **Congregational** minister, when he was received into that fellowship, last summer, **REBAPTIZED**? That those young men had been previously baptized, was a well understood fact. Why then **REBAPTIZE** them? Because **Episcopacy** does not acknowledge such men as these parents, men whose ministry God has honored, to be ministers of Jesus Christ, and holds that baptism, by them administered, is irregular and of questionable validity. Why did one of the young men, alluded to above, when about to be married to a young lady, a member of the church of which his father was the pastor, refuse to allow his own father to unite them in marriage? It was because he did not recognize his father as a minister of the Lord Jesus. Where did this young man learn such views of religion? Not from the ten commandments, not from the prophets and holy men of the old dispensation, not from Jesus Christ and the men of God whom he employed to write the New Testament scriptures, but from the teachings of those, who claim to be the successors of the apostles. At this rate we may expect soon to see the claim revived, that **Episcopalian** clergymen alone

have any right before God to administer the vows of marriage; and that therefore all marriages performed by others are invalid, and the children of such marriages children of sin and shame. On what principle could that young man have proceeded which did not put shame upon his parents, and illegitimacy upon his own birth? Let **Episcopalians** look to this matter. Have not their ministers an exclusive divine right to join persons in matrimony? Are not all those persons who pretend to have been married without the aid of an **Episcopalian** clergyman, living in a union which, however the civil laws may recognize it, is in God's sight unhallowed, unblessed, unsanctioned? Why not remarry then, as well as rebaptize? We know that there was a time when the validity of "dissenters' marriages" was doubted seriously—nay, much more than doubted, by **Episcopalians** of tender conscience. Is that subject mooted no longer in "the church?" Is the true, fearless, consistent doctrine on that point held in "reserve," to be brought forward at some more favorable period than the present?

The whole question mainly turns on this one doctrine of apostolical succession. By it they mean to have us understand that they can and do trace up their ministry through an unbroken chain of succession to the apostles of Jesus Christ, and that they therefore are the legitimate successors of the apostles. The following testimony from the Rev. Dr. Hook, the present vicar of Leeds in England, will suffice. "The prelates who at the present time rule the churches of these realms, were validly ordained by others, who by means of an **UNBROKEN SPIRITUAL** descent of ordination, derived their mission from the apostles and from our Lord. This *continued descent* is **EVIDENT TO EVERY ONE** who chooses to investigate it. Let him read the *catalogues of bishops, ascending up*

to the most remote period. *Our ordinations* descend in a direct UNBROKEN line from Peter and Paul, the apostles of the circumcision and the Gentiles. Those great apostles successively ordained Linus, Cletus, and Clement, bishops of Rome; and the apostolic succession was regularly continued *from them to Celestine, Gregory, and Vitalianus*, who ordained Patrick bishop of the Irish, and *Augustine and Theodore*, for the English. And *from those times an uninterrupted series of valid ordinations*, has carried down the APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION in our churches, to the present day. There is not a *bishop, priest or deacon* among us, who can not, if he please, trace his *own spiritual descent* from St. Peter or St. Paul." With regard to the historical verity of such assertions, the reader will judge as the voice of history speaks out.

In order to make out this chain, the Roman or Papal church must be recognized as true and apostolic. There are but three steps which the Episcopalians of the United States take, in order to accomplish their object. The *first* is to connect themselves with the church of England, showing, that they have succession from that source. The *second* is, through the Reformed church of England to the Papal. The *third* is, through the Papal succession, to come at last to the apostles. This, seemingly, is very easy and very direct. To the unenlightened, it appears quite certain, that, by proper diligence, they may along this road reach the city of refuge and there find a shelter from all pursuers. We propose to look a little at these several steps, that we may the more intelligently and cordially admit the result to which they are supposed to lead, or may with the firmer conviction, abandon, as worthless and wicked, all such pretensions to apostolical succession. We shall reverse the order just stated, and shall first look at the Roman church.

I. The succession through the Roman or Papal church, can not be made out either historically or morally.

1. The succession is confused and wholly uncertain. In tracing back the succession to Peter and Rome, nothing should be taken for granted or received upon conjecture. As so much is involved, even "the spiritual interests of millions," there should be absolute certainty. But at the very outset, it is a disputed question, whether the apostle Peter ever was at Rome. That he was the bishop of the church of Rome, there is not the slightest authentic evidence. There is probable evidence, that he never did live there or exercise the pastoral office. The Roman Catholics, it is true, claim that Peter came to Rome in the second year of the Emperor Claudius, for the purpose of counteracting the influence of Simon Magus. This second year of Claudius occurred, A. D. 43, but from Acts 12 : 3, 4, we find that Peter was a resident at Jerusalem, and was there cast into prison by Herod Agrippa, in the last year of his reign, (v. 23,) which was in the fourth year of Claudius. Thus, two years after the time, when Roman Catholic writers affirm that Peter took up his abode in Rome, as the bishop of that church, he was imprisoned in Jerusalem. In Acts 15 : 6, Peter is spoken of as still at Jerusalem in the ninth, some say eleventh year of Claudius. In Acts 28 : 17, it is recorded, that Paul came to Rome, a prisoner, in the seventh year of Nero, that is, A. D. 60, (some say 62 or 63,) but on this occasion, not the slightest mention is made of Peter being at Rome. Neither do the Jews name him, nor do the Christians there, though many came out to meet Paul. When Paul arrived in Rome, he sent for the resident Jews there, who were very glad to meet with an apostle, from whom they could learn distinctly what that new religion was, of which they only

knew that it was "every where spoken against:" Acts 28 : 22. Up to that time, therefore, neither Peter, nor any other apostle, had preached the gospel at Rome. Another strange fact is, that in the whole epistle to the Romans, written A. D. 58, no mention is made of Peter, much less as the resident bishop of Rome. This is the more remarkable, as in this epistle many persons are by name referred to, with salutations, and as Paul was accustomed to refer to Peter, when addressing churches which Peter had either founded, or to which he was particularly known. [1 Cor. 1 : 12—15; 3 : 22; 9 : 5. Gal. 1 : 18; 2 : 7, 8, 9, 14.] There is not the slightest evidence as late as A. D. 60 or 63, that Peter had any personal or official connection with the church at Rome.

Who was the second bishop of Rome? The fathers are not agreed. Tertullian, Rufinus and Epiphanius testify, that Clement succeeded Peter. While Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome and Augustine say, that Linus was the next to Peter. Here is doubt, not to say direct contradiction. Nor is there any more certainty as to the third. The name of Cletus is found in the catalogue. But who this Cletus was, is a matter of very great doubt. The Roman Catholic writers themselves admit, that the order of the succession is uncertain. Says Cabassute, the papal historian of the councils, "It is a very *doubtful question* concerning Linus, Cletus and Clemens, as to which of them succeeded Peter."* Concerning the fourth bishop there is the same uncertainty. The Papists name Clement. But Platina and his continuator Panvinus, both tell us that Linus and Cletus were only *chorepiscopi* sive *coadjutores* to the apostle Peter, who, a little before his martyrdom, and in full view of

it, ordained Clement bishop of Rome, transferring all his powers to him.† This is contradicted by the testimony of Tertullian, Rufinus, Epiphanius, and most of the Latin writers. Besides, according to the dates, it appears that Peter had been dead some twenty years, when it is maintained that Clement became his successor. But this is no difficulty with a miracle working church. Twenty years sooner or later, is a mere circumstance. But we see that to those who do not begin with a full and implicit faith in the church, the first four links of the chain are so doubtful, as to forbid the placing of any confidence in them. On this subject Dean Prideaux, a learned Episcopalian, has said, "no certainty is to be had." Howell, another Episcopalian, after patiently and thoroughly examining all the evidence for apostolic succession, calls it, "the stupidity and fables of Romanists." He adds, "here it is evident how very doubtful and uncertain is the personal succession of the Roman bishops." The complaint of Platina, the Roman Catholic biographer of the Popes is, (says Prideaux,) "that they who were appointed protonotaries, to register the passages in the church, were, in his time, become so *illiterate*, that some of them could scarce write their own names." Still worse, he complains with Panvinus and Ciaconius, of "the neglect of registering, and the confusion of the lives of the popes." Strange! passing strange, that men will become so infatuated, as to build up a succession on such confusion, and then pretend, that on this succession depend the spiritual and eternal destinies of millions. Nay, that on such ground they can feel themselves justified in unchurching all others, and consigning them over to "the uncovenanted mercies of God."

* *Notitiæ ecclesiasticæ*, Seculi I, § 22, p. 7.

† Platina de *Vitiis Pontiff.* p. 8, Panvini *Pontificum Rom.* *Chronicon*, p. 1.

2. The manner of the election of the Popes is fatal to the succession. The Papal historians tell us, that the Popes were often elected "by intrigue, contention, violence, bribery, and bloodshed." By such methods, men religiously inclined were thrust into the background, whilst those who were determined to secure the Papal throne at any expense, became the prominent and successful candidates. Hear the testimony of Cardinal Baronius. He is very plain spoken, and reveals some serious facts. "O, what was then the face of the holy Roman church! How filthy, when the **VILEST AND MOST POWERFUL HARLOTS** ruled in the court of Rome! by whose arbitrary sway dioceses were made and unmade, bishops were consecrated, and,—which is inexpressibly horrible to be mentioned,—**FALSE POPES, THEIR PARAMOURS**, were thrust into the chair of Peter, who, in being numbered as Popes serve no purpose, except to **FILL UP THE CATALOGUE OF THE POPES OF ROME**. For who can say that persons thrust into the popedom, without any law, by harlots of this sort, were legitimate Popes of Rome. In these elections no mention is made of the acts of the clergy, either by their choosing the Pope at the time of his election, or of their consent afterwards. All the canons were suppressed into silence, the voice of the decrees of former pontiffs were not allowed to be heard, ancient traditions were proscribed, the customs formerly practiced in electing the Pope, with the sacred rites and pristine usages, were all extinguished. In this manner **LUST, SUPPORTED BY SECULAR POWER**, excited to frenzy in the rage for domination, **RULED ALL THINGS.**"* Says Father Paul, one of the order of the Servites, "during the space of eighty years (from

783 to 963) Italy labored under the extremest confusion, as well in the civil government as the ecclesiastical; especially in the Papacy we must not expect to find any traces or form of good government in the church, but a mere chaos of impiety, and a general preparative and forerunner of the miserable revolutions and disorders which followed." "Theodora, a famous courtesan, by the interest and faction which she had then in Rome, got her professed lover chosen Pope, who was called John X.* And in short, such a series of wild disorders gave occasion to historians to say, that those times produced **NOT POPES—BUT MONSTERS.**" It was no uncommon thing for one Pope to excommunicate another—to curse and annul all his acts, including the administration of the sacraments. Two Popes were put to death. Six were driven out and dethroned by those who aspired to their places. The election of Pope Alexander VI, was after this fashion. After the funeral obsequies of Pope Innocent VIII, the cardinals shut themselves up in the conclave to choose a successor. In order to secure the votes of a majority of the cardinals, he entered into a solemn bargain: that Cardinal Orsino should have a palace and two castles; that Ascanius Sforza should be made vice chancellor of the church; that Colonna should have the Abbey of St. Benedict, with all the castles and right of patronage to him and his family forever; that St. Angelo should have the bishopric of Porto, with the town and furniture, and particularly the cellar full of wine. To the Cardinal of Parma he gave the city of Nepi. To Savelli he made over the town of Citta-Castellana, with the church of St. Mary Major. On several others he bestowed many thousand ducats. For one vote, that of a white friar of Venice, he

* Baronii Annales Eccles. Ann. 912, tom. x, p. 679.

* See Mosheim, Vol. II, p. 120.

gave five thousand ducats of gold. To one of the cardinals was given, prior to the election, four mules loaded with silver plate. It was thus by simony, that a majority was secured; and Roderick Borgia was elected and declared Pope, by the name of Alexander VI.*

The above it must be admitted, exhibits a very sorry account of holy mother church. The picture, however, is drawn by the hand of her own faithful children. It enables us to judge, as to the clearness and certainty, as well as the value, of apostolical succession, coming down through channels so filthy and so bloody. If our Episcopal friends will go there, all we can at present say, is, we are sorry they are found in such company.

3. The many and serious schisms forbid all succession. Much has been said of the unity and the peace of the Papal church, and of the unbroken succession. To show the utter fallacy of such claims, we need only turn to their acknowledged historians. They tell of us strange divisions, and of stranger ways of curing them. Onuphrius Panviniust admits, that up to the fourteenth century there had been more than twenty schisms in the Popedom. Some of these schisms were of the most serious character. One continued for forty years; another lasted during eighty years. Sometimes there were two, three, or four Popes at the same time, each claiming to be the true Pope, each having his party, and each denouncing and excommunicating the others. Thus was the church divided into the most ferocious factions. All must see, when several assumed the office at the same time, that all could not be genuine; only one could be the true and proper Pope—the others were spurious and counterfeits. But how were these difficulties settled? Once, the coun-

cil of Constance deposed the three claiming Popes. They were condemned as FALSE POPES, HERETICS, and UNGODLY WRETCHES, not even to be reckoned in the number of Christians.* Other and more summary ways were employed. Resort was had to poison, and other forms of murder. Thus the most cunning and the most wicked succeeded. Hildebrand (Gregory VII) poisoned six or seven Popes, and then, without any election, thrust himself into the Popedom. The scenes of strife, of stratagem, of wickedness, of bribery, of poisoning, and of blood-shedding, which have transpired in the struggles for the Popedom, far transcend all that history records of the treachery and crime by which men have secured the throne of empire. Thus the church was divided. Bishops against bishops, cardinals against cardinals, popes against popes. Resort being had to any available form of wickedness to secure success, he who could carry it the most stoutly, succeeded, and was regarded as the true Pope. The opinion of Cardinal Baronius is thus expressed: "In those days the church indeed was for the most part WITHOUT A POPE." Now how can any sane man seriously pretend to find order and regularity and apostolic succession here. We know not how to account for the putting forth of such claims, except on one or more of the three following suppositions; either, first, that the men who assert these claims, are ignorant of the facts of church history; or, secondly, that they suppose that other men are sufficiently ignorant to be imposed upon; or, thirdly, that they go upon the plan, that those who make the most noise will certainly carry the day. In this latter plan they may find themselves mistaken, should the many thousand voices of those whom they call "dissenters," be raised, and

* Gordon's Life of Alexander VI.

† Pontif. Romanor. Chronicon.

* Concilium Constant. Sess. 12, 37.

should the strong and uncompromising voice of history thunder forth its condemnation.

4. Another difficulty in the way of the succession is the character of the Popes. If any person has doubts as to the truth of the doctrine of total depravity, or wishes to find the most striking and horrid illustrations of that doctrine, let him carefully peruse the lives of the Popes, as written by Roman Catholic historians. Let a few illustrations suffice, instead of the thousand that might be given. Pope Vigilius waded to the pontifical throne through the blood of his predecessor. Pope Joan—they tell us—a female in disguise, was elected and confirmed as Pope John VIII. Platina says “that she became with child by some of those about her; that she miscarried and died in her way to the Lateran church or temple; and that her pontificate lasted one year, one month, and four days.”* The truth of this statement has, since the Reformation, been called in question as resting upon mere tradition; but why is not tradition proof enough to those who make tradition the rule of faith? Pope Joan was no worse than many of the male Popes. And unless her name stands as John VIII, there is a break in the catalogues of the Popes, as furnished both by the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians. They can not get back to Peter without her help. They can not continue her in their catalogues and also reject her. But says Dean Prideaux, “there are fifty authorities in the church of Rome in favor of it,” that is, who maintain that Joan, a female Pope, actually was elected and inaugurated. Platina says of the facts stated about Joan, “almost every body affirmed them to be true.” Flacius Illyricus quotes at length from the testimony of Italian authors, relatives of the Popes,

who lived near the time and through several hundred years immediately succeeding, and proves, that during all that time the story was never doubted. Those who believe in Linus and Cletus on tradition, ought to believe also in Joan on the same authority. Says Mr. Powell, “If half the history of Popery then, has any truth in it, there was really a female strumpet, as a link in this chain, as a *progenetrix* in this spiritual descent of Popish priests, Oxford Tract-men, Dr. Hook, &c.,” and we may add, of the whole hierarchy of those who through Rome claim apostolical succession. Pope Marcellinus SACRIFICED TO IDOLS. Says Cabassute, “He denied the fact until he was convicted on indubitable evidence.”* Concerning Pope Honorius, the council of Constantinople thus decreed: “We have caused Honorius, the late Pope of Old Rome, to be *accursed*: for that in all things he followed the mind of Sergius, the *heretic*, and confirmed his wicked doctrines.”† The council of Basil, thus condemned Pope Eugenius, “We condemn and depose Pope Eugenius, a despiser of the holy canons; a disturber of the peace and unity of the church of God; a notorious offender of the whole universal church; a *simonist*; a *perjurer*; a man incorrigible; a schismatic; a man fallen from the faith, and a willful heretic.”‡ Pope Damasus II poisoned his predecessor, Clement II, and then “invaded the chair by force.”§ Pope John II was publicly charged in a Synod at Rome, with *incest*.|| Pope John XIII usurped the pontificate, spent his time in hunting, in lasciviousness and monstrous forms of vice—he fled from the trial to which he was sum-

* Cabassut, *Notitia Eccles.* p. 86, 87.

† Bp. Jewel, *Defense of the Apology.*

‡ Ibid.

§ Platina, in *Vita Clementis II.*, et *Damasi II. Vitæ Pontif. Rom.* p. 170.

|| Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, Vol. V, p. 107.

* Platina de *Vita Pontif. Rom.* p. 133.

moned, and was stabbed, being taken in the act of adultery.* Pope Sixtus IV licensed brothels in Rome. Pope Alexander VI was "one of the *greatest and most horrible monsters* in nature that could scandalize the holy chair. His *bestly morals*, his immense ambition, his insatiable avarice, his detestable cruelty, his furious lusts, and monstrous incest with his daughter Lucretia, are at large described by Guicciardini Ciaconius, and other" authentic Papal historians.

Such then are some of the moral acts of the Popes. As a whole, there has never been a race of men so flagrantly immoral—so addicted to the grossest sensuality, and so debased in every species of wickedness. Concerning them Platina says, "The chair of Peter was *usurped*, rather than possessed by, *monsters of wickedness, ambition and bribery*."† "They left no wickedness unpracticed." Yet these are the men, who, in this day, are dragged forth to the light as the successors of the apostles of Jesus Christ. It is through these same men, with all their filthiness—their simony—their incest—and their murders, that certain men in our times, seek to make an unbroken chain of succession to the Apostle Peter. Shall we, in this day, congratulate such upon their descent from spiritual ancestors so illustrious? No! Such congratulation would be cruel; for this line of Popes seems certainly to record the legitimate successors of Herod and Pontius Pilate, Nero and Caligula, rather than of the meek and lowly Jesus, and his humble and spiritually minded apostles.

II. The succession from the apostles can not be made out through the English Episcopal church.

There are two principal difficulties in the way.

1. The English church was excommunicated by the Roman.

This historic fact will not be denied. It occurred in the reign of Henry VIII.* The church of Rome was at that time the true church, or she was not the true church. One of these positions she must then have occupied. Let Episcopalians make their own selection by which of these alternatives they will abide. If she was the true church, and this is the selection which they must make, as they rely upon the Papal church for succession, then the difficulty is, the excommunication was valid—it stands in full force—it is recorded in heaven, and is ratified by Christ as his act. For without doubt, this is the meaning of excommunication on the part of the true church. The act is done in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ. The effect of excommunication, is to put the party excommunicated *out of the church*—is to make such as an heathen man and publican, having no part with Christ, no church standing, no ordinances, no ministrations—all such are aliens from the church of Christ, they are emphatically left to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." This excommunication against the church of England, by that of Rome, stands in full force at this day; and Episcopalians can not recognize the church of Rome as the true church, without also acknowledging the full force of this actual excommunication. Here, then, on the supposition that the Papal is the true church, is a stopper put upon the claims of Episcopalians to apostolical succession. Rome snapped the chain—there is a link broken—a link that has never been mended. Episcopalians can go back to the reign of Henry VIII, but there they come to a dead halt.

* Platina, in Vita Joannis XIII. Vitæ Pontif. p. 155.

† Platina, in Vita Benedicti IV. Vitæ Pontif. p. 148.

* See the papal Bull, at length, in the Bullar. Magn. Tom. I, p. 707, &c., and in Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Vol. I, Part II, book iii, no. 9.

Now try the other alternative. The church of Rome was not the true church; she had no authority from Christ to excommunicate; it was not done in his name nor by his authority; He has not ratified it; Rome had become so corrupt as no longer to be the true church. If so, then it is in vain to attempt a passage to the apostles along that road; for we come to a place where Rome has ceased to be the true church; and at that spot we are at the end of our chain—the succession is broken. So then the difficulty is real and perplexing, whichever alternative they choose. If they say Rome is the true church, then are they excommunicated by the true church of Christ. If they deny that Rome is the true church, then it is of no avail to attempt to reach the apostles through a church which they do not acknowledge as the true church. If it is the true church, then the excommunication stands like an high wall and forbids any further advance. If it is not the true church, then there is no road cut through that dismal swamp. So the church of Rome is of no possible use to the church of England, in settling the great question of apostolical succession.

2. The organization of the church of England is not scriptural but political.

The occasion of the excommunication of the English church is well known and understood. King Henry VIII of England wanted the Pope to divorce him from his wife Catharine of Arragon, so that he might marry the beautiful Anna Boleyn. This the Pope declined, lest he should displease the Emperor of Germany, to whom Catharine was related. But the licentious Henry was not thus to be restrained. Having obtained the forced approbation of his bishops, he went forward with his wicked purpose, set aside his wedded wife, and made Anna his queen. The bull of excommunica-

tion followed; but he set at naught the anathema of the Pope, and at once cut off all connection between his subjects and Rome. He not only threw off the Papal supremacy, but took the title and authority of supreme head of the church of England. The principal change which he made in the constitution of the English church, was the transfer of the supremacy from the Pope to himself. This led to the total separation of the church of England from that of Rome. When this separation took place, it was not in any sense the act of the church, for the bishops, the inferior clergy, and the laity, did not move in the matter; it was wholly the act of the king. The disruption did not take place because of the corruptions of Rome, but because of the licentious conduct and self-will of Henry VIII. The bishops with their clergy, being coerced by Henry, yielded to his wishes. When thus separated, they did not fall back upon the Bible, to model themselves according to that sacred book, but they received their charter from the king. For Henry claimed and exercised the supreme authority in all the affairs of the church as well as those of the state. So then the licentiousness of Henry VIII was the beginning of the English church. He was the primitive apostle, the presiding genius; and it is from Henry VIII, not of pious memory, that the divine right of the English bishops is derived.

It is important just here to notice a few particulars, that we may the more perfectly comprehend what that church of England was, and is, which forms so important a link in the chain of succession.

(1.) All authority in ecclesiastical matters is vested in the king—the reigning sovereign. So the statute-book affirms. According to 26 Henry VIII, chap. 1; 37 Henry VIII, chap. 17; 1 Elizabeth, chap. 1;—it is ordained, that the king “is vested with all power to exercise

all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but *by and under* the king's majesty, who hath *full power and authority* to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to reform and correct all vice, sin, errors, heresies, enormities, abuses, whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may be lawfully reformed." Let it not be said, this was done in the days of darkness and barbarity, and that it can not now be brought against the English church. We are inquiring after the *organization* of that church; we are following along the track upon which these claimants of apostolical succession have placed us; we are exploring the very antiquity of which they boast, and in which they glory; we are showing the foundation principles on which the English church was built, and on which it now stands. For the identical powers which the law and constitution gave to Henry VIII in all the matters of the church, were renewed in the reign of Edward VI and of Elizabeth, and they continue to be the law for the church of England to this day.

(2.) The bishops received their commissions from the king—deriving from him all their authority to ordain, administer sacraments, and perform all their ecclesiastical functions. The following extracts from the form of the commission will produce conviction. "Henry VIII, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and under Christ, Supreme Head of the Church on earth, to the reverend Father in Christ, Edmund, Bishop of London, peace: seeing *all the authority of jurisdiction*, and *every kind of jurisdiction*, as well that which is called secular, as that which is called *ecclesiastical*, *emanates* primarily from the kingly

power, as from a supreme head, &c. We, desiring to accede to your humble supplication, for this purpose *commit our office and authority to you*, in the manner and form hereafter described, and declare you to be *licensed* and appointed therefore to *ordain to holy orders*, &c., also to make such *visitations*, &c. and to do every thing that in any way concerns Episcopal authority and jurisdiction, &c. *in our stead, name, and authority*. Having great confidence in your sound doctrine, &c., we *license* you by these presents *during our pleasure*, &c. In witness whereof, we have commanded these presents to be made and confirmed by our seal for ecclesiastical causes. Given Nov. 12, 1539, and 31st of our reign." Similar commissions were taken out by Cranmer and all the higher functionaries of the church. In this commission, several things are worthy of notice. The king claims to be the supreme head of the church on earth; that all authority and jurisdiction is vested *in him as the king*; that the ordination of men to the work of the ministry is his proper prerogative; that he commits it to his bishops for them to act *for him*; that they ordain and perform other ecclesiastical acts, not by virtue of their ordination, not by authority received from Jesus Christ, but solely as the officers of the king, to be controlled by him absolutely; and that they hold their commission only during his pleasure; that at any moment, without any charge of crimes, the king may deprive them of all power to ordain or perform ecclesiastical acts; and that from that moment the bishops become laymen. Another thing worthy of notice is, that all the bishops and archbishops most fully admitted all these claims, and publicly recognized the fact that they ordained and administered the sacraments, not as the ministers of Christ, *by him* commissioned, but *by virtue* of the king's

license, held during the royal pleasure. That this was the feeling of the bishops, is rendered palpable from the conduct of Cranmer. When Henry VIII died, Cranmer judged that the exercise of his own Episcopal authority ended with the life of the king. Accordingly he would not act as archbishop until he had a new commission formally granted by Edward VI. Cranmer was undoubtedly right. His commission was nothing more than a *power of attorney* to act for the king; that is, to ordain ministers, administer sacraments, and the like, in the king's behalf. As his commission could be recalled at any moment, so when the king died he properly concluded that the power of attorney also died. As the throne had received a new king, and the church a new head, in the person of Edward VI, it became necessary that new powers of attorney should be given before the bishops could legally perform a solitary ecclesiastical act. The bishops thus made by the king, obviously were not Christ's bishops, for in Cesar's hand Christ never placed that power; they were nothing more than the king's ministers or lieutenants. Here we have the strange work, of a layman, perhaps a woman, nominating and commissioning the successors of the apostles, to act, not by virtue of Christ's call, but of the king's or the queen's license; not to act in Christ's name and by his authority, but in the name and stead of the king or queen, and by his or her authority to preach, to ordain, and to administer sacraments, during the pleasure of the said king or queen. Paul and Peter had a commission somewhat different. Their only commission from kings was that they were committed to prison; their only emoluments from the state, were stripes and martyrdom.

The present law of England for the election of bishops is as follows: "When a bishop dies, or is transla-

ted, the dean and chapter certify the king thereof in chancery, and pray leave of the king to make election. Upon which it is enacted, that at every avoidance of any archbishop or bishop, the king may grant to the dean and chapter a license under the great seal, as of old time hath been accustomed, to proceed to election of an archbishop or bishop. And with the license, a letter missive, containing the name of the person which they shall elect and choose. By virtue of which license, the dean and chapter shall with all speed in due form elect and choose the said person named in the letters missive, and *none other*. And if they delay their election above twelve days next after such license or letters missive to them delivered, the king shall nominate and present, by letters patent under the great seal, such person as he shall think convenient, to be invested and consecrated, in like manner as if he had been elected by the dean and chapter."

(3.) The king has the power to commission laymen both to preach and to ordain ministers. Nor should this be considered a strange thing, for as all the power and jurisdiction is with the king, and as those to whom he grants a license act for him, it is a matter of no moment whether the person commissioned has been ordained or not. The authority of the king is on him, and the virtue of the head of the church flows through him. But let us have the facts. Thomas Cromwell, a layman, had the power of ordination committed to him "as the vicergerent of the king, in his stead to ordain such as he judged worthy of holy orders, to collate to benefices, to give institution, and to execute all other parts of the Episcopal authority." Says Towgood, "by the constitution and laws of England, this layman had then as much authority to ordain as any bishop in the realm; and any priest whom he had ordain-

ed would have been as much a minister in the church of England, and his ministrations as valid, as if all the bishops of the realm had laid their hands on his head." Another fact is found in the appointment of Richard Taverner, a layman, by Edward VI, to preach the Gospel.*

(4.) The king may direct what doctrines shall be preached, and may forbid all preaching. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, did each forbid all preaching for a time. The length of the time was determined simply by the royal will. Elizabeth prohibited all preaching and commanded the people throughout the kingdom "to hear no other preaching or doctrine but

* "In the reign of Edward VI, in consequence of the great scarcity of godly preachers to set forth the Gospel, Richard Taverner, although a layman, received from the king a license to preach throughout the kingdom. However strange this may now appear, it was not without some kind of precedent at that time. Sir Thomas More, after he was called to the bar, read a public lecture in the church of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry; these lectures were attended by the more learned of the city of London. They were not it is true upon the Scripture, but upon Augustine *De civitate Dei*; but still the thing itself bore a strong resemblance in kind to Taverner's license. The license granted to Taverner reads thus:

"Whereas ye people are ignorant through the slackness of pastors, to ye intent yt this people may learn how to use themselves towards God and us. Having knowledge of the learning and honest conversation of our servant, Richard Taverner, sometimes student in Oxenford and Cambridge, and Master of Arts, we have authorized him to preach in all places of our dominions, commanding all bishops and officers of ye clergy and laity to permit him freely to preach, and to apprehend all yt shall interrupt him, &c. Given under our hand and seale, the 13 May in ye year of our raigne." The year, though omitted in the date, was 1552. Accordingly he preached both at court before the king as well as in other places. His habit appears to have been studiously clerical, for he preached in a velvet bonnet, a damask gown, and with a gold chain about his neck; he often preached thus attired in the beginning at St. Mary's, Oxford, in the reign of Elizabeth." *English Hexapla*, p. 96.

the epistle and gospel of the day, and the ten commandments without any exposition or paraphrase thereon." She kept the bishopric of Ely vacant for a long time. Nor would she, for the space of twenty two years, allow the vacant bishopric of Oxford to be filled. Charles I, by proclamation commanded the clergy not to preach or dispute about Arminianism. And when the learned Bishop Davenant presumed to preach on the subject of predestination, he was forced to appear, on his knees, and being severely reprimanded hardly so escaped, though he preached nothing but the doctrine contained in Article 17th of the church of England. We have only to look into almost any work which expounds fairly the English constitution, and we shall see what authority belongs to the king as the supreme governor of the church of England. He has the prerogative of determining what is the true doctrine of the church; in what sense the articles shall be subscribed by the clergy, and what they shall and shall not preach. His supremacy implies too that the bishops and clergy shall not meet in convocation, except under the sanction of the broad seal, and that whatever they may draw up in the form of doctrine, or for the purpose of discipline, is a mere nullity, without the royal assent.

(5.) The king has the power of discipline. The reigning sovereign, whether king or queen, has the absolute power to excommunicate or to annul the act of excommunication, independently of, yea, in direct opposition to the acts, remonstrances and doings of all the bishops with all the clergy. The well known case of Whiston, who was proved to be guilty of Arianism, (see Burnet's History of his own times,) but who was shielded by Queen Anne, sustains our position.

Thus we see that the church of England, was built not upon the foundation of prophets and apostles,

Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone, but upon acts of Parliament, upon the foundation of the Lords and Commons of England, the king being the supreme ruler. This said church of England is a mere creature of the state, and is wholly under its control. The *thirty nine articles and the prayer book*, are regarded as a part of the *statute law*, as they have both been established by act of Parliament; thus, the very doctrines of her faith and the very forms of her devotion are the creation of the state.

All the *officers* of the church of England, derive their authority from the state. Her bishops, it is true, ordain the inferior clergy, but the bishops have their official existence from the crown, and derive all their powers to ordain, from the king; They act in his stead and do the work which, but for convenience, he would do—they are his officers—his attorneys. All the *ministrations* of the church are by the appointment of the state; and nothing can be omitted or altered by any bishop or other ecclesiastic, without incurring heavy legal penalties; such as fines and imprisonments.* The *discipline* of the church comes from the same authority, viz. the law of the state. Of this, the king is the executive, and nothing can alter this law but the state.

We are aware that our Episcopalian friends have a way of their own, by which they think they evade the force of these facts. They will tell us that the bishops from Cranmer's time to the present day, have been canonically consecrated, which we are very willing to admit. Undoubtedly bishops in England are consecrated; and so judges are sworn in to office; but by what authority? What authority has archbishop or bishop in England, since the Refor-

mation, which he does not derive from the sovereign? What authority has a bishop, more than a justice of the peace, which the law does not give him? Let any bishop, priest, or deacon, dare to act by virtue of any supposed authority derived from Christ, and not derived by law from that man or woman who happens to be, for the time, the supreme head of the church under Christ; and he will soon find what that supposed authority is good for. "I'll unfrock you," said Queen Elizabeth with a bouncing Tudor oath, to one of *her* bishops, who had ventured to have an opinion of his own in regard to some function of his office; and upon a sober second thought, the "proud prelate," as his mistress called him, remembered the source and the extent of his authority, and submitted without being unfrocked. Episcopalians try to believe that the church of England, though in union with the state, has yet some sort of independent existence. Such was the fact in the ages before the Reformation. The church was then in union with the state, but it had a substantive being of its own; it had powers which it professed to derive from Christ through the holy see, and with which the state might not intermeddle. But at the Reformation the church was absorbed into the state; and from that time to this the "establishment" has been as completely a part of the state, as entirely a creature of the laws, as is the army, or the navy, or the East India Company. Many churchmen in England, such as Laud and his associates two centuries ago, and the new Laudensians of the present day,—have held, we know, a different doctrine. But the truth is, the church of England, since the Reformation, is an Erastian establishment from the foundation to the topstone. The same legislative power which within a few years past has abolished so many bishoprics in Ireland, may reduce all the bish-

* See Vol. III, of Laws, &c. p. 254, for Statutes 2 and 3 Edward VI, Chap. 1; 4 Elizabeth, Chap. 2.

oprics to one, and may then suppress that one; or it may multiply them till every parish has a bishop of its own, and then organize them into classical, provincial, and national assemblies, with lay delegates intermixed; it may abolish the articles, the creeds, the surplice, and the liturgy; or it may translate the Prayer-book back into the Latin, command the adoration of the wafer, and restore the supremacy of the chair of St. Peter. At what point in any of these supposed processes of reformation, would that ideal church of England, which is imagined to have come down from the apostles by an unbroken personal succession, find it possible for her to assert an independence of the state? Religion in England—Christian piety—may have come down by succession from the apostles; and learning in England may have come down by succession from Aristotle through the schoolmen. But the corporation called the church of England is in every respect as absolutely a creature of the laws of England, as is the University of Oxford. The university has at least as much capacity of resisting the reforming or suppressing omnipotence of the king in Parliament, and of maintaining its existence or its forms in opposition to the state, as the church has.

The church of England, then, is no more a divine or apostolical institution than is the monarchy or the aristocracy of England. Let any one carefully consider the facts of history concerning the organization of the establishment,—let any one ponder the parliamentary enactments concerning the doctrines, the ministers, and the worship of that national church; and then let him as carefully consider the New Testament, and escape the conviction, if he can, that the church of Jesus Christ and the church of England, are essentially separate and distinct organizations,—that they are

as unlike to each other, as is light and darkness; that they neither emanate from the same authority, nor exist for the same end. The result then to which we come is this, that the Episcopalians, in treading their way back to the apostles, through the church of England and the church of Rome, are met and turned back by these two difficulties. First, the church of Rome excommunicated all protestant churches and sent forth special bulls against Henry VIII, and Queen Elizabeth, the then acknowledged heads of the English church. Thus the church of England was cast forth from the visible church and does not belong to the body of Christ. The second difficulty is, that the church of England, under Henry VIII, and other kings and queens, was not formed after the model of the New Testament at all, but was constituted a *civil institution and for political purposes*. So then the hook on which the Episcopal church in these United States hangs its chain of succession, is a *political hook*, which the despotic and adulterous Henry VIII, drove into the wall. There they may hang it if they please. But so long as their chain depends from that hook, let them forever hold their peace, about *apostolical* succession, for the apostles claim no possible relationship to Henry VIII. He broke off from Popery, not because he considered it corrupt, but because the Pope would not sanction his wicked abandonment of his wedded wife, nor give the sanction of the church to his adulterous connection with Anna Boleyn. He laid the foundations of a new church establishment in England, and placed himself, reeking with abominable vices, at its head, as the spiritual governor, the sole and final arbiter of all ecclesiastical matters, relating either to doctrine or to form of worship. These are facts which can not be permitted to slumber, they must speak out. Such be-

ing the origin of the church of England, in its separation from the Papal, Episcopalians, we should think, would be slow of heart to claim succession from that quarter.

III. The history of the Episcopal church in the United States, shows the preposterousness of the claim of apostolical succession.

On this part it will be necessary simply to recall a few facts.

1. Prior to the Revolutionary war, which separated the United States from the crown of England, the Episcopal churches in this country, were considered as belonging to the diocese of the Bishop of London, or as under the care of that bishop, who held all his authority from the king. This fact is fully stated by Bishop White and other prelates in the United States, as well as by many of the inferior clergy.

2. The war of the Revolution, with the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, severed the connection between the Episcopal churches of this country and the Bishop of London. This is freely admitted, says Bishop White. "All former jurisdiction over the churches being *thus withdrawn, and the chain which held them together broken*, it would seem, that their future continuance can be provided for only by voluntary associations for union and good government." So Rev. Dr. Hawks, in noting the early history of his church, admits that the Revolution severed "the only bond of union they ever had; viz. the common rules and the sacred laws." So then their previous connection with the Bishop of London was political and not apostolical. The establishment of political independence abolished the jurisdiction of the king's bishop, just as it abolished the jurisdiction of the king's collector. Could this have been so if the Bishop of London had held his authority, or had dared to pretend that he held it, by succession from the apostles? When

the Greek empire of Constantino-ple fell, and the Turkish was established in its place, did the bishops of the oriental church acknowledge that their jurisdiction was abolished?

3. For some years the Episcopal congregations were perfectly independent of each other, and were without any constitutional compact by which to unite them in one body. Before the Revolution, each congregation wherever located, acknowledged the authority of the bishop of London. When the Revolution took place, that authority ceased, or according to Bishop White, "the chain which held them together was broken." They had no common head—they then had no general union among themselves. This was seen and felt, and as Bishop White says, "their future continuance can be provided for only by *voluntary associations for union and good government*." Arrangements were made for the purpose of uniting the Episcopal congregations into one community. Dr. Hawks says that they came together "as independent churches, duly organized, and so they considered each other." "Early in 1785, the clergy of South Carolina, met and agreed to send delegates to the next general meeting, but in complying with the invitation to coöperate in the measure necessary to effect a general union, they accompanied their compliance with an unequivocal proof of their sense of the independence of the South Carolina church, for they annexed to it an understanding, that no BISHOP was to be settled in that state." The same distinguished writer further states in relation to the formation of a general constitution, "The work commenced at the first general meeting of Episcopalians in October, 1784, was thus consummated in August, 1789; and during the intervening period, there was no BOND holding the churches on this continent together, but the bond of a common faith." These are important

historical facts. The recognition of our independence was in 1783; the first meeting of Episcopalians for the purpose of forming a "*voluntary association for union and good government*," commenced October, 1784, and was consummated August, 1789; so that for about the space of six years, there was no bishop—there was no union, or general organization, but each portion separate and independent. Now if it is true, that there can be no church without a bishop, where was the Episcopal church from 1783 to about 1789? Did it die the death, in that memorable act of independence, which separated this country from the crown of England?

4. The consecration of the American bishops could not be obtained until important alterations in the Prayer-book were restored, and then only by virtue of a special act of Parliament. It will be seen by a reference to the "Journals of the General Convention" of 1785, that on October 5th, certain alterations were made in the Liturgy after very careful deliberation; and that on the same day, they agreed to an "address to the archbishops and bishops of the church of England, requesting them to confer the episcopal character on such persons as should be chosen and recommended to them for that purpose, from the conventions of said church in the respective states." To this application, an answer was returned by the bishops, &c., dated February 24, 1786, in which they say, "We can not help being afraid, that in the proceedings of your convention, some alterations may have been adopted or intended which these difficulties [i. e. growing out of the Revolution] do not seem to justify. These alterations are not mentioned in your address, and as our knowledge of this is no more than what has reached us through private and less certain channels, we hope you will think it just, both to you and to

ourselves, if we wait for an explanation." See Journal, p. 20. In their reply to this communication, the convention of 1786, observe as follows, p. 27, "We have made no alterations or omissions in the book of common prayer, but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate than to dispute. *It is well known, that many great and pious men of the church of England have long wished for a revision of the Liturgy*, which it was deemed imprudent to hazard, lest it might become a precedent for repeated and improper alterations. This is with us the proper season for such a revision." A copy of the revised Prayer-book was ordered to be sent to the lords bishops for their inspection. At an adjourned meeting of the same convention, held October 10, 1786, an answer to the above communication was read, in which the archbishops say, p. 32, "It was impossible not to observe with concern, that if the essential doctrines of our common faith were retained, less respect, however, was paid to our Liturgy than its own excellence, and your declared attachment to it, had led us to expect; not to mention a variety of verbal alterations, of the necessity or propriety of which we are by no means satisfied, we saw with grief, that two of the confessions of our Christian faith, respectable for their antiquity, have been entirely laid aside; and that even in that which is called *the apostles' creed*, an article is omitted, which was thought necessary to be inserted, with a view to a particular heresy, in a very early age of the church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception." They then inform the convention that they had taken certain steps to procure an act of Parliament to enable them to convey the succession, and add as follows:

"But we should forget the duty which we owe to our own church, if we were not explicit in declaring, that, after the disposition we have shown to comply with the prayer of your address, we think it now incumbent on you to use your utmost exertions also for the removal of any stumbling block of offense, which may possibly prove an obstacle to the success of it. We therefore most earnestly exhort you, that previously to the time of your making such subscription [i. e. such as is requisite for the consecration of a bishop] you restore to its integrity, the apostles' creed; nor can we help adding, that we hope you will think it but a decent proof of the attachment which you profess to the services of your Liturgy, to give to the other two creeds a place in your book of common prayer, even though the use of them should be left discretionary." At the same time another letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated July 4, 1786, was laid before the convention, enclosing a copy of the act of Parliament, by which he was empowered to consecrate bishops for them. "But," he adds, (p. 37,) "whether we can consecrate any, or not, *must yet depend on the answer we may receive to what we have written.*" These communications were referred to a committee, who the next day reported, among other things, as follows: "Whereas the clerical and lay deputies of this church have received the most friendly and affectionate letters in answer to the said address from the said archbishops and bishops, opening a fair prospect of success of their applications; but at the same time earnestly exhorting this convention to use their utmost exertions for the removal of certain objections by them made against some parts of the alterations in the book of common prayer, &c.—in pursuance whereof, this present general convention hath been called and is now

assembled; and being sincerely disposed to give every satisfaction to their lordships which will be consistent with the union and general content of the church which they represent—now, therefore, the said deputies do hereby determine and declare, First, that, in the creed commonly called the apostles' creed, these words—'*He descended into Hell*'—shall be and continue a part of that creed. Secondly, that the Nicene creed shall also be inserted in the said book of common prayer last mentioned, immediately after the apostles' creed, prefaced with the rubric, &c. They also recommend that the fourth article of religion be altered so as to read, 'The two creeds, viz. that commonly called the apostles' creed, and the *Nicene creed*, ought to be received and believed,' &c. On the question of restoring the integrity of the apostles' creed, the delegations of New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware, were divided; while the delegations of New Jersey and South Carolina answered in the affirmative. "And so," says the record, p. 42, "the words are to be restored, there being *two ayes, and no negative.*" The restoration of the Nicene creed was agreed to unanimously. On the question of restoring the Athanasian creed, New Jersey and Delaware were divided, and New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, answered in the negative. "And so it was determined in the negative." In communicating the result of their deliberations to the "most worthy and venerable prelates" of England, they say, "Whatever could be done towards a compliance with your fatherly wishes and advice, consistently with our local circumstances, and the peace and unity of our church, hath been done." Thus it appears that in order to secure the consecration of their bishops, the Episcopalians of the United States introduced matter into their Prayer-book, which their

own unbiased judgment disapproved, and which under other circumstances would have been left out.

It is plain, then, that for several years the Episcopalians in the United States were without a bishop. To complete their organization, it was judged necessary to obtain the consecration of proper persons, by the prelates of England. But upon examination, it was found that neither the bishops nor the archbishops had the power to consecrate them. And not until the Parliament of Great Britain passed a law especially empowering the English archbishops to perform this act, could they consecrate William White of Pennsylvania, Samuel Provost of New York, and James Madison of Virginia, bishops. This act of Parliament is a very remarkable document: it is well guarded, asserts its own authority, and places certain restrictions upon all prelates or other clergy by it introduced to the ministry. Yet this is the authority by which the prelates of England acted, when they consecrated to the office of bishop the aforementioned gentlemen. No mention is even once made of the bishops of England being the successors of the apostles. Nor did these bishops act, by virtue of their ecclesiastical or spiritual character, *but simply and alone upon the authority of an act of Parliament.* What the act of Parliament granted, that the English bishops conveyed, and just that the American bishops received, and nothing more. Had Parliament refused to pass that act, the archbishops would not have dared to consecrate Messrs. White, Provost, and Madison. Such a foundation built on secular power, is a frail reliance for men claiming to be the veritable successors of the apostles.

It is true that previous to the consecration of the three bishops above-mentioned, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, who had served as a chaplain in the British army during the war

of independence, and who had been elected by the Episcopalian ministers in Connecticut to be their bishop, had obtained the imposition of hands from the bishops of the Jacobite or nonjuring church of Scotland. It is also true that the present bishops of the Episcopalians in this country, do all trace their succession to Bishop Seabury, as well as to the three who were consecrated by the authority of the English Parliament. But the Scotch succession, such as it is, runs no farther back than to the reign of Charles II, when it was originated from the line of the English political prelates. The difference is, that Bishop Seabury obtained an unauthorized consecration from men who regarded the English revolution of 1688, as only a successful rebellion; and whom the English state church regarded in return as schismatics, and refused to recognize in any of their acts: while the other three obtained a regular and legal consecration by authority of Parliament. We ourselves believe that the one kind of consecration was just as good as the other. We believe that the American Episcopalians in organizing their institutions, did well enough in seeking the recognition of the church of England which they owned as their mother, and in acknowledging the Episcopalian Scotch church as a sister. What they did was intrinsically no more unbecoming, than it is for a Congregational church to ask the bishops of its neighbor churches to lay their hands upon its own elected pastor. But to pretend that by those consecrations, the American prelates received some virtue transmitted by personal succession from the apostles, is another affair.

In view of the foregoing facts, from authentic history, what are we compelled to think of the doctrine of apostolical succession. Links, many links are wanting in this mysterious chain. In the line of the

Popes it is frequently broken. In the English church we find an organization, created, governed, and sustained by the state: it is the church of the Parliament of Great Britain, but still excommunicated by the acknowledged true church. In the United States we find the chain sundered, the congregations absolutely independent of each other, and entirely without a bishop for years; the church is constituted on the principle of voluntary association, and its first bishops are consecrated in England by the authority of Parliament. We are compelled to adopt the conclusion to which the Rev. J. E. Riddle comes in his "Plea for Episcopacy." London, 1839, p. 72 of the preface. "Whatever may become of the apostolic succession as a *theory* or as an institute, *it is impossible*, at all events, to *prove the fact of such succession*, or to

trace it down the stream of time. In this case, the fact seems to involve the doctrine; and if the fact be *hopelessly obscure*, the doctrine is *irrecoverably lost*. It is impossible to prove the personal succession of modern bishops, in an unbroken Episcopal line, from the apostles or men of the apostolic age." It would be no difficult task to multiply quotations from the most learned and candid, showing that no confidence is to be placed in the doctrine of apostolical succession, as set forth by the Episcopalian of these United States. We have no objections to their entertaining the most exalted opinions of their own peculiar organization, but we do, and must most solemnly and publicly, protest against their lordly assumptions and their unchurching "church principles."

EVANGELISTS.

EVANGELISTS are expressly mentioned among the ascension gifts of Christ. When he ascended up on high, and received gifts for men, "he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some *evangelists*, and some pastors and teachers." Ephes. 4: 11. As to the particular office and work of the evangelists here spoken of, there can be no doubt. Philip was an evangelist;* and from the brief account which we have of his labors, it would seem that he was an ardent and successful itinerant minister or missionary, who, for the most part, published the gospel in regions where before it had been but little known. We first hear of him, as a preacher, at Samaria; where his

labors were followed by a great and precious revival of religion. Next, we find him instructing and baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch; some time afterwards we hear of him at Cesarea, which he seems to have made his home. Acts 21: 8.

Timothy also was an evangelist; (2 Tim. 4: 5,) and his office and work were evidently the same as those of Philip. He was the chosen companion and assistant of Paul, and often traveled with him.

Among the primitive evangelists whose names occur in the New Testament, were Titus, Luke, Mark, and many others. They were the *uninspired missionaries* of those times, who penetrated into regions near and remote, and were chiefly instrumental in spreading the gospel through the vast Roman world. Such is the account given of them in the Scriptures, and the represen-

* Not Philip the apostle; but Philip who was first a deacon. See Acts 6: 5; 21: 8.

tation is confirmed by the testimony of Eusebius. He describes the evangelists as a class of ministers who aided the apostles in their labors, not by taking the charge of churches, but by acting as itinerant preachers and teachers, wherever their assistance was necessary.*

Very nearly resembling them in point of office and work, are the missionaries of our own times; both those who go to the heathen, and those who labor in the more destitute parts of our own country. Such men are pioneers in the Christian conflict and work, who break up the ground, and prepare the way for pastors to come after them. Their duties are not only prior, in the order of nature and time, to those of the settled pastor, but they possess, to say the least, an equal importance. They more nearly resemble those of the apostles; and such men have a better claim to be called *successors of the apostles* than, perhaps, any other in the world. Would that evangelists of this primitive stamp were multiplied an hundred fold. The world hath need of them.

But there is another sense in which the term evangelist is now frequently used; and it is the class of men which the word, so used, designates, about which we are here to inquire. These are not missionaries to the heathen, or to the destitute within our own borders, but *revivalists by profession*, whose calling it is to labor in the midst of churches and pastors, to stir them up to a consideration of their duties and delinquencies, and take the lead in promoting revivals of religion. Such an order of evangelists are regarded by some as of great importance in the church; as constituting an instrumentality which can hardly be dispensed with. The question before us is, *Are they needed? Are they to be counte-*

nanced and encouraged? Is such a class of laborers contemplated in the Scriptures? Is a system of evangelism, after this pattern, to be entered upon, and provision to be made for it accordingly?

In replying to these questions, we remark, in the first place, that when the gospel has been preached in any section of country, and churches have been established having the requisite ability to support religious institutions, God's method of procedure seems to be, to sustain such churches and build them up, and by means of them to advance the cause and kingdom of Christ, *through the instrumentality of settled pastors*. In first publishing the gospel, and organizing churches, and watching over them during their infant state, and thus preparing the way for a more settled order of things, there is need of the labors of the primitive evangelist, or (which is the same) of the modern missionary. But when this primary work is accomplished, and the way is prepared for an established ministry, God's method seems to be to *employ such a ministry*, and by means of it to accomplish in general all those purposes which the ministry, in any form, was intended to effect. Thus, when Paul and Barnabas had performed their mission in the region of Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, and had confirmed the souls of the disciples, and exhorted them to continue steadfast in the faith, *they ordained them elders in every church*; and "when they had prayed, with fasting, they commended them to the Lord on whom they believed." Acts 14: 23. So when Paul, assisted by evangelists, had passed through the island of Crete, and many had been converted, and churches had been gathered, he departed, leaving Titus behind him, that he might "set in order the things that were wanting, and *ordain elders in every city*." Tit. 1: 5. In Paul's enumeration

* Ecc. Hist. V, 9.

of our Savior's ascension gifts to his church, the apostles, prophets, and evangelists were *first* mentioned, and appropriately so, as their office was to go *before* the pastors and teachers and prepare the way for them. The mention of pastors and teachers naturally followed. But no class of church officers was appointed to follow *them*. When *they* had been introduced and established, on them rested the responsibility of laboring "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." If God's method of procedure is such as is clearly indicated in the passages here referred to, then the question of evangelists, in the modern sense of the term, would seem to be settled. To raise up and send forth a class of ministers to itinerate in the midst of churches and pastors, for the purpose of stirring them up to a consideration of their duties, and promoting revivals of religion among them, is to break in upon the settled order of the gospel, and undertake to alter and improve what God has established.

Our second remark in regard to the question before us, is, that where pastors are what they should be, and what the Scriptures require them to be, the labors of the evangelist (in the modern sense of the term) are *not needed*. Let any one take into consideration the qualifications of ministers, as laid down by our Savior in his instructions to his disciples, or by Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus—"blameless, vigilant, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach,"—"sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word, that they may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and convince the gainsayers;" and say, what need can such pastors have of the labors of evangelists, to stir them up to diligence and fidelity, and promote religion in the congregations of their charge?

They are themselves diligent and faithful men, who "hold fast the faithful word" of the gospel; who preach it with energy and power; who accompany it with prayers and labors, and enforce it by a blameless life; and to obtrude evangelists into the pulpits of such men, with a view to excite them to greater diligence, and effect among their people what they can not accomplish, must certainly (to make the best of it) be regarded as a superfluity. It is a thing not needed, and of course uncalled for.

Accordingly we remark, third, that an evangelist can not be introduced, under such circumstances, without an implied reflection upon the character of the pastor, and without sinking his reputation in the minds of his people. If the pastor is what he should be, and has health and strength for his work, the evangelist is not needed. Hence, if he is needed, or if any considerable portion of a congregation think that he is needed; this is as much as to say, that the pastor is deficient. 'Our minister is ignorant, and needs to be enlightened. Or he is dull and stupid, and needs to be awakened. At least, he does not understand the subject of revivals, and needs some one to teach and guide him in this most important department of his labors.' On supposition that a pastor is in health, and is *physically* competent to the discharge of his duties, we do not see how an evangelist can be needed, unless the pastor is deficient in some one, or all, of the respects here referred to; or how he can be called in, so that the fact of calling him shall not seem to utter itself in language like that which has been given. And it needs no great acquaintance with men and things to understand, that a pastor can not long live, and retain his reputation and influence under such circumstances. He must inevitably sink, at least for a time. He may re-

cover himself after a season, when his people shall have become sensible of their mistake, and better counsels shall prevail; but the probability rather is, that division and alienation will be excited, the church will be rent asunder, and a dissolution of the pastoral relation will ensue. For when the real condition of a pastor under the tutelage of an evangelist comes to be understood, it is impossible that he should feel easy in it. And his friends will be as ill-satisfied as himself. And now the bone of contention begins to show itself. A part of the congregation will adhere to the old minister, and a part to the new. A part will be for old measures, and a part for new. And a state of things will speedily be induced, which, if it should not issue in a permanent division of the church, will seem to require that both ministers should depart, and make room for one against whom there are no prejudices, he having had no hand in the strife.

Or if such a result is not reached in this way, it may be in another. The effect of employing evangelists must necessarily be to break up the quiet, settled habits of a people, and induce what the apostle denominates "itching ears." They are fond of excitement and of change, and like the Athenians of old, would be glad to "spend their time in nothing else, but to tell or to hear some new thing." They think little of steady, holy living, but much of impulses and impressions; and he who is most successful in exciting these, is to them the best minister. An uneven, fitful state of religious feeling is produced, lacking consistency, lacking uniformity. When a revival of religion is felt to be needed, instead of humbling themselves before God, and seeking blessings at his hands, the first thought is, to send for an evangelist. Nothing can be done to any purpose without him. While he is

present, all hands engage in the work; but when he retires, exertion is relaxed, and the excitement is followed by a season of slumber. Such a state of things in a church and society, we need not say, is a most undesirable one, promising little improvement or comfort to a people, and rendering the situation of the pastor most precarious and unhappy.

In every view which we can take of the subject, therefore, we are constrained to regard the employment of evangelists as of destructive influence, both upon pastors and people. It is a breaking in, as we have shown, upon the established order of the gospel, and would result, if pursued, in the total *breaking up* and *dissolution* of that order. From the nature of the case, modern evangelists and settled pastors can not long exist together. Hence, if the former are to be extensively patronized, the latter must soon disappear from the church. And then our congregations must either do without ministers, or must depend for a supply upon itinerants and evangelists. In a little time, the ministerial character would lose all respect; and were it not that we rely on the sure promise of God, we should fear that the Christian name might become extinct in the earth.

There is another view in which this question of evangelists may be considered; we mean in its bearing on the *evangelists themselves*. What kind of ministers will the system, if adopted, be likely to produce? What sort of characters will it have a tendency to form?

It is obvious that these itinerants can not be men of much reading and writing, of laborious study, of solid learning. Their course of life absolutely forbids it.

Nor will they be likely to be *stable* men, men of foresight and judgment, who will form their plans with a far-reaching wisdom, and with a view to remote as well as immedi-

ate results. Their calling rather requires, that they be ardent, excitable, easily moved and easily led on by the force of their feelings to extravagance of speech, and to doubtful expedients. And this infirmity of character, which the very nature of their calling seems to demand, the exercise of it is calculated to foster. Living in the midst of excitement, they come, at length, to live *upon it*. They feel that they can hardly live without it. And as they go from place to place, with the responsibility of creating an excitement resting upon them, they have strong inducements to have recourse to questionable means for this purpose. They must indulge in eccentricities, if not extravagancies. They must say and do exciting, startling things. Aware that their services will be estimated, and sought after, according to the measure of their success, they have strong temptations to magnify their successes; to represent conversion as an easy work; to swell the number of the converted; and with slight examination, to hasten them into the church. And if the thought sometimes comes over them, "peradventure these persons may fall away, and give the church and the pastor trouble," they comfort themselves with *hoping* better things, and with reflecting "if any do fall away, and make trouble in the church, we shall be off, and shall have no concern with it."

Nor are these evangelists out of danger, in respect to their *own characters and lives*. Claiming as they do, to take the lead in all movements pertaining to revivals, they naturally become arrogant and overbearing. And exposed, as they are, to a good deal of contradiction, their spirits are liable to be embittered, and their words to become as sharp arrows. They judge uncharitably of those who may honestly differ from them, and not unfrequently charge them with fighting against God.

We do not regard the persons of

whom we thus speak as worse, by nature, than other men. We do not call in question their sincerity, or their piety; or suppose them to be actuated, necessarily, by bad intentions. But their employment is without warrant in the Scriptures, and is manifestly one of *dangerous influence*, not only upon the church at large, but upon their own spiritual interests. If they think themselves called to the work of evangelists, then let them do as did the primitive evangelists. Let them press out into the missionary fields of the world, which are all white and ready for the harvest. Here let them labor, and organize churches, and prepare the way for settled pastors; instead of pressing upon pastors already settled, and preparing the way for their dismissal. For the labors of the evangelist of the primitive stamp, there is abundant authority in the Scriptures, and a loud and impressive call in the present condition of the world. But for evangelists, in the modern sense of the term, we find no authority in the Scriptures; and we think that their labors, in the general, however well intended, will be followed with more injury than benefit.

We are aware that there are objections to the reasonings here employed, and it may be well, before closing, that some of these should be considered.

It will be said, in the first place, that God sometimes raises up men, and fits them eminently to labor as evangelists, when they are qualified for almost nothing else. They are not adapted to a settled course of life. They could not long discharge the duties of pastors, if they were to become such. But to move round among pastors and churches, and rouse them up to engagedness in duty, and promote revivals of religion, they are specially qualified. The case of the late Mr. Whitefield is often referred to, as one peculiarly in point.

In reply to this, we remark first of all, that it is to evangelism as a *system* that we object, rather than to the occasional reception of an individual, whom God shall seem to have raised up, for this very purpose.

The case of Mr. Whitefield was a very singular one; and the circumstances under which he entered upon his course of itineracy, were altogether peculiar. The great body of the clergy of the church of England, among whom he was educated, were at that time not evangelical. They neither understood nor taught the way of salvation. His country was to him, therefore, like one great missionary field. Then it is to be remembered, that the pulpits of the church to which he belonged, were almost universally shut against him. A pastoral charge in that church, was out of the question. He *must* itinerate, or not preach at all. He was compelled, often, to preach in the open fields, and in the corners of the streets.

It is to be remembered, too, that most of his preaching tours were undertaken, not for the mere purpose of evangelism, but with a view to collect money for a charitable object. His orphan asylum pressed heavily on his hands, and he was obliged to take up collections, wherever he could gain access, for the purpose of supporting it. The circumstances here referred to, render the case of Whitefield so totally unlike that of evangelists at the present day, that there can be no reasoning from the one to the other.

After all, it must be admitted, that Whitefield was an extraordinary character. Extraordinary circumstances called him forth, and he met those circumstances as no other man could. He created some disorders, and was the occasion in some instances, more particularly in the early part of his life, of inflicting injury. But on the whole, he accomplished a vast amount of good. We are far from condemning or censuring the

course of life which he pursued. When the Lord raises up another Whitefield, and places him in the like circumstances, we will consent that he shall pursue a similar course. But let not every novice—every vagrant vociferator fancy himself a Whitefield. Let not others rise up, of a different spirit, and under entirely different circumstances, and call themselves evangelists, and shelter themselves under the name of Whitefield. The imitators of Whitefield did not a little mischief, in his own age. They will be likely to do mischief in any age. For he was one whom no man living *can* imitate. We repeat, when God raises up another Whitefield, Christ's ministers and churches should be ready to receive him. But let no encouragement be taken from his example, to introduce a *system* of evangelism, and make provision for it, which must operate as a constant disturbing force in the church, and ultimately break up the established order of the gospel.

It may be said again, that churches and pastors often need to be awakened;—need just that kind of influence to be exerted on them, which a glowing, flaming evangelist will be likely to infuse. If a church has become stupid, and needs to be awakened, the pastor is the appropriate instrument for this purpose; and if the pastor is asleep, as well as the church, there are many ways in which *he* may be awakened, without making any stated provision for this purpose. To institute a system and make provision for it, with a view to awaken dull and sleepy pastors, would convey just that reflection upon pastors, of which we have before complained. It may be feared, too, that it would induce more drowsiness than it would remove. The system would carry, on the face of it, that pastors were expected to be dull sometimes, and were to a certain extent excusable in their dullness. As little or nothing could be

done without the aid of the evangelist, the pastor might be excused, during the interval of his visits, in relaxing effort, and living somewhat at his ease, that in this way he might be the better prepared for future operations.

It has been further urged, in favor of evangelists, that faithful pastors have often more labor on their hands than they can perform, and stand in need of assistance. And are there not various ways in which burthened pastors may receive assistance, without raising up evangelists for this express purpose? Must the incompetency of pastors for the full discharge of their duties be presumed on before hand, and a corps in reserve be prepared to meet it? Or shall a pastor and church, when an exigency of this kind occurs, be left to provide for it as circumstances at the time shall seem to dictate? To propose questions such as these is virtually to answer them. The right answer is so obvious, that it can not possibly be mistaken.

Again, it is urged that evangelists, in some instances, have *done much good*, and God has signally *blessed their labors*; a thing which he would not have done, if he did not approve of the system. That evangelists, in some cases, have been a means of good, we do not doubt. And that, in other cases, they have done injury—*much injury*, can be, we think, as little questioned. That they have been productive, on the whole, of more injury than benefit, and that, should the employment of them be continued and brought into a system, their injurious influences would predominate over the good in greater proportion than has yet been realized, is to our minds exceedingly obvious.

That God has, in some instances, blessed the labors of evangelists, is no proof that the system of resorting to them meets his approbation. God loves and honors *his own truth*, by whomsoever dispensed. He has made it the means of conversions, and of revivals of religion, when dispensed (as it often has been) by unregenerate men. Yet who would infer from this, that God calls unregenerate men to preach his gospel, or that he approves of their course of life? No more can it be inferred, from the fact that God sometimes blesses the labors of evangelists, that the course they pursue is in accordance with his will.

Finally, it is said that souls are perishing, and that no likely means of bringing them to repentance, are to be discouraged. It is admitted, indeed, that souls are perishing; but it has been often said, and said truly, that even souls may be saved at too dear a rate. If we enter upon a course of means, and are successful in it, for the salvation of one soul, which necessarily involves the destruction of ten; our instrumentality on the whole, is more an injury than a benefit. Convinced of this, many excellent men, once evangelists, have sought the pastoral office, and are now eminently useful.

God knows the worth of perishing souls better than we do. He appreciates them more justly, and values them more highly. He has instituted a course of means for their salvation. And it will be safe for us to follow the course which he has instituted, and await the result, rather than incur the hazard of breaking in upon it, and subverting it, by our own inventions.

PECK ON THE RULE OF FAITH.*

OUR brethren of the Methodist Episcopal church, by their efficient agency for the publication of books, have put forth of late several works in defense of the common Christianity against the assumptions and errors of the self-styled Catholicity, which we hope will have a circulation like their character—truly catholic. One of these is the volume by Dr. Peck on the Rule of Faith. As we have lately discussed the Protestant principle at some length in our own pages, we will confine ourselves at this time to such an account of Dr. P.'s work as may answer the purpose of recommending it to the Christian public at large. This we shall do by giving the author an opportunity to speak for himself.

The volume is divided into four chapters. In the first the traditional system is stated and examined. In the second the chief arguments in favor of that system are examined and refuted. In the third the author advances various "considerations in opposition to the claims of tradition as a divine informant." And in the fourth is given direct "proof that Scripture is a sufficient rule of faith and practice."

In the first chapter, the author after treating of the origin and nature of the question which he proposes to discuss, proceeds to exhibit "the twofold rule," as held by those who reject the Protestant principle that the Bible alone is authority in religion. The most accurate exhibition of the theory in any one statement is the following, which Archdeacon Manning in his work on

the Rule of Faith ("which work," says Dr. P., "being a temperate, learned, and sensible production, for one of the class, and held in high estimation by churchmen, I make the basis of the traditional theory as held by them") adopts from Dr. Hammond, a divine of the seventeenth century, of the Laudean school, and now highly in favor with the Oxford divines.

"And to this also my concession shall be as liberal as any Romanist can wish, that there are *two* ways of conveying such revelation to us: one in *writing*, the other by *oral tradition*; the former, in the *Gospels*, and other *writings* of the apostles, &c. which make up the sacred writ, or canon of the New Testament; the latter, in the apostles' *preachings* to the churches of their plantations, which are no where set down for us in the *sacred writ*, but conserved as *deposita* by them to whom they were intrusted."

"I make no scruple to grant, that *apostolical traditions*, such as are truly so, as well as *apostolical writings*, are *equally* the *matter* of that *Christian belief*, which is equally secured by the fidelity of the conveyance; that as one is *apostolical writing*, so the other is *apostolical tradition*."

"According to all this," says Dr. P. after an extended examination of authors, "the system of divine revelation is composed of two parts, one written and the other oral—the Scriptures and tradition—one the *record*, and the other the *explanation*, *equally essential* and of *equal authority*. This is precisely the view of the Tractarians and the Romanists."

"Let it not be pretended, then, that Roman Catholics are heretical and Anglican Catholics orthodox, when they maintain the same general ground. They are brethren, why should they disagree? They must stand or fall together, in spite of their mutual criminations, and exclusive assumptions of orthodoxy."

"Their fundamental principles are the same, their mode of development sometimes differs; but the discrepancies between the leading teachers of the two schools are scarcely so great as those which are discoverable between leading and learned doctors of each school respectively among themselves."

The Anglo-Catholics are at great pains to make out a difference be-

* Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense; or, an answer to the question, What constitutes the divine Rule of Faith and Practice? By George Peck, D.D. New York, G. Lane & P. P. Sandford, 1844.

tween their principle of tradition and the principle of tradition as held by the Roman Catholics. The difference, however, such as it is, lies not in the principle so much as in the application of it. One party proves some things by the authority of tradition and the church, which the other rejects by the same authority. Our author goes into an examination of the pretended distinctions as to the rule of faith between these two warring catholicities, and in conclusion he remarks :

"To what, then, does this wonderful difference between Roman and Anglican Catholics amount? Why, simply that they have a somewhat different nomenclature—that they have a different mode of expressing the same thing. Both hold that the authority of the church is paramount, and her decisions final. Both hold that Scripture is defective as a rule of faith without the definitions and explanations of tradition. And both hold that the church has a right to decree articles of faith not expressed in the creed."

Is tradition the rule and exponent of the Christian faith? If so, how are we to know what it is which tradition teaches? One of the sections of Dr. Peck's first chapter is entitled "Tradition a Witness—the Church a Witness."

"The asserters of tradition," says Dr. P. "represent it as a *teacher* of the *sense* of Scripture. In further explaining themselves, they tell us that the fathers are mere *witnesses of facts*; that is, their testimony goes to the *fact* that such and such doctrines were received by the church in their respective ages. But in collecting their testimony, they do not confine themselves to the formal statements of the fathers that such are the doctrines of the church, but they embrace all their didactic and other writings—the decrees of synods and councils—creeds, liturgies, &c. &c. From all these they make up a theology, and assume that the doctrines herein set forth are the doctrines of the church catholic, and that the authors of these various records are making formal and solemn *depositions* of doctrines believed and usages practiced by the church catholic."

"But the fathers are not only made witnesses of apostolical tradition, but 'the church' is made a witness of the sense of the fathers. That is, the church testifies to individuals what the fathers testify to her."

How then is tradition made accessible to the people? Another section exhibits this part of the subject. If the church merely directs to the writings of her fathers and doctors as the authoritative exposition of Christianity, and as containing the true traditions, the people, obviously, will be left very much in the dark.

"It would be utterly overwhelming to an ordinary mind to be told that we must read a cart-load of Greek and Latin folios before we can certainly know what we must do to be saved. Well, what is the process by which 'the church' draws the precious treasure from the mine of antiquity, and imparts it to her hungry children, even 'without their seeking it?' Do all her priests read and understand all the holy fathers, the decrees of councils, &c.? Not one in a hundred of them has ever read, in the originals, half a dozen of the fathers. The English church, for the present, until she can, by the aid of her faithful sons and mighty champions at Oxford, save herself from her 'present degraded position,' points her children to her book of Common Prayer as a faithful, if not an *infallible* echo of antiquity. Mr. Newman says the church of England '*transmits the ancient Catholic faith simply and intelligibly—to follow the church, THEN, in this day, is to follow the Prayer-book.*'"

The last section of this first chapter is entitled, "Principles upon which Tradition is to be interpreted."

"When we come to particulars," says Dr. P. "we find that these infallible guides (the fathers) have left many things upon record which *we must not believe*, and so great is the difficulty, after all, of settling the true catholic doctrine by this means, that we stand in need of certain rules of judgment by which we must be governed in our conclusions. We must have a *rule of faith to judge of the application of the rule of faith*. The rule we are to carry with us in the study of tradition is embraced in these three words: 'universality, antiquity, and consent.' This rule is itself quite ancient, being proposed by Vincentius Lirinensis, or Vincent of Lirin, a monk of the fifth century."

"All we have to do, then, when we would find what God would have us to believe or do, is to find out from the fathers, 1. What has the sanction of the *universal church*—or what has been received every where. This we shall learn as soon as we can become acquainted with the opinions of every branch of the

Catholic church from the days of the apostles down to the time of Vincent, and collate and compare them, and gather out of them a common sentiment. And when this small task is performed, then we must find out, 2. What is most *ancient*. This will require no little attention, for some fathers and some doctrines are older than others. If, then, we find a doctrine or a usage to be *older* than its opposite, so far we are safe; but we must mind well our dates, or we are at once far from the course. 3. More than all this: all our doctrines and usages must have the sanction of *consent*. They must be, as our oracle says, 'the definitions and opinions of *almost* all, if not all, the bishops and teachers in the ancient church.' In finding out this we must, of course, consult with great care all that 'almost all the bishops and teachers' have said; a work which a monk, in the course of a long life of seclusion from society, might partially, and could but partially, accomplish. But we must go the whole course before we can be sure we are right. What a glorious way this! We may lay the Scriptures aside, and just find out what has been believed *everywhere, at all times, and by all men*, and then we understand the whole mystery of the faith!"

Of this, Bishop Stillingfleet, as quoted p. 79, says: "*He (Vincent) hath put men to a wild goose chase to find out anything according to his rule.*" But, as Mr. Newman and the Oxford divines have improved on this rule and given one more practicable, viz. the Prayer-book, this book, as a rule of faith, Dr. P. examines, and concludes his examination thus—

"I will now submit the question to any churchman, high or low, after leaving out the selections from the Bible, which part of the Common Prayer came from the apostles? Will he say the creeds? These, we have seen, came into being piecemeal, and were not perfected until the fourth or fifth century. Will he say the liturgy and offices? According to the best high-church authority, no liturgy was reduced to writing during the first ages of Christianity, and 'posterity were not precisely tied up to the use of' the first liturgies, 'but might frame others at their own discretion'; and after the liturgies were reduced to writing, which was in later ages, scarcely a vestige of the first of these compositions escaped the ravages of time. But will he say the Thirty-nine Articles came from the apostles? This would be too shocking to common sense; for there is the clearest *prima facie* evidence, to say nothing of the evidence of history, that either as to their language, or senti-

ment, or both, these Articles originated subsequent to the Reformation. What now is left to which any sensible man will be disposed to accord the honor of apostolic origin? Nothing; absolutely nothing."

The arguments in favor of tradition as a part of the rule of faith are stated in the second chapter with much candor, in the words of the most learned and able traditionists, and are thoroughly refuted. Indeed, what a well instructed Christian needs on this subject is little else than a plain, full statement of the arguments by which the supposed authority of tradition is maintained. To a man who reads the Bible, the statement of such arguments is itself, for the most part, a sufficient refutation. For example:

"Mr. Newman asks, 'How do we know that Scripture comes from God?' and answers, 'It can not be denied that of this age receive it *upon general tradition*; we receive through tradition both the *Bible itself*, and the doctrine that it is divinely inspired. The sacred volume itself, as well as the *doctrine of its inspiration*, comes to us by traditional conveyance. We receive the New Testament in its existing shape by tradition."

This is one of the main pillars of the argument. Does it need to be refuted? Suppose we should say, it is by tradition that we are informed of the fact that Cicero wrote the Tusculan questions; therefore we can not presume to understand that book except as tradition informs us of its meaning:—would any man think of refuting such an argument?

The third chapter, containing considerations in opposition to the claims of tradition as a divine informant, consists of five sections. The first, treating of "the improbabilities which oppose the system of tradition, is brief but forcible."

"The common sense of men, in all ages of the world, has uniformly decided that oral tradition is an uncertain mode of transmitting facts and principles from age to age."

With pertinence our author asks:

"Why did not the church of England leave her Thirty-nine Articles and her hundred and forty one canons to the *safe and certain* method of oral transmission

'from hand to hand,' instead of making them matters of record? If oral tradition is a safe and certain method of conveying the sense of Scripture—the doctrines and discipline of the church—why do not churchmen and Romanists adopt it? Why have we in writing the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, and the Articles and Homilies of the church of England?"

The second section is on "the analogy between the doctrine of tradition as held by Catholics, and that held by the Jews and condemned by Christ." The argument in this section is ingenious and convincing, but not easily exhibited without larger citations than our limits will admit. The conclusion is—

"If the two systems present a perfect parallel in all their essential features and practical workings, then Christ, in condemning the one, condemns the other. And who will attempt to prove, that what was once so evil is now very good—that what Christ, in the days of his flesh, abhorred and condemned, he now loves—and what once made 'void the commandments of God,' now constitutes an essential part of those commandments, or is, at least, necessary to their right interpretation?"

There is one passage which is such a jewel of Roman and Oxford sense, that we can not forbear to quote it.

"Cardinal Baronius says, 'Tradition is the foundation of Scriptures, and excels them in this, that the Scriptures can not subsist unless they be strengthened by traditions; but traditions have strength enough without Scripture.' Linden says, 'Traditions are the most certain foundations of faith, the most sure ground of the sacred Scriptures, the impenetrable buckler of Ajax, the suppressors of all heresies. On the other side, the Scripture is a vase of wax, a dead and killing letter without life, a mere shell without a kernel, a leaden rule, a wood of thieves, a shop of heretics.'"

Proceeding in this part of his argument, our author proves that Catholic tradition is wanting in divine authority,—that its records are doubtful or defective,—and that traditionists do not follow out their own principles. Of this swerving from the dictates of tradition, we must be allowed to give one striking instance quoted from Goode.

"Standing at prayer on Sundays, and during the period between Easter and Whitsuntide.

"The author of the 'Questions and Answers to the Orthodox,' in the Works of Justin Martyr, gives the following question and answer: 'Why on Sundays, and from Easter to Whitsuntide, do they not kneel when praying? And whence was this custom introduced into the churches?' The answer is, that we are to stand at those times, as a sign of the resurrection; and it is added, that 'the custom commenced from the apostolical times, as the blessed Irenæus, martyr and bishop of Lyons, says.'—*Quest.* 115, *Inter Op. Just.*

"Now let us hear Tertullian: 'We account it a crime to kneel at prayer on Sundays.'—*Tertull. De Cor. Mil.*, c. 3.

"Lastly. We have the determination of the great Council of Nice: 'Since there are some who kneel on the Sunday and at Whitsuntide, in order that all things may be observed alike in every diocese, the holy synod decrees that they shall offer their prayers to God standing.'—*Can. xx, Justell. Cod.*, tom. i.

"Can our opponents get better testimony in the fathers to the apostolicity and importance of any custom of the primitive church than we have here? But the Romanists themselves have wholly rejected this custom."

The fourth chapter, containing proof that Scripture is a sufficient rule of faith and practice, consists of four sections. The first treats of the proof from the Scriptures themselves. Our author proves the *intelligibility* and *sufficiency* of the Scriptures, (1.) By passages "which express the doctrine of the suitability and sufficiency of the Scriptures to instruct us in religion." (2.) By the fact that "portions of the sacred writings, as difficult to be understood as any of the Bible, are addressed expressly to the membership of the church, and not to any authorized expounders of God's word." (3.) By the fact that "in these same Scriptures, which we are told are so hard to be understood that we can not be sure of the true sense until we have consulted tradition, we find all classes of persons, not excepting those in the meanest condition in life, particularly addressed."

Dr. P. lays down five propositions,

which are fully sustained in his work, that settle the matter satisfactorily.

"1. All things essential to salvation are contained in Holy Scripture.

"2. All those matters of faith or practice, contained in Holy Scripture, which are essential to salvation, are clearly and simply stated, and easy to be understood.

"3. Those things in the Scriptures not plainly and simply set forth, and not easily understood, are not essential to salvation.

"4. There is no evidence that there is couched in those portions of Scripture of difficult interpretation any new doctrine of faith or moral duty, not clearly set forth in other parts of the sacred volume.

"5. The corruptions of the Christian doctrine and institutions have not generally originated from the principle or practice of private interpretation, but from the unhallowed union of philosophy, falsely so called, with the Christian system, or the admixture of heathen or Jewish errors with the simple truth; and these unholy associations and unauthorized admixtures have come in through the *doctors* and professed spiritual *guides* of the church."

The second section gives the views of the fathers on the sufficiency of the Scriptures as the rule of faith. This is of course "argumentum ad hominem." The very witnesses whose testimony is to be added to the Scriptures, testify in favor of the Scriptures as the only rule. The object of the third section is "to show that prior to the Council of Trent, there was no universal consent, even in the Romish church, in favor of the doctrine of tradition, as now maintained by Romanists and high churchmen." The fourth and last section is on Church of England authorities, and proves that though the "element of Protestantism early infused into the English church never became universal, owing to the fact that the reformation in Great Britain became connected with a great civil and political change," yet "the true principles of the Reformation have been recognized by many of the great lights of the church of England, and are found in her authorized standards of doctrine."

The work is really, though not

ostentatiously, learned, evincing thorough, patient and laborious investigation. It presents to the reader, within a moderate compass, abundant quotations from writers of all ages of the church, and all those results of the study of scholars, which are necessary to a full understanding of the subject. Its style, though not ornate, is perspicuous and forcible.

We thank Dr. P. for this volume, and cheerfully commend it to the public as an important contribution to the true Protestant cause. The same materials are undoubtedly accessible to scholars in other and more costly volumes; but this volume brings the question within the reach of every reader. It contains a candid, comprehensive, and satisfactory discussion of a subject which the signs of the times declare to be second in importance to no other. We reëcho his catholic exhortation:

"This is not the time for the watchman to sleep. The enemy is sowing his tares with an industry worthy of a good cause. Let the lovers of truth, then, come to the rescue! Let the evangelical denominations leave their petty differences, and unite in the support and diffusion of the great doctrines of the Reformation, or, to speak more properly, *the great doctrines of the Bible.*"

It is exceedingly gratifying to us to see that there is a growing union of evangelical Christian denominations against the advocates and adherents of the high-church system. It is the Protestant league against a professed and attempted monopoly of the covenanted mercies of God, which, being equally unscriptural and unreasonable, is bigoted, arrogant, and impudent beyond description. To all the divisions of this evangelical army we give the right hand of fellowship, and pledge ourselves to a hearty co-operation in this warfare, which, we believe, will be effectual through God for repelling the onset, and pulling down the strong holds of a dead and deadly formalism.

BISHOP BROWNELL'S ATTORNEY ON "NEW ENGLANDISM."

WE have before us what purports to be an examination of the article in our last number, on Bishop Brownell's "Errors of the Times." It is a pamphlet of a somewhat imposing exterior, the author of which, in a prefatory note inscribing his work to the Bishop, signs himself "Juris Consultus," which being interpreted is Lawyer. Who this lawyer is, we are happily not bound to conjecture. But it seems a little odd that the "bishop of the diocese of Connecticut," has neither priest nor deacon, whom he can put forward in his behalf, but is obliged to borrow help, in this theological debate, from another profession. We find no fault with this arrangement. We cheerfully concede to the "right reverend father," the privilege of carrying on the controversy by his attorney. Yet we can not but wish, that the bishop may find for the next job, an attorney of more honor and honesty, if not of more capacity. We have seriously doubted, for reasons which will be sufficiently illustrated as we proceed, whether we ought to notice so absurd a medley of blundering arguments mixed up with low arts as we have in the pamphlet before us. But the avowed and acknowledged relation of the writer to the Episcopal church as represented by its head, in one of the most important of its dioceses, gives him a title to consideration, independent of his personal merits as exhibited in his work. The official, or semi-official character of the work, may give it an influence with careless and easy readers, which a little exposure will sufficiently counteract. And as this

writer is one who seems to measure the conclusiveness of a reply by the suddenness with which it follows the sophistry replied to, we devote a few pages to him now, asking our readers to pardon us for giving so much more space to the Episcopalian controversy in this Number, than we intended.†

The first complaint which our learned counsellor at law prefers against the review of his client's unfortunate "charge," respects the "taste and style" of the reviewer. And under this head the most alarming specification is that the reviewer betrays a familiarity with the writings of Shakspeare! Had this been imputed as a moral delinquency, it might have been worth the while to reply with an *argumentum ad hominem*, by asking him to tell us whether a laughing allusion to a scene in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ought to shock the sensibilities of one who makes a solemn quotation of ribaldry from one of Burns's most immoral and demoralizing poems. But as the objection is only a matter of taste, we will simply remember

† "The New Englander," our author tells us, with an air of triumph, "took nine months in preparing a review of Chapin's *Primitive Church*, and six months in preparing a review of the Bishop's charge." As to Chapin's *Primitive Church*, it may be some satisfaction to the learned gentleman before us, to be informed that the review of that interesting work was written—nearly all of it—with a censurable haste, sheet by sheet, while the compositor was setting it up for the press. As to "the Bishop's charge," if there are in the review of it, any roughnesses, which a little revision might have smoothed down, they must be ascribed to the haste with which it was written, the engagements of the gentleman to whom it was assigned, having prevented his attending to it till so late a day that we had given up the expectation of receiving it, and had filled up our number to its usual size with other articles.

* New Englandism not the Religion of the Bible; being an examination of a review of Bishop Brownell's fourth charge to his clergy, in the *New Englander* for Jan. 1844. Hartford, 1844. 8vo. pp. 60.

the "somewhat musty" canon, "*De gustibus*," &c. If the writer of this pamphlet is of opinion that Robert Burns, "the inimitable Scotch poet" of his admiration, is dignified, elevated, pure, respectable, and all that; and that Shakspeare is decidedly "low and vulgar;" we can only say that it would be a loss of time to dispute about such things. If he prefers his own "taste and style," or the "taste and style" of his bishop, to that of the reviewer,—so be it.

But he deems our reviewer's style defective in respect to "purity and delicacy;" and of this he gives his readers some astounding specimens. The reviewer, describing the ludicrous figure which the bishop makes in trying to be more fanatical than his good nature will allow, says: "To complete the picture, we must go into the convention and hear 'the charge' exploded." Then, having spoken of the admiration and gratulations of the convention at the sound, he adds, "But alas! when the judgments of a respectable body of men are inflated by some petty gust of fanaticism, how little are they aware of the figure they make in the eyes of sober and judicious people, who are not sympathetically infected. To such 'the charge' sounded more like that trifling combustion which is heard at the other end of the gun." The pamphlet writer makes a reference to this passage for his first illustration of the reviewer's impurity and indelicacy of style, and says, "The 'exploding' of the bishop's charge, as its delivery is called by our militant reviewer, is compared to '*a whizzing sound heard at the*' — '*of the gun*.'" Is this honest? Suppose the writer had simply copied the passage as we have done; who could have supposed any impurity or indelicacy? The pretended quotation is a falsehood in letter and in spirit. An attorney guilty of such tricks ought to be put over the bar. The indelicacy is every way his

own. It is obviously like the wit of those compositions which the poet speaks of,

—"interdash'd with many a stroke—
An art contriv'd to advertise a joke,
So that the jest is clearly to be seen,
Not in the words—but in the gap between."

We hope the quotation may be pardoned, inasmuch as it is not from Shakspeare.

The second head of complaint imputes to the reviewer a lack of "courtesy." What may be this writer's ideas of "courtesy" in language, of "purity and delicacy," and of good taste in general, may be inferred perhaps from the language which he uses in this pamphlet. "Rebels"—"heretics"—"deliberate barbarity"—"slang of a Kentucky boatman"—"lingo of St. Giles"—"thieves' Latin"—"Billingsgate"—"blackguardism,"—these are specimens of the language which he uses in speaking of those whom he considers his opponents. We repeat these words of his, not to complain of them, but to show the folly of his complaint. The Episcopalians of Connecticut are quite welcome to call us "rebels" and "heretics" to our faces, if they think it will do them any good; such names from them do us no harm. They may call us "dissenters" if they please; though we must have the liberty of telling them that their use of that word betrays not only arrogance and insolence, but a laughable ignorance of their true position in society. What kind of names they give us habitually in conversation among themselves, we care not to inquire—they know; and their consciences can inform them whether they do well to complain if now and then their doctrines, their proceedings, and their publications are spoken of with some degree of freedom. For our part, we are willing to have it understood on all sides, and acted upon, that the differences between the Gospel as we receive it, and the

system held by the party which the writer of this pamphlet represents,—are of the most serious nature. If the men of that party are right, we—i. e. all who are not Episcopalians—are rebels and heretics; and there is no evil in saying so. If they are right, we—i. e. all Protestants who are not of their church, and some who are—have embraced a system which is not Christianity; and why should they not say so in the plainest and most expressive words they can command? If they are wrong, the false principles which they assume and proclaim, involve a hateful arrogance against the intellect and the soul of man, and against the Gospel of the grace of God. Till we see that they are right, we intend to speak of their position and their doctrines without mincing; and till they see that we are right, we do not intend to complain of their speaking out what they think of us.

As to Bishop Brownell's charge on the "Errors of the Times"—what was it? Under the pretense of giving paternal counsel to the clerical body over which he presides, that gentleman—good natured enough when not moved upon by some influence *ab extra*—undertakes to speak out like a man, in the controversy which is shaking old England, and which has been opened in all quarters on this side of the ocean. His charge is received with great applause by his clergy and his laity; it is printed in a pamphlet, and reprinted in a newspaper; it is scattered in every direction; it is read from the pulpits of the "saints;" it is talked about in all Episcopalian circles, and urged upon non-Episcopalians, as a most extraordinary performance. Ministers and Christians of various names, Congregationalist, Methodist, Baptist, are moved to see what it is which has caused so great a commotion. At the first reading, they find it contains some

very remarkable things for a man of New England blood to utter to a New England public. He plainly denies the sufficiency of the Scriptures as the authoritative rule of faith and practice. He represents the continental Reformers as having knowingly 'dispensed with that organization of the Christian church which had prevailed from the time of the apostles,' and as having thought themselves 'at liberty' to organize new institutions 'upon such platforms as their own *ingenuity* might devise.' He indulges in the most extravagant misrepresentations of the state of religion and of religious opinions in all communions but his own. He argues that his church, to the exclusion of all others, is the "one catholic and apostolic church;" and teaches, that "through it alone are tendered all the divine promises of grace and salvation." He asserts that "the revelation of God offers salvation only through the church." The church—i. e. his own church—is his gospel; and he professes not to know "what means the wisdom and goodness [the 'uncovenanted mercy'] of God may provide for the salvation of those who have never heard the Gospel or of those whose ignorance or prejudice has induced them to reject it." He sneers at the doctrine of "a new heart," and maintains that baptism is the only regeneration. Yet upon a careful reperusal, it appears that his habitual good nature, and that love of "repose" which first made him an Episcopalian, have so frequently got the better of his desire to be thorough and uncompromising, that what he says in one sentence or paragraph, is generally softened down, and directly or indirectly contradicted in another. He would roar like one of the Oxford lions, or like some of his brother prelates in America; but his good nature revolts from the thought of terrifying his neighbors; his love of repose

is alarmed at the prospect of an excitement; and the roar that was to have shaken the Gothic arch above him, tapers off into the very gentleness of the plaintive Philomel. In some moods of mind we might have wept at the spectacle of an easy tempered old man put up to make himself so foolish before his time. But had we encountered the pamphlet in such a mood—had we exposed its solemn futilities to public contemplation with no relenting smile—it would have been indeed, a cruel process. The course taken by the reviewer was in fact the most charitable and good humored which the case would permit, without injustice to the sacred cause of truth. Some of our friends, we know, have thought that the Bishop might have been treated with still more forbearance. But let such persons read the charge; or if they have read it once, let them read it again. Such an one, a gentleman of the highest distinction in civil life, remarked, in the presence of an Episcopalian clergyman, that he thought the review too severe, acknowledging at the same time that he had not read the charge. The clergyman, rejoicing to find him so candid, sent him a copy of the charge; upon the reading of which our friend declared that he had been mistaken, and that the review was not severe enough.

The "orthodoxy" of the reviewer is a topic in respect to which the pamphlet before us contains gross and abusive misrepresentations. Dr. Brownell had spoken, with great horror, of the Socinianism and Rationalism which have had their day in the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Europe, and which he sagaciously imputes to "the erroneous notions of the right of private judgment" asserted by the continental Reformers. In reply to this, the reviewer said, "What if the churches of the German and Swiss reformations have become a prey

to rank and dismal errors? To bring the matter home at a stroke, we affirm without scruple, that with all their *heresies and frigid neologisms*, their state is yet greatly to be preferred to that of the Anglican Episcopal church. And if we were this day to import a religion, we should not hesitate, a moment, to make out an order on Germany in preference to the English episcopate." Then having intimated that this is his own private judgment for which he alone is to be held responsible, he goes on to explain and justify his opinion. And among other things he says: "There is in the German churches, in the worst estimate we can make of their faith, a spirit of freedom and intellectual activity which will soon be moved to seek some corrective for *their errors*, because of the *spiritual poverty they suffer under them*." "And we are of opinion, *much as we love sound doctrine*, that it is better to suffer a *bad heresy* for a few years, than a Pharisaism equally bad for as many centuries." Now what is the course adopted by the writer of this pamphlet, to bring suspicion on the reviewer's orthodoxy? He pretends that the reviewer, in that comparison between the continental churches and the national church of England, manifests a "sympathy" with the *neology* of Germany. "Of the present state of the English Episcopal church," he says, "it can hardly be necessary for us to speak." "But what the German heresies are, and what is their extent, is not generally as well known; and a few specimens will be added by way of illustration, showing what are the *doctrines and principles preferred by our reviewer*, to those of the English church." Accordingly, he proceeds to gather from Dr. Murdock on German Philosophy, from Prof. Norton's pamphlets against Transcendentalism, and from Rose on the state of the Protestant church

in Germany, with a most amazing show of erudition, some account of the pantheistic philosophies of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel; to which he adds, "*These are the doctrines and opinions with which our reviewer sympathizes.*" Then he retails some strange neologisms of such theologians as Paulus and Strauss, and adds, "We will not say that the man who can speak as our reviewer has done, of German theologians, does of necessity believe as they do. But we must say that the approval he gives them is *clear proof*, that they have his *sympathies to a very great extent.*" Nor is this all. As if pantheism and naturalism were a small matter, he goes on to impute to the reviewer a sympathy with Unitarianism, because of his remarks about the Oxford uproar against Mr. Everett.*

Now let us ask, Is it possible that this writer—this *Juris Consultus* as he boasts himself—believes what he says in this matter? Did not the reviewer express, again and again, a just abhorrence of the "rank and dismal errors" to which the Swiss and German churches have become a prey—"their heresies and frigid neologisms"—"the spiritual poverty which they suffer under their errors?" Did he not distinctly profess his love of sound doctrine as distinguished from the "bad heresy" of German rationalism? We are constrained to declare—not laughingly, but solemnly—that this entire argument against the reviewer's orthodoxy, is not merely erroneous and sophistical, but palpably disingenuous.

The pamphlet writer is not satisfied with having assailed the reviewer's taste, style, courtesy, and

orthodoxy. He gives us to understand that he has much more to say.

"We ought, also, to offer a word on the subject of that *reverence*, which leads him to introduce 'CHRIST' and 'Bottom' into the same paragraph, (p. 143,) and the 'HOLY GHOST' and the 'devil,' (will our readers pardon the impiety, we only *quote*?) at once into the same passage. (p. 144.) But we can not afford space, and we shrink from the *almost* blasphemy of the reviewer. Suffice it to say, that he has earned a reputation which ought hereafter to place him in the same category with the *New York Herald* and *New York Evangelist.*"

The category which includes both the *New York Herald* and the *New York Evangelist*, is certainly a comprehensive one; and we can not but think that the reviewer might take his place in so broad a category without any annihilating mortification. But in what category shall we place the writer of the passage just quoted? He thinks, or at least he expects his readers to think, that it is "impiety" and "*almost* blasphemy" to introduce the "Holy Ghost" and the "devil" at once into the same passage. What was it then of which that high church Solomon, King James I, was guilty when he declared to fawning prelates, who told him that he spoke by immediate inspiration, that "presbytery and monarchy could no more agree than God and the devil?" Or to refer to instances more solemn and conclusive,—what was it of which the apostle John was guilty when he wrote, "in this the children of *God* are manifested, and the children of the *devil*?"—and Paul when he wrote, "Put on the whole armor of *God*, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the *devil*?" Nay, what was it of which Peter was guilty when he asked Ananias, "Why hath *Satan* filled thy heart to lie to the HOLY GHOST?" But these questions need not be multiplied. The fact is, the review contains no such passage as the writer pretends to quote from with his reference to p. 144—not

* As for "sympathy with Socinianism," we refer the author to the *Churchman*, and particularly to a passage from the editor of that journal, which we have copied in a note on a preceding page, p. 248.

a word of the kind. Neither the "Holy Ghost" nor the "devil" is named there at all. Nor can we find that they are named in any sort of juxtaposition from one end of the article to the other. So when he asks, "Will our readers pardon the impiety, we only *quote*?" the truth is, he does not quote at all. He himself is guilty of the impiety and "*almost* blasphemy" from which he pretends to shrink, and of the inveracity besides. We can not say, "O! full of all subtlety!" for there is very little subtlety in the case; but may we not ask him, with a sympathetic shame for the profession which he dishonors, and for the client whose cause he betrays, "Why hath Satan filled thy heart?"

We must give another instance of the same sort of quotation. The reviewer used strong language, no doubt, in the passage in which he described that "ravening wolfhood" miscalled by the epithet *clergy* in England." This passage the author before us quotes from p. 154, not without some inaccuracy; and then, for the sake of touching the sensibilities of Episcopalians readers, he adds, "Such is his [the reviewer's] picture of the English clergy which he says 'the clergy in this country are endeavoring to imitate,' (page 146.)" We ask the reader now to turn to the page referred to, and see whether the words which *Juris Consultus* pretends to quote are there. The reader will look in vain. No such sentence is there,—no fragment or trace of it,—no words to that effect,—nothing which approximates to the same meaning. Nowhere does the reviewer say either expressly or by any implication, that the Episcopal clergy in this country are endeavoring to imitate the picture which he has drawn of that "ravening wolfhood." He does indeed speak of the excitement which the late reassertion of "church principles" has produced in Eng-

land, and of the ludicrous attempts which bishops and priests are making to emulate that excitement on this side of the Atlantic;—but that is all. We leave it to those more familiar with the New York Herald than we are, to say whether the editor of that journal is guilty of artifices at once so dishonorable and so shallow.

Hardly any thing in the review seems to have touched the pamphlet writer's sensibilities so painfully as the few plain things which were said about the clergy and the church of England. Not satisfied with repeated references to that part of the subject in the body of his work, he takes it up more distinctly in an appendix. Nor is such sensibility peculiar to this writer. We have often observed, even with astonishment, a disposition in American Episcopalians to identify their church with that Egyptian pyramid of old abuses, called the 'church of England,' and to regard any thing which may be said on that subject as a personal indignity towards themselves. No thing could be more impolitic, if they have respect to their sectarian interests. Those who are opposed to the Episcopal form of church government, and who desire to see it odious in this country, could hardly desire to see Episcopalians possessed of a more complete infatuation; for little as the people of this country generally know about the church of England, they know enough to abhor it as one of the most oppressive and shameless institutions ever laid upon an abused and suffering people. If we were adherents of diocesan Episcopacy—if we verily believed that form of church government to be of apostolic institution—if we even held to the necessity of a personal succession of bishops from the apostles—nay, if we were believers in "church principles," and were assured that there is no salvation except by membership in a church under the govern-

ment of a prelate,—we would still try to be Americans. We would earnestly refuse to be identified with the "United Church of England and Ireland." We would say nothing about "the mother church." We would go as far as our consciences would allow us in demonstrating the superiority of the American Episcopal church, as having been created by a voluntary compact among freemen, as recognizing the intrinsic freedom and supremacy of the people under Christ, and as enjoying a reformed and republican constitution of church government. We would disavow and heartily eschew all sympathy with Gladstone and the *Quarterly Review*, and be very careful about receiving any opinions from that quarter. We would cheer on the English dissenters of every name and creed, Popish, Calvinistic, and Socinian, in their attempts to subvert that corrupt and oppressive establishment, and to turn the "stall-fed" clergy forth to earn their living. And were we bishops—as no doubt we should be after rendering the church so extraordinary a service—we would stand ready to bestow the priceless boon of apostolical succession on any portion of the English clergy and laity who would secede from the establishment and set up in Christ's name "the Free Church of" England.

What are the facts in relation to the clergy of the English establishment? Our reviewer, in his strong way of speaking, called them a "ravening wolfhood"—"the lord bishops acting Dives in their fine linen at the rate of three hundred thousand a year—the younger sons of noblemen parceled off to their riotous *livings*." Let us see whether there is any foundation for such statements.

The statistics of the church of England have never yet been completely and accurately ascertained. It is not in the nature of such a hier-

archy voluntarily to reveal its own secrets. Within a few years past there has been in England no little inquiry touching the revenues and possessions of the clergy; but we can not learn that there has been any thing like—what we hope there will be within a few years to come—a sweeping and thorough investigation by parliamentary commissioners, preparatory to such a reformation as shall appropriate that immense amount of national property to truly national uses. As yet there are only imperfect data, from which the most judicious estimator can obtain only an approximation towards a correct result. There are of course in England two sorts of estimates,—the one the estimates of those who demand a reform, and who are in danger of overestimating the wealth of the establishment,—the other, the representations of the clergy and others interested in the present abuses, who are afraid of being called to account, and who therefore give the lowest possible estimate of the actual value of bishoprics and benefices. In the appendix to the pamphlet before us, we have the story as it is told by the bishops and high dignitaries and their advocates, who would even make it appear that the great poverty of the church of England is one proof of its apostolicity. According to this statement, the sum total of the annual ecclesiastical revenues is \$15,705,000;—a sum which, when divided among ten thousand five hundred and eighty four benefices, gives the average of \$1,483 84 to each benefice in England and Wales. But this is far from being the whole story. The statement of the regular annual revenues from tithes and rents gives but a very inadequate idea of the actual wealth drawn by the establishment from the productive industry of the nation. Every renewal of a lease of church lands is attended with a heavy payment from the lessee in

the shape of what is called a "fine." Beside all this, there are "surplice fees," so called—the fees exacted for every performance of the priestly office for rich or poor, at a burial, a christening, a churching, or a wedding. Another class of perquisites is found in "Easter offerings," "oblations," &c. which are certain customary payments at Easter and other festivals, varying in amount according to the local customs in various parts of the country. And to all the ecclesiastical benefices must be added certain lectureships and chaplainships which are supported from other resources besides the tithes and the church lands. Putting all these things and some others together, an estimate of a different sort from those on which the writer of this pamphlet relies as authority, makes the "total revenues of the established clergy" £9,459,565,—somewhat more than \$40,000,000; which, if it were divided equally among the sixteen thousand beneficed and unbeneficed clergymen of that establishment, would give to each one a living, if not a 'riotous living,' of \$2,500 a year.

But how are these revenues—be they more or less—actually divided? Who are they that get the "livings?" The answer to this question shows us the "ravening wolfhood." While the aggregate number of clergymen connected with the establishment is estimated at sixteen thousand, the number of prelates, dignitaries, and incumbents, is only seven thousand six hundred and ninety four—giving to each one of this privileged ministry, an average revenue of something more than \$5,000, and leaving the remainder of the sixteen thousand, to live as they can without "livings." The reason why the number of beneficed clergymen is so much smaller than the number of benefices, is, that the benefices being distributed, not by any rule

of equity, but after a somewhat wolfish fashion, the stronger or the luckier become "pluralists," and are enabled to "raven" a double, triple, or quadruple portion of the prey.

Let us look at the "lord bishops," to whom our reviewer, without much calculation, assigned a revenue of "three hundred thousand a year." The aggregate of the incomes of the twenty six bishops and archbishops of England is set down by the writer of this pamphlet at \$640,000—a very moderate sum undoubtedly, inasmuch as it gives to those apostolic men an average income exceeding the salary of the President of the United States by only about \$300. An English bishop, according to this most reduced and moderate estimate, receives on an average, only a little more than four times as much as our government pays to the highest dignitaries at Washington, under the President—or a little less than three times as much as our government pays to the ambassador who represents its dignity at the court of St. James. But we find from the other side of the controversy in England, a statement which we think quite as worthy of reliance,* and which sets down the aggregate at £297,115, which is not three per cent. short of the "three hundred thousand a year" in English money. Reduce it to the terms of our American currency, and it becomes something more than \$1,333,000. Divide this amount equally among the prelates; and it gives, to each member of that body, an income of more than \$50,000 annually. But even this does not tell the whole story. Beside the twenty six prelates there are twenty eight deans, whose aggregate income is estimated at \$199,000; sixty one archdeacons,

* Extraordinary Black Book. London, 1832.

aggregate income, \$200,000; five hundred and fourteen prebendaries and canons, aggregate income, \$1,250,000; and the prelates it is to be remembered, almost without exception, eke out the inadequate incomes of their sees, by holding, in addition to their episcopal dignities, rich prebends, rich deaneries, or rich parishes in *commendam*. Thus in 1832, the bishop of London was also "provincial dean of Canterbury," and "dean of the chapels royal;" the bishop of Winchester was also "subdean of Canterbury;" the bishop of Lincoln was also "prebendary," and "provincial chancellor of Canterbury;" the bishop of St. Asaph was also "archdeacon of St. Asaph;" the bishop of Worcester was also "canon residentiary of St. Paul's," and "clerk of the closet to the king;" the bishop of Bangor was also "rector of Kirkly Wiske;" the bishop of St. David's was also "dean of Brecon," and "dean of Durham;" the bishop of Rochester was also "dean of Worcester," "rector of Bishopsbourne," and "chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury;" the bishop of Llandaff was also "dean of St. Paul's;" the bishop of Oxford was also "dean of Canterbury;" the bishop of Gloucester was also "prebendary of Westminster;" the bishop of Exeter was also "treasurer" of his own see, and "prebendary of Durham;" the bishop of Carlisle was also "chancellor of Sarum," and held a prebend in St. Paul's worth something like \$13,500 annually; the bishop of Chester was also "rector of Waverton;" the bishop of Norwich was also "rector of Sapperton;" the bishop of Peterborough was also "professor of divinity at Cambridge;" and the bishop of Salisbury was also "provincial precentor of Canterbury." We need say no more on this particular.

The reviewer spoke of "the younger sons of noblemen parceled

off to their riotous livings." Need we say any thing on this point? Is there one among our readers who needs to be informed, that all the parochial livings of England are either private or public property, and as property, are bought and sold with as little compunction or shame, as any other kind of property.* Need we explain what is meant by a "family living"—the incumbency of which is considered to be due to some younger son or brother, if there is one who is willing to take orders, as much as the family mansion and the entailed estate to the eldest son? Need we say that the one thousand and forty eight livings in the disposal of the crown—i. e. of the lord chancellor—are naturally disposed of with the same sort of political and personal views with which appointments to secular and civil offices are distributed? Need we say that of the thirteen hundred livings in the dis-

* Bishop Hobart, in his sermon on his return from Europe, (1825,) used the following language on this point: "Look at the most important relation which the church can constitute, that which connects the pastor with his flock. In the church of England, this connection is absolute property. The livings are in the gift of individuals, of the government, or corporate bodies; and can be, and are, bought and sold like other property. Hence, like other property, they are used for the best worldly interests of the holders, and are frequently made subservient to the private views of individuals and families. They present an excitement to enter into the holy ministry, with a great admixture of secular motives, and with a spirit often falling short of that pure and disinterested ardor which supremely aims at the promotion of God's glory and the salvation of mankind." The Bishop adds in a note, "Many are the cases of honorable patronage, and of entrance into the ministry from the purest motives. But the *general tendency* of the system is, I conceive, as above stated." That "*general tendency*" is what we speak of. It would be indeed a miracle of evil if in a country like England, any system could be invented and maintained, under which the "*general tendency*" to evil would be so infallible as to have no exceptions.

Those who read English newspapers

posals of bishops, the richest will naturally be given to the bishop's sons and sons-in-law; to his brothers and brothers-in-law; to his nephews and nephews-in-law, if he has them, or to persons whose preference will be most likely to be advantageous to himself or to his party in the state? Need we say that the nine hundred and eighty two livings which belong to deans and chapters of cathedrals, the five hundred and ninety seven which belong to the universities, and the one hundred and forty six which belong to other collegiate establishments, are as completely the property of the several *guilds* or companies to which they belong, and when they fall in, are as sure to be disposed of with reference to the interests of the individual members of those bodies, as if they were in every respect like those six thousand six hundred and nineteen livings which are private property?

and the covers of English church magazines, need not be informed that the right of presentation to a living, is as much an article of merchandise in England, as a negro is in Louisiana. The following paragraph, for example, was published in the London Morning Chronicle, of July 13, 1824, and is said to have met the eye of Bishop Hobart who was then in England, and to have shocked his American sensibilities.

"The church livings in Essex, sold on the 1st instant, by Mr. Robins, of Regent Street, were not the absolute abovewsons, but the next presentations contingent on the lives of Mr. and Mrs. W. T. P. L. Wellesley, aged thirty six and twenty five years respectively, and were as under:—

Place.	Description.	Estimated Ann. Value.	Age of Incumbent.	Sold for.
Wanstead,	Rectory,	£653	62	£2,440
Woodford,	Do.	1,200	58	4,800
Gt. Paindon,	Do.	500	63	1,600
Fifield,	Do.	525	59	1,520
Rochford,	Do.	700	62	2,000
Filstead,	Vicarage,	400	50	900
Roydon,	Do.	200	46	580

The biddings appeared to be governed by the age and health of the incumbents, residence, situation, and other local circumstances, with which the parties interested seemed to be well acquainted."

So completely has this outrageous system of patronage corrupted the moral sensibilities of the English nation, that within the church of England it is hardly felt to be a grievance,* and not a solitary voice cries out aloud, to demand for the people the right of electing their own parochial pastors.

How does this system work? Of the sixteen thousand clergymen of the church of England, two thousand and twenty seven more fortunate men hold, each two parochial livings; five hundred and sixty seven, more fortunate still, hold each three livings; two hundred and nine hold each four livings; sixty four are incumbents each in five distinct parishes; twelve are pluralists at the rate of half a dozen parishes to a minister; five have seven churches each; one has eight; and one has no fewer than eleven; while four thousand three hundred and five have each one living. This statement is taken from a table made up on the authority of the Clerical Guide for 1829; but there is no reason to suppose that the facts are materially different in 1844. Ask now how many of these seven thousand one hundred and ninety one incumbents reside in their parishes. The diocesan returns to Parliament in 1827, gave report of only four thousand four hundred and thirteen incumbents residing in their own parishes, while *six thousand one hundred and twenty* cases were reported of rectors and vicars non-resident—more than six thousand instances in which the revenues of the parish, provided (theoretically) for no other purpose than to support the minister of the parish, went to enrich an absentee exactor of the tithes. In these six thousand pa-

* The Puseyites do indeed look upon private patronage as an evil; but they, as we understand their plan of reformation, would put all patronage into the hands of the bishops—which would be a reformation from bad to worse.

ishes, the work of the ministry is of course performed, so far as it is performed at all, by "curates," whose wages in multitudes of cases are less than the wages of a journeyman bricklayer or an Irish day-laborer. These, together with the possessors of the "poor livings"—livings so poor as to leave nothing to the incumbent after paying curate's wages—are the great body of the working clergy of England; and a more barbarously ill-paid, ill-fed, and ill-treated body of working clergy can hardly be found in Christendom. By certain diocesan returns to Parliament in 1827, it appeared that out of four thousand two hundred and fifty four curates in England and Wales, there were sixteen hundred and thirty nine with salaries not exceeding £60, and only eighty four with salaries exceeding £160. Fifty nine were reported with incomes between £20 and £30; and six with incomes between £10 and £20. These poor curates toil on, and starve on, fainting, and hoping with hope deferred, liable to be turned off whenever the rector or vicar can get the service of the parish done at a cheaper rate. Disappointed in those youthful dreams of generous patronage which lured them into the church, they groan and die in broken hearted penury, like Lazarus at the rich man's gate; while lord bishops in the sunshine of the court, and aristocratic pluralists in elegant leisure, or riotous dissipation, are "clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day."

Such is the English establishment. What American can think of it otherwise than with abhorrence? What American can fail to be indignant when he is told that such an establishment ought not to be meddled with, because, as John Bull says of all prescriptive evils, "it works well." Undoubtedly "it works well" for those who divide the prey—the lord bishops, the deans, the preben-

daries, the canons residentiary, the the minor canons, the precentors, succentors, priest-vicars, vicars-choral, and the whole perfunctory fraternity of the cathedrals. Undoubtedly "it works well" for the aristocratic pluralists and non-resident incumbents, and the entire pack of those "hireling wolves" that Milton speaks of. But how does it work for the poor operative clergy? How does it work for the people—the peasant people—whom in the three centuries since the Reformation, this Protestant establishment has never taught even to read, and whose progress towards freedom and knowledge has been effected, not by the church, but in spite of it?

What sort of men does this system bring into the Christian ministry? In the fourth volume of Paley's Works is a sermon in the nature of a charge, "addressed to the young clergy of the diocese of Carlisle," in which diocese, it will be remembered, Paley was archdeacon. The archdeacon in the discharge of his office undertakes to deliver to the young clergy "a few practicable rules of life and behavior which may recommend [them] to the esteem of the people." After some preliminary observations, showing them the advantages which they have, as young clergymen not yet beneficed, for acquiring respect and affection, especially among the lower orders of the people, he 'proceeds to describe the qualities which principally conduce to the possession of a fair and respected character.' It can not but be expected that a man of Paley's sagacity and common sense in pursuing such a train of thought, will reveal indirectly but distinctly the actual character of the young clergy to whom he speaks, and by the specific cautions which he gives them, will indicate the sins which easily beset them. The first virtue, then, which he recommends is "*frugality*." The next is "*sobriety*"—not sobriety in the

sense of gravity, but sobriety as opposed to drunkenness. "A clergyman," he says, "can not, without infinite confusion, produce himself in the pulpit before those who have been witnesses to his intemperance. The folly and extravagance, the rage and ribaldry, the boasts and quarrels, the idiotism and brutality of that condition, will rise up in their imaginations in full colors." "Another vice" against which he warns them "is *dissoluteness*. In my judgment," he says, "the crying sin and calamity of this country at present, is licentiousness in the intercourse of the sexes." "What then shall we say, when they who ought to cure the malady propagate the contagion? Upon this subject, bear away one observation, that when you suffer yourselves to be engaged in any unchaste connection, you not only corrupt an individual by your solicitations, but debauch a whole neighborhood by the profligacy of your example." Another topic is "*retirement*." Under this head he says, "Learn to live alone. Half of your faults originate from the want of this faculty. It is impatience of solitude which carries you continually from your parishes, your home, and your duty, makes you foremost in every party of pleasure and place of diversion; dissipates your thoughts;" . . . "puts you out of humor with your profession, causes you to place yourselves at the head of some low company, or to fasten yourselves as despicable retainers to the houses and society of the rich." Another topic, connected with retirement, is "*reserve*; by which," says he, "I mean, in the first place, some degree of delicacy in the choice of your company, and of refinement in your pleasures. Above all things keep out of public houses—you have no business there; your being seen to go in and out of them is disgraceful;" . . . "neither be seen at drunken feasts, boisterous sports, late hours,

or barbarous diversions—let your amusements, like every thing about you, be still, and quiet, and unoffending." How does that system work, under which the young clergy of a diocese need such advice as this? How incongruous would it be—how gross and intolerable an insult would it be—to address any clerical body in this country, or any assembly of candidates for the ministry, after such a fashion.

We are aware that there has been some improvement in respect to the outward deportment of the clergy since Paley's time; but the system is the same, its "general tendency" the same; and, by the laws of human nature, the results must be essentially the same. The Oxford movement is an attempt at reformation,—an attempt which is partly an indirect consequence of that revival of religion among the higher classes which commenced with the publication of Wilberforce's *Practical View*. Considered in this light, the movement has a moral dignity which we, on this side of the Atlantic, are prone to overlook. The Tractarians, as they are called, are ashamed of the church of England;* and though their ideas of reformation are preposterous in the extreme, their honest and fervent desire of reformation certainly deserves our sympathy and our respect. They have at least a taste for decency, and they are trying in their way to rescue the church of

* Well they may be ashamed. The breed of fox-hunting parsons is very far from being extinct. The following advertisement is an illustration. It is of the date of 1830, but it would not be difficult to glean others from English papers of a much more recent period. We quote this because it happens to be at hand.

"To be sold, the next presentation to a vicarage, in one of the midland counties, and in the immediate neighborhood of one or two of the *first packs of fox-hounds* in the kingdom. The present annual income about £580, subject to curate's salary. The incumbent in his 60th year."

England from "her present degraded state." What ideas they have respecting the actual character of the clergy may be gathered from a series of articles which the New York Churchman has republished from the London Times. The drift of the writer is to find fault with the bishops for their wavering and inconsistent course in regard to the attempted reformation proceeding from Oxford. He refers for a warning to the course which the bishops in most countries took in respect to the Lutheran reformation. Coming nearer home he says, "It was so when John Wesley first sought to rouse the church from her slumbers"—"a worldly race of bishops persecuted the man who by his indefatigable exertions cried shame upon their carelessness;" "and precisely thus are those who are called upon to preside over the church at the present day acting" "towards all the younger members of the church of England, who are distinguished for depth of piety and for theological acquirement." The writer speaks of the two parties which divided the church in the earlier part of the present century, the "old High-church," or as he calls it, "the High-and-dry," and the Evangelical. "The High-and-dry party," he says, "*justly* censured the so called Evangelicals as being dissenters in disguise, who subverted all ecclesiastical discipline, and conformed merely *for the sake of the loaves and fishes*; while the so called Evangelicals reviled their High-and-dry brethren as cold moralists, utterly ignorant of the Gospel." "The sum and substance of the late Episcopal charges," is, as he represents it—

"There are two recognized parties in the church of England, the old High-and-dry church party, and the so called Evangelical." "To one or other of these two the Anglo-Catholic must conform. If you wish to be a *fox-hunter* or a *frequenter of the ball-room*, in spite of certain old musty canons, you shall be pardoned if you are acknowledged as one of the High-

and-dry," &c. "Beware how you obey the church and the Bible when they direct you to fast; since both High-and-dry and Evangelical agree in thinking that to abstain from a good dinner when it is possible to get one is Popery. Beware how you attend daily prayers, for both parties are agreed in thinking daily prayer to Almighty God a waste of time," &c. "As to mortification and self-denial, both parties agree that this world was made for our enjoyment, and it is therefore your duty to *scramble like your neighbors for its good things*," &c.

Really this looks somewhat like "younger brothers parceled off to their riotous *livings*." But there is much more of the same sort.

"The High-and-dry establishment man thinks much of the dignity of that establishment of which he constitutes himself the representative, and, in the words of a worthy bishop of this class when addressing the young persons he had just confirmed, he feels it to be a *duty* to enjoy the innocent amusements of life; and if he has interest, he desires to accumulate upon himself as many pieces of preferment as the Bishop of —; and regards the endowments of the church as intended, not to benefit a parish, but to dignify an individual—not to render munificent a resident pastor, but to enable a non-resident to move in genteel society. If he has no interest," &c. * * "If Dr. High-and-dry be promoted, through his *marriage* with a bishop's daughter, his *connection with the peerage*, or the *influence of the county member*, grateful for political support, or willing to offer a retainer for future services, to a stall in the cathedral, he unites with the evangelical canons in *demoralizing* the cathedral towns (such towns being proverbially most hostile to the church) by declaiming on the hardship of attending the daily service—which service he strictly attends, however, during his constrained residence, in order to secure his dividend—while the people think that, although the service be hard, yet it is overpaid; and the pious are disgusted at seeing him rejoicing, like a school-boy, to be released at the expiration of his term of residence from a duty which ought to be his delight—at seeing him approach the church-door with the residentiary in deep conversation as to the value of an approaching fine, and then leaving him there with a look of triumph, as one exonerated from the odious burden—at knowing that he who thinks it a waste of time to attend daily service, night after night spends four or five hours at the dinner table or evening party—at hearing him plead poverty as an excuse for not increasing the choir or adorning

the edifice, while he is *living in luxury* not surpassed by the nobleman in the neighboring mansion. If Dr. High-and-dry differs from his evangelical brother in that the one does, and the other does not, consider the chanting of the service sinful and Popish, (though sinful and Popish as in private he declares it to be, the evangelical adds to the demoralization of the town by attending it regularly to earn his pay,) still, if Dr. High-and-dry does not go so far as this, his whole attention is given to the anthem, and instead of endeavoring to make the service a sublime mode of worship, he converts the cathedral into a music-room. * * *

"So much for Doctor High-and-dry as an incumbent and a dignitary; what he becomes when elevated to the mitre, I will not venture to say; indeed, when he thus becomes a spiritual peer, no one but a member of the aristocracy can describe him, for it would be beneath his dignity to associate with the inferior clergy on terms of intimacy, and the plebeian laity know nothing of him except from observing how well he represents the dignity of our venerable and excellent establishment."

"The whole care of the High-and-dry is absorbed in zeal for the maintenance, the worldly grandeur, and the dignity of the establishment; and the highest merit which he expects in a clergyman consists in his being a gentlemanlike person. Pomp and ceremony he permits, but it is the pomp and ceremony, not of the church, but of the drawing-room, to which in towns he would make the sanctuary conformable." * * * "Now, as to the dignity of the establishment, the Anglo-Catholic cares nothing, the very fact of there being an establishment at all, is to him a very unimportant concern; he admits that there are advantages, but looks at the Bishop of —, and at Archdeacon —, and he observes with a sigh that it acts as a temptation to parsons who ought never to have been admitted into holy orders—a temptation which may lead to their destruction. All the arguments used by the High-and-dry in favor of an establishment from the circumstances of its alluring into the clerical profession young sprigs of quality, tell with the Anglo-Catholic on the other side; he knows that there are higher arguments for its support, but if these were all, he feels that an establishment would be a nuisance rather than a benefit."—*Churchman*, Jan. 6.

Some things are said about the Evangelical party which go to show the character of the so called church of England.

"It may be very wrong to go to a ball.

I will not defend the 'dancing men and dancing women,' but I will suggest to them when defending themselves to inquire of their evangelical neighbor whether much more can not be produced from Scripture against a dinner party than there can be against a ball—against the Bishop of —'s [Qu. an *evangelical* bishop?] *champagne dinners* than against the Queen's fancy ball."—*Churchm.*, Jan. 13.

This writer speaks of the lord bishops in pointed terms. Some of his allusions, doubtless clear enough at home, are somewhat obscure to us, though the drift of his testimony is too plain to be mistaken.

"Let a bishop denounce, if he will, the superstitions, if there are any, of the Anglo-Catholic; but if he does so, the Anglo-Catholic has a right to expect that he will denounce in terms equally strong, the *fox-hunting dean*, and the irregularities of the evangelical. It brings disgrace upon the Episcopal order when men see their bishops joining in a hue and cry against a party which may chance to be unpopular among the vulgar herd, while *actual heresies* are in other quarters propounded without rebuke—when in charges which are little more than the transcript of the leading articles in newspapers, they hear alarm at the progress of Oxford divinity expressed by those very bishops who are silent when *Sabellianism* is taught in Dublin, and *Nestorianism* propounded at Cheltenham."

"When the bishop is attacking the Oxford Tracts, or trying to distinguish between points of doctrine, he comes down from his throne into the arena of controversy; and the question, I repeat, arises, What is his opinion worth? The opinion of a man who is *unknown to the church as a theologian*, and who owes his preferment *only to political interest*, on some deep point of theology, the very terms of which he has not been able to master, is not likely to be very influential with those who have given their nights and days to theological science. There is something ludicrous in the idea of a Maltby, a Stanley, a Musgrave, a Murray, a Charles Sumner, an Allen, a Davyes, a Monk, a Gilbert, a Pepys, or one of Lady De Grey's wild Irishmen, pronouncing sentence upon the learned labors of deep-read self-denying theologians. They seem to suppose that their consecration endows them with that wisdom and theological learning for which they have never labored, and which can only be the result of industry. They censure the poor Anglo-Catholic, who believes that their consecration conveys to them the power of conferring grace upon souls prepared to receive it; and then they per-

mit their flatterers to persuade them that learning and intellectual powers have been, as it were, by miracle imparted to them."—*Churchman*, Feb. 3.

All this is certainly very instructive as to the character of the English church, and particularly of the English bishops. 'Sabellianism taught at Dublin, and Nestorianism at Cheltenham'—whoever may be the offenders—indicates something like heresy winked at by the bishops, within the pale of the church. The ten individuals mentioned by name, of whom it is asserted that the very idea of their pronouncing an opinion respecting a theological work is 'ludicrous,' are the bishops of Durham, Norwich, Hereford, Rochester, Winchester, Ely, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chichester, and Worcester. As for the persons distinguished as "Lady De Grey's wild Irishmen," it transcends our learning to tell who they are, or how many, save that they are bishops, and are to be counted as more than one. So it seems that at least twelve of the twenty four bishops are men so notoriously ignorant of theology that "there is something ludicrous in the idea" of their "pronouncing sentence upon the learned labors of deep-read self-denying theologians." We do not wonder that this writer, whose sense of decorum is so wounded by that to which other Englishmen have become quite hardened by familiarity, speaks of "the church" as "our divided, and, I fear, dissolving communion." Such a communion, if not speedily and radically reformed, ought to be divided and dissolved.

But this article is shut up within certain limits, and we have already occupied too much of our space with this topic. We return to follow *Juris Consultus* a little farther. He undertakes to vindicate his bishop's charge on three points—"the right of private judgment;"—"the state of the Episcopal church, as compared with other Protestant de-

nominations;"—and "the design and mission of the Christian church, including baptism, and the 'New Light theology.'"

In regard to the first point, he states the question in these terms. "Is there any supposable case, in which the unanimous consent of all the fathers of the first and second centuries may command our assent? The reviewer would say *No*, the Bishop, *Yes*." He adds, "The reviewer's pretense that the Bishop holds their [the Protestant] doctrine of private judgment is a very strange one. The Bishop asserts distinctly that the unanimous consent of the church, as set forth in the fathers of the first and second centuries, on any matter of fact, whether of doctrine or discipline, is binding, as the lawyers would say, *in foro conscientie*. This the reviewer denies *in toto*."

Very well. Let this be the issue. This is what we thought the Bishop meant at our first reading of his charge, though on a second reading it seemed possible to adopt a more charitable construction. This is what he ought to insist upon if he would hope to pass muster among the uncompromising advocates of "catholicity." But if this is what he means, let him stick to it like a man, and not seem to take it back in a paragraph of fog about "the general exercise of private judgment." On the authority then of the Bishop's attorney, let all men understand, that Episcopalianism in Connecticut does deny, unequivocally, the exclusive authority of the Holy Scriptures as the standard of Christianity. The Bible can no more be interpreted without the supplementary teaching of the fathers down to the year 233, than Bishop Brownell's charge can be interpreted without these supplementary explanations from his attorney. If we believed that those fathers were as fully authorized to tell what the apostles believed and taught, as we

believe the writer of this pamphlet is to speak for the author of the "Errors of the Times,"—if we believed that those fathers stood on the same level with the apostles in respect to intelligence and inspiration, and in respect to Christian simplicity, or as nearly so as this writer stands on the same level with his client,—we would even admit the proposition, which we are now constrained to recognize as officially set forth by the Bishop of Connecticut. But in sober truth we utterly deny the competency of the fathers as authoritative exponents of what constitutes the Gospel. In the New Testament we have the personal teaching of Christ himself and of his apostles. In the Old Testament we have the system of which Christianity was the consummation. In either Testament we have a key to the interpretation of the other. What the Bible itself does not teach without the fathers—that, all the fathers of two centuries, or of six, or of eighteen, can not impose upon our faith as a part of the Gospel.

The writer of this pamphlet 'supposes a case.' 'Irenæus was the pupil of Polycarp, and Polycarp was the pupil of the apostle John. Now Irenæus, residing at Lyons, A. D. 200, knew what the Gallican churches believed in his day on the subject of the *Trinity*, and he knew from Polycarp what was the faith of the Asiatic churches in his day on the same subject, and Polycarp knew from St. John what was taught by the apostles.' Now it so happens that we ourselves know what was taught by the apostles on this subject, and know it directly from the same John whose pupil Polycarp is said to have been. And if we did not get the doctrine of the Trinity directly from the apostles in the Scriptures, most certainly we would not receive it as a tradition handed down through three long generations. The writer proceeds with his argument. 'We find all the prim-

itive churches [i. e. so far as we know any thing about their faith] agreeing on these two points,—that a belief in the Trinity was universal, and that it was held to have come down from the apostles. According to the principles of the Bishop's charge, no amount of subsequent testimony, no philosophical or metaphysical reasoning, can set aside this doctrine.' That is to say—unless all this argument is nonsense—we are bound to believe the doctrine of the Trinity, not because it is in the Scriptures, but because it is in the writings of the fathers; and if it were not for what Irenæus testifies touching the testimony of Polycarp, touching the testimony of John—if it were not for the glimpses we get of the traditional faith of the first two centuries after the ascension—some amount of subsequent testimony, some philosophical or metaphysical reasoning, might set aside whatever traces of the Trinity we can find in the Scriptures. And yet this man puts on airs about sympathy with Unitarianism!

That we do not misunderstand the writer, is more evident as he proceeds to ask whether the reviewer will take the same ground. He answers his own question in the negative, and adds that the reviewer, as a Congregationalist, "must, and in practice does, reserve the right to set aside any and every opinion of the primitive ages, however universal, and however important, whenever it happens to conflict with his own notions or interests." That is to say, those who do not acknowledge the tradition of the two first centuries as authority, "binding, *in foro conscientia*," have no standard of belief but *their own notions and interests*. This then is Bishop Brownell's respect for the Bible as represented by his attorney. Those who take the inspired Scriptures for a standard, authoritative, infallible, and exclusive—those whose first maxim in Christian theology is that

every doctrine and opinion is to be referred to the arbitration of the recorded word of God—have no standard of faith but *their own notions and interests*. The Bible gives equivocal testimony; any man's notions and interests can find warrant enough in the Bible; tradition is the safe guide. The Bible is a mere nose of wax; tradition is the inflexible marble. Is this the Episcopal church of Connecticut? "I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

In this connection the writer indulges himself in a piece of misrepresentation which we will just stop to correct. He says, "It is confessed in a late work entitled *A Congregational Catechism*," "that the fathers of the second century prove the existence of diocesan Episcopacy in their days, and that they held it to be of divine institution." This is said as contradicting the reviewer's remark, that "so far from setting aside the first two centuries, we claim them on our side in every question between us," and as exhibiting an instance in which Congregationalists reject the confessed 'unanimous consent of all the fathers of the first and second centuries.' Any reader who will take the trouble to look into the *Congregational Catechism*, (Chap. IV, Quests. 60, 61 and 64,) will see that this is a misrepresentation. The *Catechism* and the reviewer agree in maintaining that the entire history of the church for the first two centuries, as gleaned from the writings of those centuries, is on our side in the Episcopal controversy. The period about the close of the second century and the commencement of the third, is pointed out as the period in which "the ecclesiastical polity first became a hierarchy" of bishops, priests, and deacons. The last half of the second century is spoken of as the time

when the superiority of the church in a city over the rural churches around it, and the consequent superiority of its presiding presbyter or bishop, began to be insisted on as existing by divine appointment. It is made clear that before that period, the fathers have no idea of any thing at all resembling the diocesan Episcopal hierarchy. The essential condition therefore—"the unanimous consent," is wanting. The authority of the first two centuries, according to the most authoritative definition of that authority, is not against us, and the statement of our special pleader is, at the best, a blunder.

The argument against private judgment, chiefly insisted on both by the bishop and by the writer of this pamphlet, is derived from 'its tendency and the consequences resulting from it.' And in drawing out this argument, the display of learning which our author makes, is almost terrific. He holds that the Gnostics were probably the first asserters of the right of private judgment, "among whom," he says, "are to be reckoned the Cerinthians, the Saturninians, the Marcionites, the Bardensanes, the Tatians, the Basilidians, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Adamites, and Cainites, and Abelites, and Sethites, and Florinians, and Serpentinians." As if the Gnostics had any more to do with the Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment, than the Mohammedans. As if "the Cerinthians, the Saturninians," and all that learned company, were agreed in insisting on 'the Bible and the Bible alone' as authority in religion. What nonsense!

In pursuing this profound argument, our *Juris Consultus* makes a new foray into Germany. He insists that if a man undertakes to inquire and judge for himself from all the actual evidence in the case, it will be impossible for that man to ascertain what books belong to

the canon of Scripture. At the same time he asserts, that some of the books of the now received canon do not belong to the Bible if judged by his own rule, "the unanimous consent of the first two centuries." This is certainly ingenious. He sets up a standard which infallibly and confessedly mutilates the received canon of Scripture; and at the same time finds fault with the Protestant principle of judging freely according to the actual evidence from all quarters, because, as he says, it leads to a similar result. Yet this is the point which he proceeds to fortify, by showing how small a portion of the Scriptures was received by the Gnostics and other ancient heretics, and then by drawing as horrible a picture as he can of the Rationalism which has had so much influence for half a century or more in the schools of Germany. We have no time to follow him through the swamp of his assertions and references. It is enough to deny their pertinence to the question. He would have us believe that all the liberties which German rationalists have taken with the canon of Scripture, result from their rejecting the authority of the fathers; when according to his own showing he himself receives, as belonging to the canon, some books to which that supreme authority, "the unanimous consent of all the fathers," does not testify. He would have us believe, that the preposterous and infidel teaching of those rationalists, is the legitimate consequence of their rejecting the unanimous consent of the fathers as the rule of faith. What child can not see that it is rather the result of their rejecting the authority of the Bible?

After all, the real motive for this additional and exaggerated representation of German infidelity, is something distinct from its supposed pertinency to his argument. "These are the men," he says again, "who

have the reviewer's sympathies."

"These are the men for whom the reviewer professes so much regard, and with whom he manifests so much sympathy. And these are the books which are brought to this country by hundreds, and fill the theological libraries of the New School seminaries. These are the fountains from which their theology is in a great measure to be drawn." We need not again expose the disingenuousness of this as it respects the reviewer; he has expressed no sympathy with German infidelity.* The fling at "the New School seminaries," is as imbecile as it is malicious. If the library of a theological seminary contains Paine's Works, and Hume's, Tindal's, and Wollaston's, does it follow that the students will be infidels? If it contains Baronius and Dens, will the students of course be Papists? If it contains the Koran, will they turn Mohammedans? If it contains Laud's Diary, the British Critic, the Oxford Tracts, Brownell's Charges, and Chapin's Primitive Church, will they of course be Anglo-Catholics? What is a library good for? Ask "Old School men" at Princeton—ask even the professors at Chelsea—whether it is not necessary for a thorough theologian in these days to know, or at least to have the means of knowing, what the Germans have done and are doing.

The "state of the Protestant church in Germany" has been for

* While we have been writing, the newspapers of the very city in which Bishop Brownell resides, and from which this pamphlet purports to have proceeded, have given their report of a lyceum lecture on "Germany," by the pastor of one of the Episcopal churches there, a gentleman of elegant and various scholarship, and of the highest worth in his sacred profession. The thoughts which that gentleman is reported to have uttered respecting 'the religious sentiment of Germany,' are so coincident with those of our reviewer, and, as we think, so just, that we exceedingly regret the impossibility of making room for them here. See Hartford Daily Courant, March 11.

many years a standing topic of argument with a certain class of Episcopalian writers. It is to them one of the most convenient of all the *loci communes* of controversy. Is the Prayer-book to be commended? Look to Germany; oh, if the churches there had been blessed with our excellent liturgy! Is the argument for diocesan episcopacy to be strengthened? Look to Germany; see what they have suffered there for want of the three orders! Is it apostolical succession that is to be insisted on? Still the cry is, Look to Germany; they lost the succession at the Reformation,—behold the dreadful consequences. Is the Protestant doctrine of the exclusive authority of the Scriptures to be renounced and denounced? Is it asserted that we have no right, when reading the Bible, to exercise our own faculties in ascertaining what it teaches—that we must ask Tertullian and Barnabas to give us a traditionary interpretation? Germany! Germany! see what has happened there in consequence of men's undertaking to study the Bible for themselves. But we do not believe that American Christians will be persuaded by such arguments to renounce either their wits or their intellectual and spiritual liberty. They know that the Bible is a plain intelligible book, as to the general drift of its teaching; and they will not believe that the free and honest study of the Bible makes men infidels. We have another way of accounting for the lamented prevalence of infidel habits of reasoning in the schools of Germany. The cause of that unhappy state of things is not Protestantism or the right of private judgment; but rather the contrary. It is formalism, and the union of church and state. It is, that there is no church in Germany, fairly founded on the doctrines of justification by faith, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit—no church consisting of converted and believing men, volunta-

rily united for mutual edification and communion—no church of men called to be saints, choosing their own pastors and regulating their own affairs. It is, that the Reformation in Germany has not been permitted to work itself out in its legitimate results. Germany has had no Puritan controversy, and no Puritan age—no Westminster Assembly with its “dissenting brethren”—no Hampden, and Cromwell, and Milton—no Baxter and Owen—no two thousand non-conforming ministers expelled from their parishes and compelled to be dissenters from a Protestant establishment. Germany has had no Wesley and Whitefield, to go forth as apostles of the true succession, to preach in all her provinces the grand and stirring themes of spiritual religion, and to organize a system of permanent evangelical influences, which the state could neither control nor corrupt. It is such influences, and not the Prayer-book, nor the bishops, nor the fathers, that have saved England in part from the triumph of that tendency to skepticism which during the last century affected so widely the general mind of Christendom.

We have no room to proceed in our examination of this pamphlet. We have already said enough, and more than enough to expose its character, and particularly its imbecility as a defense of Bishop Brownell's charge. We have something to say on the two remaining topics handled by the author; but fortunately those two topics are of late so continually discoursed about by writers of his school, that we shall not be obliged to wait long for an opportunity of resuming the discussion. If *Juris Consultus* does not speak again, doubtless some other champion will appear against “Revivalism,” or “New Englandism,” or whatever newer name may be invented to stigmatize the doctrine of salvation by the grace of God alone.

LITERARY NOTICES.

A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, popular in its government, and simple in its worship. By LYMAN COLEMAN, author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church." With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. Augustus Neander, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Boston, 1844.

THE Rev. Lyman Coleman, late Principal of the Teachers' Seminary at Andover, is known to the public as the author of a learned volume, compiled from various sources, on the "Antiquities of the Christian Church." Since the publication of that work, this strenuous advocate of Congregationalism has visited Europe, and particularly Germany, for the sake of forming acquaintance with the scholars of that country, observing the customs and usages of different religious communities, and collecting materials for the further promotion of his favorite branch of study. As the result, we have now before us from his pen, an elaborate work on the Constitution and Worship of the Primitive and Apostolical Church. We can truly say, we have perused the volume with high satisfaction, especially, on account of the author's very consistent and correct views of the primitive form and organization of Christian churches.

Prefixed to the work, (pages 13 to 23,) is an interesting Introduction, by Professor Neander, of Berlin, dated April 28, 1843. This great historian says: "In compliance with the request of my worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Coleman, I am happy to accompany his proposed work on the Constitution and Worship of the Apostolical and Primitive Church, with some preliminary remarks. I regard it as one of

the remarkable signs of the times, that Christians, separated from each other by land and by sea, by language and government, are becoming more closely united in the consciousness that they are only different members of one universal church, grounded and built on the rock Christ Jesus. And it is with the hope of promoting this catholic union, that I gladly improve this opportunity to address my Christian brethren beyond the waters, on some important subjects of common interest to the church of Christ."

He then refers us to his History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles, and to the English translation of it, by J. E. Ryland, as containing his own sentiments on the subjects discussed in Mr. Coleman's book; and goes on to say: "It is of the utmost importance to keep ever in view, the difference between the economy of the Old Testament and that of the New. The neglect of this has given rise to the grossest errors, and to divisions, by which those who ought to be united together in the bonds of Christian love, have been sundered from each other. In the Old Testament, every thing relating to the kingdom of God was estimated by *outward forms*, and promoted by specific *external rites*. In the New, every thing is made to depend upon what is *internal and spiritual*." After seven pages illustrating this idea, and showing the early deflection of the Christian church towards the Jewish dispensation, he says: "This change in the mode of administering the government of the church, resulting from peculiar circumstances, may have been introduced as a salutary expedient, without implying any departure from the purity of the Christian spirit. When, how-

ever, the doctrine is, as it gradually gained currency in the third century—that the bishops are, by divine right, the head of the church, and invested with the government of the same, that they are the successors of the apostles, and by this succession inherit apostolical authority, that, in consequence of that ordination which they have received merely in an outward manner, they are the medium through which the Holy Ghost, in all time to come, must be transmitted to the church—when this becomes the doctrine of the church, we certainly must perceive, in these assumptions, a strong corruption of the purity of the Christian system. It is a carnal perversion of the true idea of the Christian church. It is falling back into the spirit of the Jewish religion. Instead of the Christian idea of a church, based on inward principles of communion, and extending itself by means of these, it presents us with the image of one, like that under the Old Testament, resting in outward ordinances, and seeking to promote the propagation of the kingdom of God by external rites. This entire perversion of the original view of the Christian church, was itself the origin of the whole system of the Roman Catholic religion—the germ from which sprung the popery of the dark ages.

“We hold, indeed, no controversy with that class of Episcopalians who adhere to the Episcopal system above mentioned, as well adapted, in their opinion, to the exigences of their church. We would live in harmony with them, notwithstanding their mistaken views of the true form of the church, provided they denounce not other systems of church government. But the doctrine of the absolute necessity of the Episcopal as the only valid form of government, and of the Episcopal succession of bishops

above mentioned, in order to a participation in the gifts of the Spirit, all this we must regard as something foreign to the true idea of the Christian church. It is in direct conflict with the spirit of Protestantism; and is the origin, not of the true catholicism of the apostles, but of that of the Romish church. When, therefore, Episcopalians disown, as essentially deficient in their ecclesiastical organization, other Protestant churches which evidently have the spirit of Christ, it only remains for us to protest, in the strongest terms, against their setting up such a standard of perfection for the Christian church. Far be it from us, who began with Luther in the spirit, that we should now desire to be made perfect by the flesh. Gal. 3 : 3.”

Mr. Coleman's views of the Christian church, appear to be in perfect harmony with those of his learned German patron. And to collect arguments in support of these views, he has literally ransacked Germany, Great Britain, and America. The result is given in the present work. Here, therefore, we may expect to find a real thesaurus of arguments against the *jus divinum* of the Episcopal hierarchy. In its form, the work is, to a considerable extent, a compilation; for it cites the arguments of a great number of writers, and very much in their own language. It moreover aims to satisfy, alike, the demands of learned inquirers, and the wishes of those who love a popular style of reasoning.

So far as we can judge from a pretty careful perusal of the work before us, the author is true to his own principles, quotes fairly the authors he cites, and actually gives us a good *sylloge argumentorum in Pontificios*. The style, however, is not equable and uniform. As the author quotes and makes abstracts from writers of all sorts, he seems to have his mind thrown into the attitude of

the writer before him, so that what he adds of his own, is in a similar strain with that of the writer quoted; verbose or dense, declamatory and popular or nervous and solid, explaining every thing minutely and making it comprehensible to a child, or giving no explanation whatever, passing summarily on, and frequently leaving the gist of the argument to be extracted from a Greek or Latin quotation, which is not always translated. We think it a defect in the work, that the author did not dissolve the whole matter of it in the crucible of his own mind, digest it well, and then pour it forth in a stream of uniform and consistent character.—But, notwithstanding this imperfection in its style, we would hail the volume as a highly valuable contribution in aid of the discussions now going on respecting the constitution and government of the Christian church. To the great majority of readers, it will suggest many new and important thoughts, new arguments and illustrations, and a mass of evidence for the popular form of church government, which is perhaps no where else to be found in so small a compass, and expressed in so intelligible a manner.

We take the liberty to suggest to those who direct the studies of candidates for the ministry, the importance of such a course of instruction, reading, and discussion, in a theological seminary, as would be secured by making this volume a text-book, and taking up consecutively all the biblical, historical, and ecclesiastico-political questions of which it treats. This is a department too much neglected in all the theological seminaries of New England, if not in those of the Presbyterian church.

By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D., of Albany. New Haven, B. L. Hamlen, 1843.

WE regret that the publication of this Oration was too late for the Number of our Review, in which we gave a notice of the Address of Dr. Bushnell before the Society of Alumni, pronounced at the same commencement. We have regretted this the more, as our intentions were frustrated a second time by the unexpected length of one or two articles in our last Number, which excluded our usual literary notices. But we are not willing to subject ourselves to the imputation of so bad taste, as even to seem to overlook this beautiful production.

We are not insensible to the appropriateness of the theme, nor to the value of the sentiments, which the author expresses upon "the responsibilities, the temptations, and the reward of men of letters;" but we have been so much charmed with the classic purity and elegance of the style, and with the just taste which pervades every part and gives completeness to the whole, that we shall follow our own inclinations and confine our remarks principally to this excellence.

It is the graceful and natural style of a cultivated and well-balanced mind. It pleases by excellence alone, and not by those striking faults which are admired in so many of our popular writers. It is without affectation. There are neither antiquated words and phrases, nor foreign idioms, nor transplanted Germanisms. It is without the ambitious vanity of obscure expressions to deceive with a new appearance of acknowledged truths. It is without extravagance. There are no far fetched allusions, no strange figures brought forth from the stores of a retentive memory, no "purpleus pannus," to attract with its scarlet glare, the half barbarous ad-

An Address delivered August 16, 1843, before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa in Yale College.

miration of the wonderful and striking, which is the last thing to be extirpated even from a refined taste. But it is the production of a mind, whose expressions of thought must reflect its own habitual sense of the beautiful.

The perfect embodiment in words of the ideas of the beautiful, is the last refinement of every good style, because it is only produced by the gradual rejection of splendid and captivating faults, and by the full and complete development of beauties. It is apparently without art. But those products which have the grace of nature in such high perfection, never grow out of a soil that is not cultivated. It is not, indeed, the mere formalism of art unenlivened by genius; it is rather the result of the many trials, which a sense of the beautiful is continually impelling the refined mind to make, and in which at length art identifies itself with nature. This polish of style too, is without the appearance of effort, yet is it the ultimate triumph of long continued effort, which gives to it this natural ease. If it is no longer an effort, it is the unconscious production of a mind, which has been so much accustomed to effort, that the graceful exercise of habit has come to resemble the unlabored work of nature. In this perfect combination of the purely good qualities of style, the words and sentences flow with a motion so easy, that we are unconscious of the progress we are making. Like the harmonious expression of the feelings of a cultivated and benevolent heart, which, accustomed to sympathy with others, always pleases without in any thing offending, the language of a perfect taste would charm the whole soul, and satisfy completely its instinctive demand for beauty and harmony. All persons recognize more or less distinctly this excellence, though without always being aware of the sources of it. Indeed,

the author himself could not probably analyze the successive steps by which he attained to this perfection, any more than the artist could estimate the influence of each one of his long protracted efforts upon his ultimate triumph in giving the life and grace of nature to a work of art.

We estimate very highly this perfection of style. It is of itself a fine art—and like the other fine arts, tends to give to human character the beautiful harmony and proportions which a just taste requires—checking extravagancies—softening asperities—rounding off the extremes of conduct, and giving an inexpressible completeness to the whole. Nor is this unworthy of a man of talents. The greatest genius, in its highest state of refinement, has the most exquisite perception of the beautiful in expression, and is the most insatiate of this excellence. It is the very last acquisition—and the best writers have continued to make improvement in style longer than in any thing else. We think, therefore, that Dr. Sprague has in this respect, properly appreciated his responsibility as a man of letters, and we trust he will receive his reward, in the assurance that such an example can not but exert a most beneficial influence.

We wish to make a single remark upon the care with which every part of this oration has been wrought. Nothing is left unfinished. Every thing, even the most minute, bears the marks of skill and attention. Dr. Sprague apparently thinks, and in this we can not commend him too highly, that nothing which ought to be done at all, is too insignificant not to be done well. It is a pleasure to read a production, where nothing offends your taste. We hope that this example of so distinguished a writer, who regards nothing pertaining to a work of letters beneath his notice, may have an extensive influence.

But we will restrain our remarks. It was not our intention to write a criticism, but to point out the excellence which most attracted our attention. We subjoin the following extracts, partly, to prove the propriety of our commendation, but more especially for the pleasure of our readers who may not have seen the oration itself.

"I am glad that I can refer you to some illustrious examples of what learning does for its votaries, here in the very city in which we are assembled; that I can point you to graves in yonder beautiful cemetery, toward which the whole community of cultivated minds turn a moistened and grateful eye. There lies your *Wзззззз*; and the fresh earth upon the spot shows that it was but the other day he was laid there. He gave his life, and a long life too, to the cause of letters; but instead of being exclusively the man of the study, he was awake to all the great interests of society, and had not a little to do in directing some of its more important movements. But the primary attraction of his character was the union of the scholar with the Christian—of the ornament of a highly cultivated intellect with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. He moved about among you, a patriarch in the walks of literature, of benevolence, of piety; and his influence blessed all who came within its reach. And you surely can be at no loss in respect to what constituted, still constitutes, his reward. He had it in the happiness and usefulness attendant on his intellectual and moral elevation; in the grateful homage of his country and the world; in the approbation of Him whose favor is life. And now that the grave has closed upon him, and he is receiving, we doubt not, his reward in Heaven, the memorials which he has left upon earth are a pledge that he shall never be forgotten; for they are incorporated not only with the literature of his country, but with the language of the best portion of the world. I met him for the last time a year or two since, when he was on a journey; and though he was well nigh exhausted with fatigue, he seemed quickly to recover himself in the pleasure of literary discourse; and as I saw him bearing his honors with so much dignity and meekness, and observed the lighting up of the inward fire as he dwelt upon his favorite topic, I could not but exclaim, *Fortunate Senex—Fortunate Senex!*

"HILLHOUSE, too—has passed beyond the reach of human praise, alas! too early for his country and for the world, but

not until he had lived long enough to provide for the immortality of his own name. I have heard much of his private virtues—of the urbanity of his manners and the generosity of his spirit; of his delicate perception of the right and the honorable, as well as the beautiful; of the admirable grace with which he met the various claims of society upon his time, his fortune, and his genius; but it would ill become *me*, who am not sure that I ever saw him, to speak of these things to *you*, with whom they are matter of personal recollection. But I *may* speak to you of what he was in the great world of letters; for there we all felt that he was our acquaintance. I *may* speak of the beautiful and boundless creations of his genius; of his imagination, here bursting forth with an almost overpowering radiance, and there moving sweetly and silently, as upon an angel's wing; of his exquisite taste, presiding, with rigid exactness, over his most excursive and brilliant efforts; of the facility with which he could take up and absorb in his own glowing thoughts, whatever is graceful in nature, whatever is instructive in history, whatever is august in the revelations of God. In one respect he stood almost alone on the catalogue of American scholars: while his ample fortune placed him above the necessity of turning his literary labors to pecuniary profit, his noble spirit could find motives enough for exertion in his devotion to the interests of his friends, of his country, and of his race. It is not for me to say precisely where in the first rank of accomplished minds posterity will assign him his place; but sure I am, that so long as a single copy of his work remains to bear witness for him, no man will dare question that he was one of the luminaries of his age.

"And there is yet another name which I may not omit to mention,—for it seems to me like the genius of the place;—a name around which sepulchral images gather, but which the sepulchre can never cast into the shade. You know that I can refer only to the illustrious DWIGHT. There are many of us who can never come back to this spot, but that our minds fill with glorious recollections of that venerated man. We seem to realize again his awe-inspiring presence,—to listen again to the eloquence that once charmed us, and to put ourselves, as in other days, in docile subjection to his mighty mind. We venerate yonder halls of learning the more, because there we admired the splendors of his intellect, and felt the heavenly influence of his devotion. Genius, literature, and piety, have long since woven for him an amaranthine chaplet. The world is at once the depository of his writings, and the field of his fame. Many of you who

hear me will, I doubt not, be ready to say of him, in the language of Horace—

"Multis ille bonis sebillis occidit
Nulli sebillior quam mihi."

"But I must not close this address without reminding you of the obligations which we owe to the institution at which we have been trained; to the Alma Mater that has awakened our early aspirations, and guided our early efforts, in the cause of learning. We have watched her growing usefulness as years have passed over her; and if any cloud has temporarily darkened her horizon, we have anxiously kept our eye upon it until it has disappeared. And so we will continue to do. If she is in prosperity, we will thank God and rejoice. If in adversity, we will hasten with filial affection to her aid; and if we can not replenish her treasury with our bounty, we will at least plead her cause before the rich. Let her stand, as she *has* done, the bul-

wark of learning and religion; let her grow fresh as she grows old; let future and better generations lay their willing offerings at her feet; and let her history reach down through all time, and constitute a brilliant chapter in the history of the world."

We must not omit to say that the good taste which characterizes the style, is equally well represented in the printing. It is done in Mr. Hamlen's best manner, and that is saying enough for any publication. We only marvel at the facility with which his types have restored to certain words, such as honour and publick, their original glory, after having for so long a time stripped them of these ornaments.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR NOTICE OR REVIEW.

MODERN School Geography, accompanied by an Atlas: Physical and Political. By William C. Woodbridge, member of the geographical societies of Paris, Frankfort, and Berlin. Published by Belknap & Hammersley, Hartford.

We are happy to learn that Mr. Woodbridge is still among the living benefactors of the youth of our country; and that he has strength to revive, and invigorate with new life, his excellent work, entitled: Rudiments of Geography. This publication, however, merits, as it *has* received, a new title; for though formed on the same general principles and plan, almost all the matter is new, and very many valuable improvements are introduced. The author and publishers can not fail to receive a liberal share of patronage.

The six following works are from the press of John S. Taylor, No. 145 Nassau Street, New York; and may be purchased at Mr. Stebbins' Sabbath School Depository, New Haven, and at the Bookstores

generally. They are too well known to need any expression of our opinion of their merits. The work by Gausson on the inspiration of the Bible, beautifully translated, with few exceptions, by the Rev. E. N. Kirk, is the ablest defense of a plenary, verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, that we have seen. Yet we are not satisfied with the soundness of every argument; nor convinced of the correctness of his theory of inspiration.

The Voice of the Church One, under all the successive forms of Christianity; a Discourse, pronounced at the opening of the Theological School at Geneva. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D. Translated by the Rev. R. Smith, Waterford, N. Y. 1844.

Letters from Ireland in 1837. By Charlotte Elizabeth.

Danger and Duty; or a few words on Popery, Puseyism, and the Present State of the Times, in connection with Truth, Righteousness, and Peace. By the Rev. Richard Marks, Vicar of Great Missenden, Bucks.

A Protestant Memorial : comprising, 1. A Concise Historical Sketch of the Reformation.—2. The Antiquity of the Religion of Protestants demonstrated.—3. The Safety of Continuing in the Protestant Church.—4. Romanism Contrary to the Bible. By the Rev. Hartwell Horne, B. D., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1844.

Theopneustry, or, The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By S. R. L. Gaussen, Professor of Theology in Geneva, Switzerland. Translated by Edward Norris Kirk. Second edition, enlarged and improved. 1844.

The Wrongs of Woman ; illustrated by the story of the Little Pin-Headers. By Charlotte Elizabeth. 1844.

The Way of Safety. Lectures to Young Men. By L. E. Lathrop, D. D., Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, Auburn, N. Y. 1844.

These lectures are distinguished by great simplicity of style, and by an evident desire to benefit the class of persons for whom they were prepared, and not to make a display of great originality. They can not fail to make a good impression on the mind of the young reader.

The various writings of Cornelius Matthews, embracing *The Motley Book, Behemoth, The Politicians, Poems on Man in the Republic, Wakondah, Paffer Hopkins, Miscellanies, Selections from Arcturus,* and *International Copyright.* Complete in one volume. Published by Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff Street, New York. 1843.

We reserve our remarks on this collection of writings for a future number.

The Hare-Bell ; a Token of Friendship. Edited by Rev. C. W. Everest. Published by Gurdon Robins, Jr., Hartford. 1844.

The accomplished editor of this beautiful volume of original poems, was prevented by domestic afflic-

tions, from doing full justice to his intentions. Yet he has succeeded in offering to the public a new proof of his own taste ; and at the same time encouraged the youthful genius of our country, to higher attainments in the art of poetry.

A Narrative of the Expedition of Cyrus, the Younger, and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. By Xenophon of Athens. Edited by Alpheus Crosby, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston : published by James Monroe & Company. 1844.

This edition of the *Anabasis* is designed to accompany the Greek Grammar of the editor, which we have already noticed. It is, however, the best edition to place in the hands of any Greek student, both on account of the correctness of the text, and the beauty of the type.

Remarks on the Book of Daniel, in regard to the four kingdoms, especially the fourth ; the two thousand three hundred days ; the seventy weeks ; and the events predicted in the last three chapters. By Ira Chase, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Newton Theological Institution. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, Boston. 1844.

A new work on the prophecies of Daniel, first published in the *Christian Review*, for March, 1842 ; and worthy of republication in this form, for general circulation. The grand distinction between Dr. Chase's interpretation, and that of most writers on the subject, ancient and modern, is, that he distinguishes between the empire of Alexander, and that of his successor, called, the kingdom of the Greeks ; and that he regards this kingdom, and not the Roman empire, as represented by the fourth beast. In support of these positions, he arrays an amount of evidence which it will be difficult to meet ; although, as was to be expected, his argument will not be conclusive to all minds.

WRITERS.

The following is a very imperfect list of the writers on whom we depend to enrich the pages of the New Englander. Many persons on whose assistance we have good reason to rely, we have been unable to consult.

MAINE—Enoch Pond, D. D., Benjamin B. Tappan, D. D., Rev. William T. Dwight, Rev. Ray Palmer.

VERMONT—Professors Solomon Stoddard, A. C. Twining, Albert Smith, Royall Tyler, Esq.

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INDIANA—Prof. William Twining.

ILLINOIS—Edward Beecher, D. D., Prof. J. B. Turner, Prof. J. M. Sturtevant.

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A Grammar of the Greek Language. Part first. A practical Grammar of the Attic and common dialects, with the Elements of General Grammar. By Alpheus Crosby, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College.	
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G. W. Flegg. Pinx^t. 1836.

D. C. Brown. Sculp^t.

222. James H. Linsley

Eng^d. for the New Englander.





THE
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No. VII.

JULY, 1844.

MUSIC IN CHURCHES.

IN order that church psalmody may accomplish its high end in public worship, its various branches must be cultivated with a zeal corresponding to the general culture of the age. It must win to its service the best efforts of genius in poetry and in musical composition; and these labors in its higher departments, must be made to move and elevate the whole public mind by means of widely spread and judicious instruction in sacred music.

The songs of public worship are one of the most powerful auxiliaries for accomplishing the ends of the Christian ministry and of the Sabbath. In the weekly assembling of a congregation, when the high and the low, the rich and the poor meet together, there is found a diversity of habits, of character and of temperament, which the unaided accents of instruction and prayer may in vain labor to unite and move with a pervading and deep emotion. The minister rises in the pulpit on Sabbath morning to begin the service. As he opens his lips to ask for the blessing of God, his voice sounds weak and thin; his words seem to flit away into empty air, or if they come back to him from the distant walls, they come back mingled with the noise of rustling garments, shuf-

fling feet and the tramp of late comers. Thus he goes on, well reminded of his weakness, through the invocation, the reading of the Scriptures and of the hymn. If now the singing that is to follow be what it should be, how great a change soon comes over that assembly. The Christian psalm, when sacred words, rendered doubly sacred by long association, are uttered in full choral harmony—to what shall we compare it? It is not a stream nor a shower; it is rather the breeze from heaven, pervading all hearts ere its presence is known.

The united voice of the choir speaks to all hearts. It is so pure and elevated that the most refined forget that they can criticise; it is so powerful that the duller can not but feel. The heart torn with passion or cankered with care, has its tumult hushed; trifles and sinful thoughts have passed away, and the soul finds itself arrested and still in the presence of eternal things. Meanwhile the minister has shared to the full the influence which is uniting and kindling the hearts around him. The chill of depression with which he commenced has passed away. His heart is warmed; his hopes rise; he feels that he has found his people, and now when

he prays or preaches, they have communion with him.

This precious influence, however, is not a thing of course. It is not felt wherever a choir sing psalms and hymns in meeting; nor in the most favored cases do we believe we have felt or witnessed more than the first fruits of its promised power. The demands of sacred music on all who would aid in its advancement, are strict and high. Its success requires a combination of faithful labor, from the highest efforts in composition, down to the simplest elements of practice. When this important cause is left to languish without any union and steadiness of aim on the part of those who should support it; when the influential members of a parish will not cultivate sacred music themselves, nor give their countenance and money for the aid of those who will; when in the singing on the Sabbath there is neither "voice" nor "verse" worthy of the name; when the leader of the choir has for his chief qualification the power to make a loud noise, and the band around him see no higher end before them than to emulate their leader; when the best training the best of them have had, has been in a stormy singing school, and scarcely a Sabbath passes without some failure so obvious as to render the performance a matter of sport to all the frivolous minds in the house; when such is the condition of this sacred art, what can we expect will come of it. It is not enough to say, that here must be an utter loss of the great spiritual good which church music rightly performed, will, through the divine blessing, bring to the souls of a people. It were well if this were all. But widespread mischief has been done. The services of the house of God have become cheap, and an occasion of ridicule in the eyes of the very persons whose salvation, in God's ordinary providence, must come from this same source. Those

who have neglected to honor and advance this precious means of grace, have sown not chaff merely, but tares and thorns; and they and their children will bring the harvest home.

While the apathy and negligence on the subject of church music in many places is gradually undermining the respect for all the institutions of the church; we gladly notice the general fact of a decided improvement in the character of both sacred music and poetry, and in the general diffusion of elementary instruction in singing. We are not fond of the language of complaint; we prefer rather to welcome cheerfully what signs of improvement there are, and offer our small tribute of thought to the advancement of a growing cause.

We shall limit our observations to a single branch of the subject before us—the preparation of books; and here we shall have a few things to say, as our limits will allow, both on books of music, and on books of psalms and hymns.

In regard to the first of these, it would seem desirable that a better understanding should exist between the professors of the art, and the public. On the publication of every new singing book, we hear the complaint repeated of the innovations made in old and time-hallowed tunes. Were this complaint uttered by those persons only to whom association is dearer than thought, and with whom change of every kind is an evil; if it were not uttered by those whose culture and position give them a title to be heard, the omission to notice it altogether, would be an appropriate and sufficient answer. But when, as in some instances has happened, a considerably numerous body of clergymen have united in a public expression of their dissatisfaction with the course pursued by the editors of singing books, we think the question involved in the complaint, invites discussion.

We do not say that there is not

occasion for complaint ; but we wish to know how general and sweeping the complaint should be, and on what grounds it should rest.

As we understand the case, the aggrieved persons protest against all changes in the old and standard tunes of our church music ; especially those masterpieces, which, like gold in the furnace, have for ages stood the fire of criticism. These tunes are linked with their dearest recollections of Christian experience and personal history. They were the medium through which the awakening and sublime truths of religion first entered their souls ; and through the successive stages of their Christian life, these old and hallowed strains have consoled and quickened, allured and cheered them on. It seems scarcely less than sacrilege for young professors of music, under pretense of science, to break in upon this "linked sweetness," all instinct to their minds with the very soul of religious feeling.

We endeavor to state the feeling which prompts these complaints fully and fairly, for, in the first place, we sympathize largely in them, knowing in ourselves what they are ; and further, we would in any case, treat them with entire respect. We say with respect, and here we stop ; for it is not every thing which is respectable that should be allowed to rule us.

We say with Pope, we would not willingly see even an old post dug up, unless necessity required it ; but we add, if it were necessary to set a new post in the same place, we should proceed to dig up the old one with quiet resolution.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not say we advocate great changes in our old church tunes. That is a question we have not yet come to ; but we say the complaints made do not rest on any sufficient basis ; they are not discriminating ; they are made on a principle which would

itself annihilate the complaint. For, we ask, how far back shall this act of immunity from innovation extend ? Shall it reach back one generation, or two, or five, or to the days of Gregory ? Who does not see that, fix it when you will, you tolerate all innovation up to that time ? We know indeed the answer that is attempted to be given to the question we have put. These tunes, it is said, should be suffered to remain in the form which the general voice of the public has agreed to accept as their highest and best form. Now this answer we may easily see contains nothing but words. There is no such accredited form, sanctioned by the united voices of the public. There was a time when this form first appeared ; when, for example, *Old Hundred* was first printed in half notes instead of quarter notes, and so of all others ; and when that was done, be the date of the change what it may, the objector may assure himself, it was done, not by the united voices of the public, but by some innovator to the decided annoyance of the public. Then as well as now, we may be sure, old use and wont grieved over the changes that were taking place in music. Then, as now, audacious editors troubled the public by altering tunes ; or else we should have inherited *Old Hundred* in its genuine form, and have the happiness of singing it now in the same kind of time in which we sing *Wells*.

Thus it is through this very innovation, now deprecated, that we come to possess the old tunes in the form we so much admire. The protest against innovation is in fact only the individual's plea for repose in his old habits. The feeling which prompts the complaint is not wrong, but only the complaint. This feeling indiscriminately applied would be fatal to all progress, and would have nipped in the bud, the fairest fruits which it is our inheritance to reap. Shall we reap where others have

sown, and yet in our turn refuse to sow? As we can not repay to our fathers' ashes the debt we owe them, what remains for us but to look forward and sow, that our sons may reap; and, while we treat the past with respect, know assuredly that the present is better, and that it alone is ours.

Are we then in favor of frequent changes in our church tunes? It is sufficiently evident from what has been said, that this question admits of no categorical answer. Every instance of change must be judged by itself on principles of sound and liberal criticism. The change in itself is an evil. The question must be, in each separate case, does the change, along with the evil, secure a preponderating good?

We say this is a question for criticism. And by criticism we mean something more than a reference to the caprice of one who happens to be entitled professor of music, and something more than an appeal to the technical terms of thorough base. We have small respect for such appeals, for the purpose now before us. Not that some technical knowledge of harmony is not requisite for an intelligible criticism of the plainest hymn tune, but, in the books referred to, the knowledge is usually communicated in an entirely mechanical form, and is useful only for the purpose of mechanical execution. As the wit has said that

"All the rhetorician's rules
Teach only how to name his tools;"

so in music, the laws which are available for the purposes of effective composition or criticism, underlie all that the usual books on harmony furnish.

That our definite meaning here may be understood, we remark that every tune, (we mean every good tune,) is marked by a specific character and aim. It is designed, and more or less adapted, to awaken and express a specific emotion. The

value of a tune depends on these two things; the greatness or beauty of its leading idea, and the degree of perfection with which its parts are adapted to give that idea expression. Every particular then in the composition is to be judged in view of its adaptedness to contribute to the main end. In this view every part of the composition is subject to criticism. The question is therefore quite removed from the rubrics of the musical grammar. The merits of a tune can be judged of only by one who clearly apprehends the aim of the tune, and can appreciate the degree in which its successive notes contribute to that end. It is not enough to quote the rules of harmony in justification of a particular chord; to say that such a dissonance must be followed by such a chord; for after that is done, both the dissonance and the concord into which it flows must, in turn, be regarded as a single element, and its occurrence justified or condemned by examining its connection with what precedes, and its influence on what is to follow.

Here then, we say, is a broad and well defined field for the exercise of criticism on the changes made in church tunes. Those who are grieved at these changes have here a fair arena for sustaining, if they can, the charges they make. Let them by an intelligible and strict criticism show that a tune has been rendered less expressive of its leading idea by changes recently made in it, and they will have done a service for which all interested in sacred music will thank them. But till this is done we can not expect that the complaints made will gain the ear of scientific men, or influence the public in any desirable way.

To illustrate the idea we have suggested, let us suppose Old Hundred to be the tune in which alterations are the subject of complaint. As no tune is more deeply engrained on the popular mind, in none do

the changes that from time to time appear, occasion greater offense.

Let the question now before us have respect to the position of a single note, the first note of the third line in the base; whether that note should be on the letter A, the key note of the tune, or on the relative minor. Now it is not a matter of indifference or accident which note is here employed; nor is the question to be settled by old use, or by the musical primer. The elementary rules of harmony give us no aid in this case; for either chord is admissible in the succession which would there occur.

The answer must be sought in a study of the leading idea of the tune, and the manner in which the successive strains contribute to express it. Let us, for the time, accept the common arrangement of the tune, and inquire what is the significance of having the first chord of the third line in the minor mode? We shall not stop here to characterize the minor mode in general further than to say, as its broadest designation, that it is the natural expression of the passive attitude of the mind in contradistinction from the active. To describe it as expressive of plaintive emotions merely, is to give it a very inadequate designation. Whenever the mind, overpowered by the greatness of the truths presented to it, or exhausted from the intenseness of its own activity, and recoiling from weakness or from awe, seeks repose, that posture of the soul finds its natural expression in music in the minor mode. Hence such passages fitly find a place in the grandest and most ecstatic strains.

When the soul that has risen heavenward, and lost itself in the song of the blessed before the throne, is reminded of its frail and sinful self, as it soon must be, then the tide of song is checked, the strong pinions of the soul falter, and she sinks down to some resting place

uttering the plaintive wail, "who can show forth all his praise." This is the minor key. It is the utterance of the overawed spirit, saying with Isaiah on the heavenly vision, "Woe is me, for mine eyes have seen the king, the Lord of hosts;" saying with David, "when I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, what is man;" or with John, falling down as one dead when he saw the throne of God and of the Lamb.

It is in this point of view that we see the true use of the minor chord in the place we have mentioned in Old Hundred. It expresses the momentary reaction from the overmastering power of the preceding strain. The majestic march of the second line causes the mind to recoil and find rest for a moment in the minor key. And this idea is beautifully carried out in the remaining harmony of the line. From the relative minor it passes to the chord of the fifth, which is soothing in its character, and this chord recurs again in the next accented note; and the line from this point onward expresses the gradual recovering of the mind and the gathering up of its strength for the last grand line. Here the passive and soothing element has entirely disappeared, and the tide of harmony swells with cumulative strength, like the billow rolling landward till it breaks and melts along the shore.

This remarkable tune, the one tune known of Protestant Christendom, is all it is described to be, and much more. It is usually designated as remarkable for its grandeur, but it is not more remarkable for grandeur than for its sympathy and winning love. While it invites a thousand voices to join with highest endeavor to utter its great ideas, it may yet be taken up by a few at the Christian communion, and it is then no weariness, but a joy and rest to sing it. It is this quality, taken in connection with its obvious

and acknowledged grandeur, that constitutes the most remarkable feature of the tune. It is full of humanity. It is no angel's song. It is the song of Christian pilgrims, sympathizing with the present and the earthly, while uttering the heavenly and eternal.

If now we revert to the proposed change in the harmony, we hardly need say that an alteration in the first note of the third line would require changes in the notes which follow in order to preserve the unity of the tune, and these changes would essentially modify its character. If equally grand in its changed form, it would lose the peculiar charm which, more than any thing else, has enshrined it in all hearts.

We have spoken of the chord of the fifth* as soothing in its character, expressive of serenity and repose. To show how important are some of the simplest elements of harmony in giving character to the music, we will refer to a well known hymn-tune in which this chord may be said to predominate—the common meter tune *Ferry*. The character of this tune is very marked and simple. It is serious and soothing, with a tendency to the plaintive expression. On examining the harmony, it will be found that not only does the chord of the fifth recur frequently, but, what is not less important, it is thrown in most cases on the accented part of the measure, thus giving to this element its utmost power.

That we may look for a moment at the above positions in the light of contrast, we will refer to the common meter tune *Christmas*, the opposite of the last named tune in all its leading characteristics. Perhaps

the whole circle of our church music does not furnish so animating a strain as these few notes of *Handel*. The epithet we have chosen is the appropriate one to express the spirit of the tune. It is not joy, for the music suggests nothing already achieved to serve as the basis of joy; it is not praise, for there is here no forgetfulness of self, no surrender of the personal to the heavenly and divine. It is intensely individual and self-collected. It is a trumpet call to battle, and the answering shout; as if an angel stood, and, while he blew the piercing notes, pointed the armed Christian through the ranks of his enemies to the golden city, on whose walls the blessed are walking in white, and have turned to look down and watch the coming conflict.

We are aware that this tune is at present but little used; and it is not difficult perhaps to state some reasons for its disuse. So strongly marked is it in its character, and such the intensity of its tone, that it is not often that a hymn entirely fitting is found for it; and besides it is no easy tune to sing. With all its apparent simplicity, it requires for its effective performance a degree of accuracy in time which is seldom attained by the best choirs. We speak considerably when we say that a choir may learn to perform with applause a score of rapid and fuguing tunes, and yet in this one so fail in the time as to deprive it of half its power. The demand for accuracy in time is here most imperative, for being, as it is, a rousing appeal to the active powers, the slightest wavering from the exact time dissipates instantly its sublime charm. Then, the tune has been a thousand times misapplied. Its simplicity of structure has deceived the ignorant, who have thought it a very pretty sort of tune, and a very convenient carrier, so to speak, for all sorts of hymns. To set this tune to a hymn of ordinary

* If the expression "chord of the fifth" seems to the musical reader somewhat indefinite, he may understand the writer as intending, in his criticism, to define the character and expression of the harmony by a comparison solely of the air and base.

or feeble character is like harnessing the war-horse, with his neck clothed with thunder, to the rich man's phaeton, and trotting him about the lawn. Perhaps the true reason why we do not rise to the idea of this tune and use it, is the spiritual one that we have not faith nor hope nor zeal enough to sing it, and so we let it alone.

Our object however in mentioning this tune was to compare its harmony with that of Ferry, from which it differs so widely in its general character. This comparison will show that the chord of the fifth so prominent in the former is scarcely found in the latter. We shall not stop here to characterize the tune further, for our object is not to furnish a general analysis of it, but to show by a few simple examples that some of the most important elements in giving character to our church music are so obvious as to lie within the reach of all who will study the subject with any seriousness and attention. If this be so, it is the privilege of those who claim the right to speak to the public on church music, to speak intelligibly, and we hope they will avail themselves of it.

We have spoken of the melody and harmony of tunes. Scarcely less important in determining their character is the time in which they flow. Each tune has its appropriate time, which serves better than any other to aid in the expression of its leading idea. We do not mean here by time, slowness or rapidity of movement, but the relative length of notes compared with each other. The sentiment which is naturally expressed in even time is not well expressed in triple time; and each character of time has its peculiar and exclusive powers.

For illustration of this point, and of the others we have mentioned, we refer to one more tune; now for the most part thrown out of use, like an old giant's armor. We mean Colchester. The character of this tune is quite different from either of those

we have described. Though a tune of great animation and strength, it is not an appeal to the active powers, like Christmas, nor is it like Old Hundred, a majestic expression of objective truth. To designate the tune by a single phrase, we would say it is *the highest utterance of religious confidence*. While it expresses the most pervading and penetrating sense of the infinite and eternal, it yet suggests throughout, the relation of the individual to that infinite and eternal; and this relation is that of reconciliation and peace, and hence of calm triumph in God. It is the steadfast joy of faith, a faith that already possesses the foretaste of the eternal rest. If now we examine the harmony of this tune, we shall find an alternation between the soothing chord of the fifth and the more majestic chord of the key; the latter giving utterance to the mighty truths, and the former assuring the soul of its inheritance in them. But there is another element, contributing to the expression of this tune, the time. It is in triple time, and this feature is not an accidental one; it is essential to the expression of the tune as we have described it. Let the time be changed to even time, and the peculiar power of the tune would be lost. It would no longer be the utterance of the emotions above described, but an attempt to utter the truths which should awaken the emotions. The expression passes from the first person into the third. It ceases to be dramatic, and becomes hortatory. Hence its soothing notes become expressive of indifference, while its more powerful chords are a laborious clamor of sounds, bereft of half their meaning; and the whole tune, instead of being easier for a choir to sing, than before, is in fact, notwithstanding its shortened time, more wearisome and exhausting. The same remark will apply in reference to the change from triple to even time sometimes made in *Mear*. The change is

made with the praiseworthy design of bringing the tune more entirely within the physical powers of the choir; but this is short-sighted policy; for while the physical difficulties are thus diminished one third, the inward inspiration is diminished two thirds, and the case is worse than before. We have in the above cases applied a principle, before stating what that principle is. We remark, then, that the expression of triple time differs from that of even time in this, that to the dynamic accent or emphasis of the latter there is added the emphasis of time. Triple time is therefore, rhetorically considered, the reinforced or stronger form of expression. It follows from this, that it is the appropriate form in the utterance of thoughts which, if read or recited, would demand the rhetorical emphasis of time; and is inappropriate in cases where such emphasis is not admissible. Hence it is suited to express entreaty, but not warning; for, in the reading of poetry, expressions of entreaty would naturally take the emphasis of time; while the utterance of warning would be in repressed and even tones.

We have given these very brief and general illustrations rather to excite an interest in this branch of our subject, than with any thought of their adequacy or completeness. They may serve to suggest the important truth, that, so far as our present inquiries are concerned, church music is only a more impressive mode of uttering the language of sacred poetry. Every element, then, in a tune, and every particular in its performance in this choral recitation, is legitimate matter for criticism, as much as the tones of a reader's voice. And the final appeal in this criticism is not to books and rules, but to the soul; for rules and books are worthless except as they teach us better to understand what the soul felt before books were written, and what it feels without their aid.

We will close our remarks on this branch of our subject, by noticing some changes that have recently been made in a few of our church tunes. The first instance we will speak of, is in a tune where the old movement of time was so firmly entrenched by long usage, that a slight change in two measures has served almost to unfit the tune for present popular use.

In no instance that we know of has a change in the time of a tune occasioned such universal and marked offense, for it is a tune which every body sings, and its rhythm constitutes a very prominent feature in its general effect. Yet the change that has been made is strictly defensible, and was imperatively called for. We would advocate it, even should it seem to throw the tune out of use for a whole generation. Let it lie in silence, if it needs must, till the remembrance of its old rhythms shall have quite died out, and then it can be taken up and sung as it should be, and without offense. We refer to the tune *Windham*; and the change is in the last line, where the immediate succession of four quarter notes is changed, and a rhythm substituted to correspond with the preceding lines. The whole time of the tune has indeed been changed from common to triple time, but no important change is felt except at the point we have named. The change is justified by the fact that the former rhythm indicated a falling off in the emotion, similar in effect to the hurried reading of the closing line in a solemn stanza in poetry. The increased power of the tune is at once perceptible to one who can listen to it free from the bondage of association and with an ear open to its true expression.

A similar change of time has been made, with entirely different effect, in two other tunes, *Sterling* and *Olmütz*. Here the feeling does not demand a full and prolonged utterance, and hence the check given to

the flow of the rhythm is at war with its leading aim.

A much greater injury has been done by the change of time made in the tune Marlow. This chant, one of the most powerful in our collections of tunes, in its former rhythm of even time, has, by the change in its time, been deprived of all that is distinctive and grand in its character; and, from being a most exciting and elevating strain, has become a merely commonplace medium for the singing of indifferent hymns. With what ideas of musical effect, any editor should have been willing to exchange the irrepressible power of the last line, in its old form, for the tame and flat conclusion we now hear, we can not surmise.

It may be said that the new arrangement has at least the advantage of avoiding some harsh discords that injured the tune in its former state. We think it may be shown that a change in the harmony was entirely uncalled for in the former arrangement. Strong as the discords were, and they were the strongest, such was the power of the tune that they were borne along and reduced into perfect unison with its leading idea. No better proof of this need be given than the fact that the power and spirit of a choir uniformly rises while performing this tune in its old and majestic style.

The extent to which the preceding remarks have been carried will induce us to limit what we have to say on the subject of psalm-books to a single particular; and that most closely connected with music.

The increasing attention recently paid to *expression* in sacred music has led to the somewhat general adoption of systems of notation in the printing of hymns, as a guide to the choir in their performance. Without stopping here to compare the advantages and disadvantages of such a system of notation, we may say that the work of affixing such a system of marks to a body of psalms

and hymns is one of great delicacy and responsibility. Here is no field for the display of individual fancies and caprices of taste. It is a transaction with the common heart of a whole people; and he who has not a quick and sure sympathy with its pulsations should not volunteer in such a work. It is by no means certain that the exclusive pursuit of sacred music as a profession, with all its seeming advantages, may not tend in some important respects to disqualify a person for such a work. The singer or musician has necessarily much to think of besides the moral effect of the music or the hymn. He can not well forget his professional place, and may, with the best intentions, acquire habits and fancies, which his kind friends (a man's worst enemies in such a case) will encourage him to regard as graces and signs of genius; and thus the favorite feats at the organ, or with the voice, the startling tricks of soft and loud, come to be looked on by the fond performer as illustrations of high laws of taste. Alas! for the victims of such practice. They come and sit together in the holy place, and wait in stillness that they may be rapt in sweet and awful song; and what do they hear? The organ, the choir, the chief singer. They think of the singing school, of the organist or fiddler, and wonder how he performs such feats. It might not be quite in keeping to describe such ambitious performers by the pastoral phrase ready made to our use—

"Who their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scranell pipes of wretched
straw,"

But certain it is—

"The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed."

We have seen the people look up, and we want no sadder sign, that then the influence of the music is entirely aside from its true aim. We may remark further, that the performer can not know so well as

another the effect which music has on those who listen. His mind is necessarily in the active and not in the passive attitude. We should therefore expect to find the best knowledge of musical effect in one, who, while he was not ignorant of music, should not be occupied in its performance.

We cheerfully acknowledge whatever special advantages there are on the side of the professed musician, and accept gladly all the aid offered to the cause of church psalmody from whatever quarter it may come.

In inquiring into the wants of the New England Congregational churches in reference to the present subject, our attention is naturally directed to the two books of psalms and hymns which alone, since the exclusive use of Watts in the original form and of Watts as edited by Dwight, have been extensively adopted among us—the *Christian Psalmody*, edited by the venerated Dr. Worcester; and the *Church Psalmody*, more recently introduced. Of the former it may be enough to say, that it was a great advance on what had been before, while its defects were sufficient to encourage farther attempts in the same line.

That some of these defects should be remedied in the more recent work, is no more than might have been with confidence expected from the talents and the opportunities of its editors. The work is marked by a strict attention to lyrical structure, and the careful rejection of faulty expressions. There is also a large addition to the number of hymns before in use. But we are constrained to add that if this book presents us with the best collection of sacred hymns which our language can afford, we must feel that as yet we are not rich in sacred poetry.

Our particular object however is to speak of the system of notation adopted in this work, as the guide

in musical expression. We are aware of the claims to a candid and indulgent criticism which any attempt of this kind presents. It is not to be expected that such a work should be perfect. It is a work of taste, in a department of acknowledged difficulty, where the canons of criticism have yet to be written.

The most that should be demanded by the public, in such a case, is that too much should not be attempted; that what is done be based on broad and unquestionable principles; and that the execution of the work exhibit, throughout, the assiduous application of musical and poetic culture. If these conditions are fulfilled, the occasional occurrence of a faulty direction will not constitute a valid objection to the work. The strictures we have to make however do not relate to faults of this minor or accidental character; but to faults where the principle of notation is utterly indefensible, and the errors so marked as to defeat, where they occur, the aim both of the poetry and of the music.

That we may have distinctly in view the general principles by which we must test the instances we shall adduce, we remark that so far as the physical conditions of singing will admit, the rules for musical expression must be the same as the rules for expression in rhetorical reading. They are both limited to the same sphere. If tones in reading—observe we do not say words, for they have by arbitrary association an independent meaning—if tones in reading can not describe external objects, nor even suggest any thing in space, but only what is internal, so it is with tones in singing. The descriptive powers of music are limited strictly to what falls in time, and can never pass into space. True, it is said Haydn has described the objects of nature in the Creation. But how has he done this? Masses of powerful disconnected sound do not

suggest an elephant or leviathan ; but they may, by natural association, be suggestive of huge ungainly motion, and if, meanwhile, the accompanying words tell of the elephant or leviathan, these suggested motions may be attributed to the creatures named, and thus the description be made more picturesque by the aid of music. And this is the only mode except in the direct imitation of sound, in which music can be suggestive of objects in external nature.

We remark, further, as a rule for both musical and rhetorical expression, that when an idea is brought into bold relief by means of contrast, the voice should harmonize with the leading idea, and not become pantomimic of the secondary idea, which is only introduced as a foil to set off the principal thought. Thus, if the language expresses joy on deliverance from peril, the tone of voice harmonizes with the present triumph, and not with the past danger. If the words deplore the fall from a former happy state, the tones harmonize with the present wretchedness, not with the past joy.

The contrasted ideas may indeed be so expanded as to demand that the voice take the tone of each successively. But we are now treating of those brief expressions where there is no description, but only the utterance of feeling through the aid of contrasted ideas. As in the following instances. We quote from Church Psalmody, affixing the marks of notation as they stand in the book.

— Begirt with thee, my fearless soul,
p. The gloomy vale shall tread.

On what principle, we ask, is the second of these lines to be sung soft? We can easily see what probably led to the notation, and as easily see that the notation is entirely wrong. Here is no description of the gloomy vale. A gloomy vale can not be described by musical sounds, but only the feelings

or actions of one passing through it. But the feelings of the person here passing through it are triumphant, and not sad. The moment the voice falls into the soft expression in this line, the tone belies the whole sentiment of the couplet. Instead of treading the gloomy vale fearlessly, it falters at the very mention of it. We have read of one Faithful who actually went through the gloomy vale, uttering somewhat loudly these same cheering words as he went, so that his fellow pilgrim in the darkness behind him was encouraged on his way. We were taught to suppose that this Faithful acted here in a natural way for a brave man ; but it seems that his manner was in bad taste. It must be urged in apology for him that he was a somewhat antiquated personage, and probably his old hymn-book had not the marks of expression in it.

But, to treat this notation with a seriousness it does not deserve, we will put it to the test of reading. No good reader would read the couplet as it is here marked, and this is decisive of the question. Is it asked, what shall express the character of the vale, if the soft expression of voice is not to do it? We answer the adjective *gloomy* ; and for the force of this the inquirer must go to the dictionary.

We have dwelt the longer on this example, because its notation is characteristic of a numerous class of cases in the book. Witness the following :

Then let our humble faith address
His mercy and his power ;
mf. We shall obtain delivering grace
> In each distressing hour.

Thus, in the very language of hope and triumph, the mere mention of the evil triumphed over, makes the heart faint and the tongue falter. Can there be a more utter incongruity in any thing pertaining to art?

In that noble breathing for the

Holy Spirit, the property of all Christian hearts, the devotional feelings of the congregation are trifled with as follows :

- mf.* Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,
With all thy quickening powers ;
> Come shed abroad a Saviour's love,
And that shall kindle ours.

We quote again :

- mf.* With joy, where'er thy hand shall lead,
p. The darkest path I'll tread ;
f. With joy I'll quit these mortal shores,
Len. And mingle with the dead.

What confusion is here ! the words expressing courage throughout ; the music expressing courage where there is nothing to try it, but quailing the moment the appalling object comes to view.

Once more :

- Bright garlands of immortal joy
Shall bloom on every head ;
> While sorrow, sighing, and distress,
Like shadows all are fled.

We shall not spend words in characterizing this last notation. We recommend to all, who shall under-

take to supply marks of expression for the use of singers, to study the fact that the dictionary is designed to teach the meaning of words ; and the varied tones of voice, to express the emotions which the words awaken.

We are by no means unmindful of the many merits of the work we have here noticed ; but its faults can not be lightly spoken of. We think the labor of furnishing to our churches such a hymn-book as the times demand, waits for other hands.

He who shall embody and bring before the public the best treasures our language contains in sacred poetry, at once simple and glowing, chaste in form and instinct with the fire of holy feeling, will do an important work for the souls of the people—a work too, which, whatever be its pretensions in regard to directing the singer's performance, will have a most happy influence on the general taste, and on the progress of sacred music.

THE INCREASE OF CRIMES AGAINST LIFE.

UNTIL a very recent period, the soil of New England has rarely been wet with unhallowed blood ; an atrocious murder furnished a tale of horror for half a century. The inhabitants of our busy cities as well as of our quiet villages slept in unbolted houses, nor were their slumbers disturbed by dreams of robbers or assassins. A capital trial attracted the attention of the whole community ; and a public execution collected together the only mass meetings then known. Now, scarcely a term of court passes without the impanneling of a grand jury in a case of life and death. The youngest judge on the bench in Connecticut has already tried three cases of murder. That feeling of security which constituted one great charm

of a residence in the land of the Pilgrims is painfully diminished, and we begin to look for protection to watchfulness by day, and to bolts and bars by night. What has produced this melancholy change ? We answer, the causes, direct and remote, are various and of a complicated character.

Among them may be mentioned the constantly diminishing value that is set upon human life. Formerly the death of any individual was regarded as a loss. Any human being, in the arithmetic of social life, was estimated at something more than a cypher. But as population increases, individuality is lost. It is scarcely in the power of the warmest benevolence to shed a tear at the death of one of the myriads

who swarm on the plains of China or Hindostan. This natural feeling is strengthened by the maxims of modern warfare—the general in forming his plan for a battle, determines whether he shall maintain certain positions or not, by throwing into one scale the importance of the object, and into the other the number of lives which he can afford to spare. If he finds the sacrifice not too dear, he builds his ramparts of human bodies with as much indifference as he does those of wood and stone. This sanguinary arithmetic establishes his reputation as a warrior even more than his courage; and nations vie with each other in conferring honor upon the wholesale homicide.

The mixture of individuals of different races and nations has a tendency to weaken the bonds of sympathy in a community. A feeling of brotherhood among those who look back to a common origin operates, even unconsciously, as a powerful restraint on acts of violence. On the contrary, the mere relationship of a common humanity proves but a feeble barrier against the impulses of avarice or revenge.

Temptations to crime arising from the loss of property or disappointed ambition, since riches seem to have taken wings, and honor is but a fleeting breath, have become to many irresistible. The universal homage paid to wealth and power have rendered life without them an intolerable burthen, and a remedy is sought in suicide or murder.

The absurd and barbarous custom of carrying deadly weapons in a peaceable community, a fashion which admits of no apology except the necessity which is created by itself, may be ranked among the causes of the alarming increase of homicide. The duration of passions is inversely as their intensity. That degree of sudden violence which is necessary to imbrue the hands in blood, lasts but a moment,

and if an opportunity for its gratification is not presented, the explosion passes off without injury. Many men, whose rashness has brought them to the prison or the gallows, might exclaim, in the language of King John—

"How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Makes deeds ill done."*

Another principal cause of the increase of capital crimes seems to be the diminished dread of a trial. All experience establishes the fact, that fear is the most efficacious restraint upon vice. Formerly, to the dread of punishment was added the scarcely less powerful dread of a public investigation. The forms and ceremonies of courts were calculated to fill the mind with awe. The severity which marked the countenance of the judge, the solemnity which pervaded the whole assembly, the coldness with which every eye was turned upon the prisoner at the bar, inspired his soul with a terrible presage of what was to follow. Now the scene has entirely changed. The judge has become familiarized to cases of life and death, and his countenance in the progress of such a trial no longer wears that awed and awful expression which it wore in other times. The crowd who are drawn to the court-house by the excitement of the occasion, are listening with comparative indifference to the details of the transaction, or yawning with disappointed curiosity; the unemployed members of the bar are whiling away their time in reading newspapers, or watching the effect

* Happily the practice of carrying deadly weapons has not yet become common in this part of the country, being confined in a great measure to those few whose ideas on such subjects are not indigenous to New England. But the few who, in imitation of barbarous customs elsewhere prevalent, do carry such weapons, are the very individuals in whose hands a deadly weapon is most likely to be employed for a deadly purpose upon some sudden impulse.

of the testimony upon the looks of the accused. At a recent trial of a woman for murdering her own child, an aged gentleman, formerly a public prosecutor, who happened to come in, mistook the case for an action of assault and battery. The indictment of a grand jury no longer puts the prisoner at the bar out of the pale of society. The public, adopting and misapplying the charitable maxim of the law, that every one is presumed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty, is too prone to regard every charge of guilt as an apparent wrong, and the higher the charge the greater of course the injustice. Hence, the prisoner's box, instead of being a place where he must "face a frowning world," is one to which many eyes are directed beaming with the most encouraging sympathy. If the transaction is one of peculiar enormity, the accused becomes the lion of the day, and perhaps finds himself elevated to a position to which he could in vain have aspired in a life of virtue. His looks, dress, and manners, become a matter of public interest, and the reporter and engraver vie with each other in their efforts to gratify public curiosity. The health and avocations of royalty itself can not boast of more anxious and authentic bulletins. Modern trials furnish an incentive to the perpetration of crime.

The constantly increasing difficulty of procuring convictions on indictment for murder, when there is no real doubt of the guilt of the accused, is another encouragement to the commission of capital offenses. A hardened and experienced offender learns to calculate the chances of escape, and finding that as the atrocity of crime increases the danger of it diminishes, he secures his safety by the blood of his victim. An inmate of the Connecticut state prison was sent there as a robber, on evidence that failed to convict him as a murderer, although

the robbery was committed on the dead body of the man whom he had deliberately shot. A compassionate jury let the hardened wretch go free; but the outrage was too great even for modern sympathy to tolerate.*

The difficulty of procuring a conviction is frequently owing to an abuse of a just and merciful privilege, which is conceded to the accused by the common law, and which is called a peremptory challenge. By means of this, the accused has it in his power to exclude a certain number of the jurors who have been empaneled to try him, without assigning any reasons. This rule is founded on the supposition that the prisoner may have personal knowledge of some prejudice or other disqualification of the juror, which he is not able to prove by testimony. In this day of hostility to capital punishment and sympathy with crime, the prisoner, having ascertained the principles and character of those who have been summoned to try him, can at once exclude all whose love of justice and firmness of purpose he has reason to fear. Having at length succeeded in finding twelve men timid and weak minded enough for his purpose, he considers his acquittal already secured. If however his trial occurs in a section of the country yet uncontaminated with modern notions of justice, he may use the same privilege as a means of bringing into the jury-box some consci-

* It is difficult to doubt that the acquittal here referred to, which took place in Middlesex County,—and the consequent impression that a Middlesex jury, though they might find a verdict against a robber, would find none against a murderer,—had an effect in a recent instance in that same county. The burglar, surprised in the act of plunder, judged instantly that his safest course was to murder the witness who had surprised him. It is difficult to think that his mind, in forming that instantaneous judgment, was not under a bias from what was then the last trial for murder in that county.

entious but obstinate dunce, whose mind he can imbue with the doctrine of a reasonable doubt. This can usually be effected without difficulty when the evidence is solely circumstantial. It is easy for such a juror to mistake the confusion of ideas in his own mind, for uncertainty in the testimony; and having the full evidence of his own consciousness of the existence of doubt, he refuses to yield until the impatience of his fellow jurors discharges the offender.

Unfounded acquittals are sometimes obtained through the influence of public sentiment. The ears of jurors are guarded by the law against improper communications, but their eyes are left open; they can read without difficulty the feelings and opinions of the multitude. Few men are capable of being entirely uninfluenced by the judgment of others. Hence the question virtually tried in many instances is, not whether the accused ought to be hung, but whether the deceased ought to have been killed. If the public entertain the latter opinion, the jury will justify themselves perhaps in setting at liberty the volunteer executioner.

In many cases, atrocious criminals are indebted for the preservation of their lives, to some sciolist of the medical profession, who can in this respect, at least, boast of his success in robbing the grave of its victims. He is able to prove to a wondering jury, that most cases of aggravated offenses, are merely the results of undiscovered maladies; and that the perpetrators are so far from deserving death at the hands of the executioner, as to need only the benefit of his care and skill, in order to their becoming safe and worthy members of society. He can prove to a demonstration, that an appetency for crime, is only a disproportionate development, or a morbid state, of a certain portion of the brain, for which the poor patient

is no more responsible than he would be for the small pox or the plague. The jury, glad to be relieved from a painful duty, charitably pronounce the prisoner insane, which judgment wiser men transfer from the accused to his preserver.

Probably, however, the increasing uncertainty whether, in case of conviction the penalty of the law will be rigidly enforced, has done more than any thing else, to multiply capital offenses. The antipathy which so many feel to capital punishment, and the sympathy which few can avoid, for human suffering, however well merited, enable the friends of the convict, to make powerful appeals to executive or legislative clemency. Unhappily the temptation to indulge the natural feelings of compassion, strengthened by a desire to gratify a numerous and respectable body of petitioners, too often proves irresistible; consequently the legislature virtually annuls the law which itself has enacted; for the chief magistrate whose duty it is to see that the law is executed, is the first to destroy its efficiency.

In tracing to its sources the increase of crimes against life, we must not overlook the influence of the unprincipled portion of the press. The art of printing, which has proved to so many a "savor of life unto life," has also been to thousands "a savor of death unto death." Those winged messengers, that now fly through the land, come as often like demons from the bottomless pit, as like angels from the regions of light.

Principles of the most destructive tendency are disseminated in every form, calculated to attract the attention and poison the minds of the ignorant and unwary. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, tracts and every other species of publication, are prostituted for the sake of gain, to strip crime of its enormity and punishment of its terrors. By such means the bold and aspiring are sometimes educated to seek the

honor of being chief of a band of pirates, and the glory of a conquest over the weak and defenseless.

We do not propose to enumerate all the causes that have had a tendency to increase capital crimes. Enough has been mentioned to fill us with alarm and to induce us to seek a remedy. How then can this alarming tendency be arrested and New England become more than ever a land unstained with blood? We answer, it can not be done by eradicating the causes to which we have referred the increase of crimes against life. Our population will continue to increase, until we become like the sand of the sea-shore for multitude. Our land will long be the asylum for the oppressed of every nation, and thousands of aliens will throng our villages and cities, with the hope of improving their condition. The forms and ceremonies, that formerly gave dignity

and solemnity to our courts of justice, can no more be restored, than we could reassume the costume of our Pilgrim forefathers. Privileges granted to criminals, however much abused, are like other gifts; they can never be recalled. No censorship over the manners of the people or over the press, will ever be tolerated, until we cease to be free.

What then can be done? We answer, we have the same remedy that we possess for all other evils, moral, civil, political or religious. We shall never expel tyranny by the sword nor heresy by the flames. We shall never eradicate vice by law, nor protect life or property by an armed force. Such remedies partake not of the spirit of our institutions. We must aim our efforts at the minds and hearts of freemen. Our safety depends on constant and persevering efforts to enlighten the one and to purify the other.

ENGLISH PHILOLOGY.*

THAT a new era in English philology has opened, must be evident to all who have given any attention to the bibliography of the times. That this era is characterized by the adoption of the historical principle of investigation, is equally evident. The present, indeed, is the historical age of science. The world seems, at length, to have advanced beyond the period of its boyhood; and now in its incipient manhood, begins to believe and feel

that there is something worth regarding in the past as well as in the future. At all events, in those sciences which are most intimately connected in their development with the advancement of the human mind, and which participate in its growth, it is the historical point of view which is now more generally sought. Even history itself now seeks to establish itself on this basis alone—the idea of the progressive in the human race. Especially do these observations hold true of the science of philology. No one can doubt, for a moment, that this is the only true stand-point for the study of language. We have the promise, therefore, of richer harvests being garnered, in this interesting department of learning, than have yet been known. But it is obvious that the historical investigation will pro-

* A Classical Spelling Book; containing Rules and Reasons for English orthography and pronunciation; derived from a complete analysis of the language. By Rev. A. B. Chapin, M. A., Mem. Conn. Acad. Science and Arts; Mem. Conn. Hist. Soc.; Hon. Mem. R. I. Hist. Soc.; etc. etc. New York: Alexander V. Blake, 54 Gold Street; also, Saxton & Miles, 205 Broadway. 1842. 12mo. pp. 180.

ceed but blindly and limpingly, unless guided and supported by certain *a priori* principles. It would be ridiculous indeed, to attempt a history of the philosophy of mind, in utter ignorance of the laws of mind, as determined from the study of its present action. There are laws of language which, as they are universal, being founded in the very nature and organization of man, can be as well ascertained, to say the least, from direct inspection of existing phenomena, as from history. The material of language—vocal utterances—we have as a subject of direct observation. The sounds of our own language, and the possible sounds in all languages, to some extent, may be better learned from this direct inspection than from any historic description. The mind, also, in constructing language from this material, proceeds according to the laws of its own being; and these laws admit of being ascertained without recourse to history. History may verify the results of such observation; but it can not itself be safely or profitably employed without some previous knowledge of these laws.

It is precisely here, we imagine, that philological investigations are now most embarrassed. There is not united with the almost incredible scholarship and erudition of modern philologists, a sufficiently clear and distinct apprehension of the material of language—the vocal elements of speech—or of the laws by which the mind is governed in framing language. This first essential in a thorough investigation of the science has been overlooked; and the very foundation is unsettled, while the superstructure is rising in magnificent stateliness and beauty.

The little work, the title of which we have placed at the foot of a preceding column, can not but be regarded as an emanation of the spirit of philological research which has been recently awakened. Its mod-

est title-page would almost blush with confusion at the publicity to which we are now exposing it. But unpretending as it is, it aims at an object than which few are of more importance in English science. The plan of the work, as the author justly intimates in his preface, contemplates not the pupil or the teacher alone, but the man of science. The design of it can not be, in the slightest degree, accomplished without most extensive learning and most laborious toil. Indeed the perfect accomplishment of such a design, in the present stage of philological science, would, of itself, prove the author to be a giant in erudition as well as a Hercules in labor. The book, moreover, incorporates in itself many of the valuable results of modern philological research; and is, therefore, a valuable contribution to this department of science. Indeed, we regard it as fitted to be really useful only to men of science. English philology is, as yet, too much in its infancy, too immature and imperfect, to admit of a practical application of its principles and results in the form of elementary text-books. Such attempts to force the science, so incomplete, into the form of an art with its "rules and reasons," must be futile from the nature of the case. For those rules and those reasons are but imperfectly understood; and therefore it must be expected that they will unavoidably abound with error. To teach such "rules and reasons" in our common schools, must corrupt the language just so far as the attempt at teaching is successful. It is far better and safer, even for philology itself, to leave the language to be learned as heretofore, from the actual use of individual words. If classification be allowed at all, it should be only within very narrow bounds. The evil that would result, even from one erroneous rule or principle inculcated on all the minds of a sin-

gle generation, by the universal use of the same book in our schools, it is at once seen, would be immense. It would not only affect the class of words which the rule directly embraces; but, by the introduction of a new, unnatural principle in the formation of language, it would even render subsequent investigations more difficult and more uncertain. We should then have a veritable anomaly in the language. Now the errors of individual teachers, or the deviations and irregularities prevalent in particular regions or provinces, are corrected by the use of the country at large; but, in the case supposed, there would be no means of correction left. A school book may be exceedingly incomplete far more safely, than it can be even slightly incorrect.

An examination of this work, notwithstanding its unostentatious appearance, is justified and demanded by its character and design. The contribution of so much labor to this important service should not go unappreciated and unnoticed. We undertake a brief examination of it because we sympathize with the author, at least to some extent, in his views of the importance of just such labors as he has undertaken at the present time; because we sympathize with him also in feeling the want of just such a work as his aims to be; because, too, we esteem it a privilege to contribute something towards the accomplishment of his object. But while we award to him the merit of having conceived a useful design, of having pursued his design with great industry, and of having attained some useful results; we still believe that we are best promoting the object he has in view, as well as the interests of this new and important science, if, instead of dwelling more particularly upon what is meritorious in this work, we freely point out what we think to be errors and imperfections. We regard this

as an important duty; for certainly with our present opinions, we should greatly deprecate the introduction of the work into our schools. We should deprecate, as most disastrous to the interests of English philology, the general admission of the idea, that "the *principles*" of the work "may be regarded as firmly established." And besides, in respect to the pleasant duty of commending the excellencies of the book, we are forestalled by the flattering notices which are appended to it by the publishers; notices from sources which we are accustomed to respect.* It is not, therefore, with a cynic spirit that we undertake our task. Nor do we forget how difficult the execution of such a work must be; but on the other hand, we believe that we appreciate this difficulty more highly than the author himself, and are therefore more ready than he would be to make allowances on this score. Nor again are we unmindful of the uncertainty of opinion in regard to many of the matters discussed; but on the contrary, one main object with us is to prevent these uncertainties from passing into errors.

Perhaps the fundamental error of the author lies in his misconception of the stage at which English philology has arrived at the present time. We question much whether the science is ripe enough for the production of a work on the plan of the one before us, a work which professes to give the "rules and reasons for English orthography and pronunciation, derived from a complete analysis of the language." In our opinion, any thing like a complete analysis of our language for the purpose of determining the laws of its orthography and pronunciation, is at the present time quite impracticable. Years of hard

* It is, perhaps, due to accuracy to say, that the commendations of the work, from the most distinguished names, respect rather the *plan* than the *execution*.

labor are yet indispensably necessary to enable one even to set out in such a work.

An analysis of this nature, it is obvious, can not move a step, without a previous knowledge of the laws which determine orthography and pronunciation; or at least of the sources from which those laws are derived. Now the merest tyro in the English language knows that these laws are derived from quite various sources. Indeed, as our language has freely admitted words from foreign stocks without undertaking to subject them to its own original laws of orthoepy, it is obvious that to the labor of ascertaining the original laws of the language, is superadded the labor of ascertaining the laws of those foreign tongues from which we have derived any supplies. We have, in fact, instead of one body of laws to govern our pronunciation, (to say nothing here of our orthography,) as would be the case if our language were strictly homogeneous, as many different codes as there are different stocks which have furnished us words. The laws of the pronunciation of Anglo-Saxon words differ essentially from those which control words of Greek or Latin or French extraction. The law, therefore, which regulates the pronunciation of any particular word, must be traced first in the language from which it sprang. Its history must be ascertained; the circumstances of its introduction; the influence of pure English analogy upon it. It will be found that words of the same parentage, and of the same class in the original tongue, are pronounced quite diversely in our own, as *gentile*, *mercantile*; *scutage*, *village*; *ca-ret*, *par-ent*; *la-tent*, *pat-ent*. Some have conformed more, and some less, to the analogy of strict English idiom. Some are still fluctuating, as *matron*, *tenet*, *tenure*. Thus it comes to pass that the original source of the word, the

channel through which it comes to us, the time of its introduction, the circumstances of its use, severally exert an influence on our orthoepy. So unquestionable will this appear to those in the slightest degree acquainted with the subject, that no further illustrations are deemed necessary. We maintain, therefore, that the only correct, the only feasible mode of classifying the words of the English language with reference to their orthoepy, must be by this historical analysis. Any other must obviously rest on the merely accidental; and have no claim to any scientific character. That the present stage of philological science is sufficiently advanced for such an analysis, we deem at least questionable. Mr. Chapin, at all events, whatever may be his attainments in philological research, has made no such use of them. This analysis, undoubtedly, we shall sooner or later possess. But the history of the English language, and the facts of comparative philology are, as yet, in our judgment, altogether too imperfectly known for any successful attempt at a complete analysis.

Certainly the principles and facts of our *phonology* are too little understood for such an effort. And this is fundamental. Until the nature of the elemental sounds of speech is known; until it is known how many and what they are; what laws preside over the changes they undergo in combination, as in the derivation and inflection of words; how far the phonology of those foreign tongues, from which we have derived more or less of our words, differs from our own;—until these points are distinctly understood, all must be uncertain and obscure in our systems of orthography and orthoepy. Yet where shall we look for a complete system of English phonology? What work has yet appeared in our own or in any foreign language which has ventured to reduce to any thing like a system

the principles and facts even of general phonology?

We say, then, that in the present stage of English philology, a complete analysis of the language for orthoepic purposes is impracticable. And this is the great error in the work under consideration; it seeks to deduce conclusions when the very premises remain unsettled.

But perhaps we may be thought by some to have assumed too much; and they may require of us that we justify our opinion, by some proof from the work itself, that our philology is as yet too immature for such an undertaking. This we will now attempt to do, premising, simply, that we shall pass over slighter errors or mistakes, and shall notice only what may appear to us to rise to the character of "principles." Even these we shall notice only so far as, being asserted in the preface to the work with so much confidence to be "firmly established," they may be in danger of being received and credited to the serious detriment of the purity of the language.

We begin with the principles of articulation or phonology as they are set forth in the chapter containing the "summary of principles deduced from the analysis" in the former part of the book. We repeat, that correct views here are fundamental. Evidently if the nature of the elemental sounds of speech is not understood, all conclusions in orthoepy founded on the nature of those sounds must be uncertain. It is as if an arithmetician should carry on his processes of multiplication or division, while still ignorant of the respective values of the digits.

The elemental sounds in the English language are distributed by Mr. C. into two classes—vowels and consonants. A vowel is defined to be "a sound that can be uttered with a single impulse of voice, and which can be continued at pleasure." This definition, certainly, has the merit of novelty; hardly, we think, of ac-

curacy. Indeed the application he makes of it to prove that the letter *r* is sometimes a vowel, may be made to at least half the consonants. All the vocal letters of the language can be "uttered with a single impulse of the voice;" and all but three "can be continued at pleasure." If we except six consonants that from their very formation do not admit of prolongation, viz. *p, k, t, b, d, g*, there is not an elemental sound that can not be continued as long and as easily as the vowel sound of *i* in *pit*.

The definition of a consonant—"an instantaneous sound that may precede the beginning or follow the ending of a vowel sound," is equally inaccurate, besides being exceedingly obscure and indefinite. Every vowel sound may be embraced within the terms of the definition.

The classification of the vowel sounds as thus distinguished from the consonants is, if possible, still more unfortunate. It is assumed that the distinctive character of each vowel sound is imparted to it by some modification of "the vocalized column of air" produced through the organs of the mouth. Thus the *a* in *ah*, is said to be "formed at the throat;" *e* in *be*, "at the teeth;" and *oo* in *coo* "on the outer verge of the lip." There is an accumulation of proof on this subject which establishes, in our minds, the conviction that the vowel sounds are determined as to their distinctive nature by no action of any part of the mouth whatever. It is not the place here to detail this proof. It is sufficient for the overthrow of the assumption of Mr. C. to call attention to the fact that the element *oo* in *coo* is formed far back in the throat and not by any action of the lips, as any one may see by watching the position of the organs while he pronounces the word "*cook*." Mr. C. has evidently mistaken a merely accidental coöperation of the organs of the mouth in forming these elements in some particular cases, for

what is essential in producing them. His whole classification and nomenclature of the vowel sounds is thus without any support. Nor, indeed, is his arrangement and description of them even accidentally correct. The following detail of some particular mistakes will show this. In the first place, we can discover, in his distinction of vowel sounds into *simple*, *intermediate* and *diphthongal*, no provision for the short vowels *a* in *fat*, *i* in *pit*, *e* in *pen*, and *o* in *not*. Perhaps, however, as his definition makes capability of prolongation an essential of a vowel sound, these are not vowels but consonants. Mr. C. even on this supposition is still inconsistent with himself; for he elsewhere justly regards them as vowels. Again, he is very unfortunate in exemplifying his *intermediate* vowel sound *a* by the word *hate*. While a long *a* is sometimes diphthongal as in *array*, it is not, we are confident, in *hate*, nor in many other words. The same remark may be made of his *o* in *note*.

To pass to his third class, the *diphthongal vowel sounds*, we are decidedly of the opinion that the *u* in *tube* is not composed of *e* and *oo*; nor *o* in *for* of *ah* and *oo*; nor *oi* in *boil* of *o* in *for* and *e*. A very slight observation of the actual position of the organs in forming these sounds, we think, will show to any one that the first constituent of the *u* is *i* as in *pit*; and that *o* in *for* has nothing of the sound either of *ah* or *oo*. And *oi*, if Mr. C.'s account is true, is not a diphthong, but a triphthong, being composed of *o* in *for*, which is equivalent to *ah* and *oo*, and *e*, which, by the way, he has confounded with short *i* as in *pit*. Without spending time to point out more specific errors in the description of the vowel sounds—for we regard the whole as essentially erroneous—we only add in reference to this part of the subject, that the diagram of the vowel sounds given on page 154, is entirely fanciful,

and from what has already been shown, must appear to be founded in no correct observation of the mode of forming the sounds of speech.

The classification of the consonants is as defective, or rather as erroneous, as that of the vowels. Indeed there is hardly an observation in the whole description which we regard as correct. The consonants are "named from the organs principally employed in forming them." The first class is more accurately described than any other of the six; but even in this *f* and *v* are essentially distinguished from the others *p*, *m*, *b*, by the fact that they are as much dentals as labials. The second class, called *dentals*, *sh*, *s*, *z*, *zh*, happen to be formed without any coöperation of the teeth at all, as is obvious on the slightest inspection. The third class, called *lingo-dentals*, are equally independent of the teeth; *ch* and *j* are compounds of two consonants; and the other two *li* in *billion*, and *ni* in *runnion*, are compounded of the consonants *l* and *n*, and the short vowel *i* in *pit*; or as Mr. C. erroneously considers it, the consonant *y*. The fourth class, called *lingual*, includes two, *th* and *dh*, (or the two sounds of *th* in *both* and *booth*,) which are essentially *lingua-dentals*. The others differ so much in their properties that they should never be classed together; the *l* and the *re* (?) being essentially different from *t*, *n*, *d*. The fifth class are *palatal*, and embrace *kh*, (?) *k*, *ng*, *g*, and *y*, which last, we think, is a vowel, being the same as the *i* in *pit*, and certainly is entirely independent of the palate. The last class includes the *gutturals*, *h* and "*uR* if a consonant." We question the correctness of that view which regards *h* as a consonant. It has no one property of a consonant, and is properly to be ranked as an aspirated vowel with *wh*, which Mr. C. erroneously regards as compounded of *h* and *w*.

The other consonant of this class, *r*, is certainly formed farther forward in the mouth than those of the fifth class.

The attempt to give another classification of consonants, into *mutes*, *liquids*, *composites*, *sharp aspirates*, and *smooth aspirates*, founded on "their several characteristics," shows most clearly that Mr. C. had no definite notions of the nature of the sounds of speech. What is the ground of these "characteristics?" Is not a *dental* characteristically different from a *labial*? Why is not his first classification as much founded on "the several characteristics" of the consonants as the last? Doubtless a *mute* is to be distinguished from those consonants which Mr. C. denominates *liquids*. There is a most obvious distinction of consonants into *vocals* and *non-vocals*;* but that is a genuine distinction applicable to all the elements, vowels as well as consonants. Besides, the first class of this division, as arranged by Mr. Chapin, the "*mutes*," are in no respect to be distinguished from the fourth, the "*sharp aspirates*." For *f* and *sh* of the latter class are no more aspirated than *s* certainly of the first. Why, moreover, *z* and *zh*, or the element represented by *z* in *azure*, should be placed in different classes, we can not conjecture. The definitions or specific descriptions of these divisions give us no aid in ascertaining the reason. Indeed, these definitions are wholly wanting in precision, if not in sense. What the author could have been thinking of when he defined liquids to be those elements "*which have some vocal tone preceding their utterance*," (!) we are at a loss to divine. And what idea can a boy get from the definition of the third class or *composites*, which are said to be "those intermediate between the sound of

the liquid and mute, or, as some suppose, composed of both." A mute is defined to "have no vocal sound." A liquid has "some vocal tone preceding its utterance." A composite, being intermediate between a mute and a liquid, lies in that region, unknown to us, between "no vocal sound" and "a vocal tone," or, "as some suppose," is composed of both, i. e. of vocality and non-vocality!

But it is worse than idle to pursue this examination of Mr. C.'s principles of phonology farther. Enough has been said to show that he knew little of what he was writing. Let not the condemnation of ignorance be however too harshly pronounced. Like absurdities and nonsense may be detected in many so called systems of articulation. May not similar defects be discovered in the incipient and immature developments of almost every science? We had supposed, however, that the science of phonology was nearer maturity than Mr. C.'s work would indicate. There are works indeed which have avoided these blunders. But, unhappily, philologists have overlooked too much this fundamental branch of their science, and have left it to be cultivated by other hands.

With such a basis to stand upon, it is apparent that Mr. C.'s whole system of orthoepy must be unstable and unworthy of any confidence. He knows not the value of his digits; and however accurate his knowledge of the rule of multiplication, and however correct his application of it, his products are uncertain, and without value.

Although sufficient may have already been said to show how dangerous to the interests of a pure orthoepy, it would be to introduce this work into our elementary schools, still, it may not be amiss in order to indicate its scientific value more fully, to extend our examination into Mr. C.'s doctrines of *syllabication*. We are sorry to find the same loose-

* May they not better be denominated *phthongals* and *aphthongals*?

ness and negligence here that have troubled us hitherto. His definitions are wholly wanting in philosophical precision, and consequently, if strictly interpreted, are untrue. We find, in part, the errors of his phonology introduced here, and, in part, his principles there rejected, here. For a single example, *o* in *go*, which had before been called an intermediate vowel sound, is here a simple vowel sound. His deductions from these definitions and principles, are of course, inaccurate and uncertain. We shall only instance a few of them; not because there are not many more, but simply because these will answer our purpose.

"From these principles," he says, p. 155, "it follows that simple syllables ending with vowels, always have their vowels long; but ending with a consonant or consonants, always have their vowels short." A simple syllable he had before defined to be one that "has but one simple vowel sound." To say nothing of the ambiguity with which the words "long" and "short" are here and elsewhere used, sometimes denoting mere quantity, sometimes indicating the kind of vowel sound,* both of the particular assertions contained in the remark above quoted, are untrue. In the first place, there is a multitude of words in the English language in which "simple syllables ending with vowels" are short. The *i*, thus, is short in such words as *chariot*, *scrutiny*, *attitude*. In the next place, simple syllables "ending with a consonant or consonants," do not "always have their vowels short;" as *portion*, *danger*, *moonstruck*, *poorness*, *artist*, *wanting*.

Of the particular rules which

* We sometimes say, thus, that the *a* is long in *war* and short in *quality*, referring to the quantity merely of the vowel. We say, also, that *a* has its long sound in *alias* and its short sound in *alibi*, when we speak of the nature or kind of the vowel sound.

are given "for pronouncing vowel letters," "for representing vowel sounds," "for unaccented vowel sounds," "for representing consonant sounds," "for division of words," some appear to us to be correct, and some incorrect. As a system of rules, they show a want of skill in discriminating among the proper sounds of the letters, and a haste in generalizing. It would be tedious to examine them one by one. The most that we can say of any particular rule, is, it may be correct, it may be incorrect: the reader must satisfy himself by actual investigation. In other words, the rules are not a trustworthy guide to correct pronunciation. Many of the modes of pronouncing particular words, on which sometimes his rule is in part founded, we regard as discordant with correct usage, and to adopt them would justly subject one to the charge of vulgarity.* It is for this reason, mainly, that we should deprecate the use of the book in our elementary schools. The "rules and reasons," even if committed to memory, so far as erroneous, might be corrected in riper years. The habits of pronouncing single words formed when young, would be likely to remain through life, with but partial correction from observation of accurate use.

* Such are *merry* and other words of that class in which, on pp. 74 and 155, the *e* is said to have the sound of the "long and slender" *a* as in *fate*, but on p. 159, the sound of *a* in *care*, both incorrectly; *spirit* pronounced *spirit*; *yes*, as if *yis*; *early*, &c. the *ea* as in *heavy*; *haunch*, &c. the *au* like *a* in *care*; *draught* as if *drast*; and a multitude of others. Some of these errors evince want of observation of best usage; others an indiscriminating ear. Few pages in the book where orthoepy is treated of, are free from such blunders. An inability to distinguish the sound of the vowel in the last syllable in such words as *breakfast*, *trespass*, *balance*, *giant*, and successive pages of similar words, from the short *a* sound in *but*, evinces the want of an essential qualification for writing a work on pronunciation.

We discover the same want of accuracy and of systematic investigation in handling the principles of *accentuation*. To say nothing of his definition of accent, which we consider to be defective, as giving but one of the elements of accent, we are sure that many of his rules are incorrect. Certainly *subjugate*, as well as many other words of three syllables, must be regarded as having more than one accent. "All proper compounds" in two syllables, further, do not "accent the first syllable," as *beef-steak*; nor do all "words derived by prefixes" in two syllables accent the last, as *upland*, *upstart*. It is not true that all "trisyllables accent the antepenult" in words ending the penult with a vowel, as *creation*; nor that such as end the second syllable with a consonant always accent the penult, even allowing for the exceptions that are given, as *clownishness*, *amnesty*. Indeed, not one of the rules given by Mr. C. for the accentuation of words will apply in all cases, as he has asserted. The exceptions, which he has omitted to give, are so numerous as to render the rules unsafe guides in practice. They are additional instances of that hasty generalization and misapprehension of the true principle applicable to the case in hand, which give character to the whole work.

In his "summary of principles" deduced from the "analysis," Mr. C. has omitted to give any "rules and reasons" for the orthography of the language. In this part of his work, we are inclined to think he would have succeeded better than in any other; we, therefore, regret the omission. Still we must apprehend errors would have crept in, so many and so capital as to injure much the value of his book as a practical guide. At least this must be our apprehension if we are to take as a specimen of his skill the only general rule which we now recollect to have noticed. It is in a

note on page 64, where he says, "words which end in *eur* in the French, *ore* in the Italian, and *ors* in the Provençal, should have *our* in English." He had just above said, "abstract nouns, or words denoting names of qualities, have *our* instead of *or*; but not names of things; except the word *Saviour*."* These two rules, we suppose, are intended to cover in part, at least, the same ground. His tables, on the same page, are inconsistent with both. *Stupor*, *terror*, *languor*, *sapor*, thus, are spelt, contrary to his rules, although correctly, without the *u*; while *succor*, *horror*, *flavor*, are incorrectly spelt with *our*. We confess ourselves unable on Mr. C.'s principles to perceive the ground of the distinction.

The title-page of the book gave no promise of any etymological investigation; and the many pages devoted to this subject are a work of supererogation, except so far as the principles of derivation affect those of orthoepy and orthography. Yet these pages are the most valuable part of the book. The subject is indeed imperfectly treated. We think the author has failed to seize the principle of classification that will give clearness to this intricate subject. But he has the merit of having advanced farther in the actual classification of words according to their roots, than any preceding writer with whom we are acquainted. We are sorry to meet here with the faults that we have detected in other parts of the book. We note only the following instances of error, as being sufficient to justify our remark, and to show how far the work may be depended on as authority in matters of etymology. The rule for forming plurals on p. 170, is inaccurate. The plural of *solo* is not *soloes*, as

* He adds, that *Saviour* "is the name both of a person and a quality." Where, in the English language, is "*Saviour*" the name of a *quality*?

his rule requires, nor of *tory*, *torys*, and so of other words of the same classes. Mr. C. gives *str* as a *masculine* termination. Prof. Latham correctly regards it as originally a *feminine* affix as in *songster*, from Anglo-Saxon, *sangēstre*, a female singer, *sangere*, a male singer.

We question the propriety of considering *enunciate* as a derivative from *enounce*;—*ock* as a verbal termination denoting “intensive causation,” as from “to jam, to jammock,” the only example given;—the *verbal* termination *le* as a diminutive, as in *prickle*;—*compendium*, *eulogium*, and the like as derivatives from *compend*, *eulogy*;—*dom*, *wick*, &c. as forming “territorial possessives.” It might be expected, perhaps, that in the enumeration both of prefixes and of suffixes some might escape notice. Was it from doubt as to the

correctness of regarding *rel*, as in *pickerel*, a diminutive, and *rd* and *oon*, as in *laggard* and *balloon*, as augmentatives, that when such words were presented to the author in his “complete analysis” of the language, he chose to pass them by without enumeration? In a school-book many such omissions would be proper. But for the “man of science” for whom, in part, at least, this book is intended, completeness was desirable.

We forego farther notice of the etymological part of the book, and in conclusion, only express our joy at any evidence of an attention to English philology in our country; though we can not but earnestly hope that this work may not be considered a fair specimen of the state of that science among us.

A CHAPTER ON INTUITIVE TRUTHS.

INTUITIVE TRUTHS, or truths of Pure Reason, are those which lie at the foundation of all knowledge—truths to be assumed, not proved—truths which every body knows, or ought to know, without being taught—truths therefore about which there can be no dispute that does not imply fatuity or insanity, at least on one side of the argument.

Yet—and it is a signal lesson to the pride of human reason—there is nothing about which metaphysicians and schoolmen of all schools, Platonic, Aristotelian, Lockean, Kantian, Scotch, German, French, Transcendental, Common-Sense, Pyrrhonic and Eclectic,—have raised more doubts, and waged more controversies, than about these Intuitive Truths. The axioms of geometry have never been disputed by men or angels since first the great Geometer of the universe described in boundless space the diagram of his

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creation, and sent the spheres to roll and shine each in its own elliptic circuit. But though Plato preceded Euclid by a century, the axioms of that which calls itself philosophy are still to be adjusted. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est.* Who will tell us, then, that we live too late to make discoveries in philosophy? As Plato left room enough for Aristotle, and Aristotle for Plotinus, and Plotinus for the Schoolmen, and the Schoolmen for Des Cartes, and Des Cartes for Kant, and Kant for Hegel, and Hegel for the seers of the Dial; so there is room enough even now. Certainly there is no end as yet to progress in philosophy;—the only doubt is whether there is any beginning.

We have, in our day, been somewhat interested, at least as lookers on, in the strifes that have agitated the great empire of philosophy; and we have learned that inasmuch as

intuitive truths are of all propositions most certain, clear, and stable, the best way, and in many instances the shortest way of establishing a disputed proposition, is by introducing it as a squatter upon the domain of "pure reason," till by pre-emption or some other process it acquires a legal settlement and freehold in the category of intuitive truths. Thus in the controversy about "fate" and "free will," which has exercised the wits of metaphysicians in this apostate world for some thousands of years, and which the great poet tells us baffled the mightier powers of fallen angels ere this world was created,—the fatalist or necessitarian on the one side, and the free-willer on the other side, are insisting, and have been for centuries, each that his own dogma on that subject is not only true, but intuitively true—so true as to be unconsciously and necessarily assumed in all reasoning upon human actions—so palpably true that no man can doubt it without showing marks of insanity or idiocy, and none can gainsay it without contradicting his own words and thoughts, giving the lie to his own consciousness, and denying the very elements not only of all knowledge, but of his own intellectual and moral nature. The philosopher of the one party, when he makes out his catalogue of intuitive truths, gives a high place to the truth that in every act of choice there was in the chooser a full power to the contrary choice,—a power which in the same circumstances, and under precisely the same influences objective and subjective, might have chosen the other way. "The man that does not know this," quoth he, "does not know any thing; you can not begin to reason with him;—put him into Bedlam." On the other hand, the philosopher of the opposite party, with equal confidence, assumes it, and insists upon it, as a constitutional cognition of the mind, an element in all reasoning upon

human actions, that choice is in every instance determined by motives; and that, the state of mind immediately antecedent remaining the same, the choice could not be other than it was. He does not prove this—and indeed how can he?—otherwise than by taking it for granted, and showing that he who denies it is a numskull and has no right to believe any thing.

There are many important dogmas going up and down in the world that have but scanty prospects of obtaining permanently and generally the credit and authority demanded for them, unless they can in some way obtain a settlement among the intuitive truths. We can not speak particularly of the many dogmas, political, critical, historical, which, though they are of the greatest importance in the systems of thought to which they belong, are so incapable of proof that they must ultimately be rejected and cast out as fallacies, unless they can be adopted into this privileged category; but we may put in a word in behalf of the great doctrine of apostolical succession. We suggest the question to the asserters of that doctrine, whether it would not be wise to make a bold push at once, and get rid of the troublesome demands for proof so pertinaciously urged on the part of "dissenters," by enrolling their great first principle among the independent and eternal verities of the "pure reason." Certainly this great dogma has one at least of the most striking characteristics of the truths commonly called intuitive;—it can not be proved by any argument into which it does not itself enter as an element. It is so essential to the entire system of thought with which it stands connected, that every attempt to prove it, which has any appearance of plausibility, is found upon analysis to involve as an inseparable principle of the argument an assumption of the very thing to be proved. If

then this dogma is a truth of any kind, it must surely be an intuitive truth. But to suppose that it is not a truth, is to subvert the entire system of "church principles" from the foundation,—a conclusion not to be admitted for a moment.

As for the difficulty that this dogma of the apostolical succession is actually denied, and is most strenuously disputed against,—is there any thing in that which may not be got rid of? Intuitive truths are defined as truths which all men believe, and no man denies. They evidently depend then for their authority upon "catholic consent," for this is the very definition of Vincentius, *Quod semper, ubique, ab omnibus*; and "catholic consent," as is well known, takes no account of the opinions of "dissenters;" so that the catholic consent in behalf of any doctrine, is simply the consent of those who agree in holding it. Since then those who deny the doctrine of apostolical succession are all "dissenters" either in form or in heart, their denials and arguments are no more to be heeded than the notions of lunatics; and so, in spite of all that they can say or print, the doctrine may be assumed as an intuitive truth. Besides; though the propositions to which this name is applied are classified as undeniable and indisputable, there is not in the whole category one proposition so undeniable as the plain matter of fact that of all the truths in philosophy, none are more denied or more disputed about by philosophers themselves, than the very truths which are so confidently set up as impossible to be denied or disputed, except under the influence of insanity. If it is becoming very difficult in these days to say who is insane, it is becoming equally difficult to say who is not. If a philosopher mounts to the denial of some intuitive truth, he can be put down in the very 'height of his great argument' by telling him "Much learning doth

make thee mad." Why then may not the "dissenter," who becomes so audacious as to dispute against apostolical succession, be put down by the cry of 'German neology,' which is only another name for "the very error of the moon?" Should it be objected that the "dissenters" are too many to be thus disposed of, it may be remembered on the other hand what hosts of the learned have formally denied many an intuitive truth well known as such. If all the philosophers of India and Arabia, of Greece and Alexandria, of the middle ages and of modern times, who have constructed their systems in bold defiance of intuitive truths, were assembled in one convention, the asylums of Utica and Worcester put together would not hold them; nor did the ancient cells of Bethlehem or St. Luke's ever echo with such jargon as they would utter.

We have been led into these remarks by the perusal of an essay on intuitive truths, or truths of pure reason, which a friend of ours more versed in such studies than we profess to be, has sent for publication. New Englanders, it is well known, even from ancient times, delight greatly in metaphysics; and they can read a disquisition on cause and effect, or on fate and free will, with the same gusto with which a Parisian reads a newspaper criticism on the last night's opera. For the gratification of the taste which enjoys this kind of light reading, we give place to the essay, though it is somewhat aside from the pursuits and topics in which we are just now more particularly interested. Our friend, we conjecture, intends to make a book, and desires the benefit of a little preparatory criticism of principles. Should any other of our friends be disposed to criticise the essay, we can not promise to publish the criticism, but will cheerfully forward it to the writer of the essay.

INTUITIVE TRUTHS.

THE word *reason*, as often used, is a comprehensive term, signifying all those powers and principles of mind, which are employed in the discovery of truth. Sometimes it is used in a more limited sense, to signify those mental powers and principles, which are employed in those acts of reasoning, in which we establish the truth of one proposition by exhibiting evidence that it is included in another one already conceded to be true. It is sometimes used in a still more restricted sense, signifying those truths, which every human mind believes, without any process of reasoning, and for the belief of which no other cause can be assigned than the original constitution of mind. Those who treat on reason in the last mentioned sense, sometimes render the term more definite by a distinctive adjective, calling it *pure reason*. By other writers, the same thing is indicated, by the terms, *intuitive truths*, *laws of belief*, *primary truths*, *laws of reason*, *fundamental truths*, and *principles of common sense*.

Most writers on mental science recognize the existence of such principles, and by some, they are definitely drawn out. But the great desideratum is, some test for deciding which are, and which are not, these principles; and then a rigorous application of this test.

The writer, in this article, will attempt to supply this deficiency, with the hope that others who may have thought more accurately on the subject, will examine, and point out all deficiencies or mistakes.

The following may then be laid down as proper and sufficient grounds for deciding, which are, and which are not *intuitive truths* or the principles of *pure reason*. First, all mankind talk, write, feel, and act as if they believed them to be true. Secondly, when any person acts as if he disbelieved any one of them,

he is said to have lost his reason, and is considered as insane. An attempt will now be made to show which are the intuitive truths as developed by this test, and at the same time, to point out some things which have been thus designated, but are not entitled to this distinction.

The leading, and perhaps the most important of these truths is, that *every change is produced by a cause, which, in given circumstances, has power to produce it*.

Before discussing this proposition, it is important to secure exact and discriminating views in regard to the ideas expressed by the words *power* and *cause*. These words express *simple ideas*, and like all other words of that class, can be defined only by mentioning either the causes or the effects of the idea, or else the circumstances in which it occurs. Thus an emotion of the ludicrous is a simple idea, and is defined as that which is caused by the sudden combination of incongruous thoughts; or it is defined as that which causes laughter. In one case the cause of it is mentioned, in the other the effect. But the words *cause* and *power* are most readily identified, by describing the *circumstances* in which the idea arises in the mind. For example, the lodestone, in given circumstances, invariably draws iron to itself. In every experiment, when circumstances are perfectly similar, this phenomenon occurs. Every person after witnessing this many times, and finding that, in the same circumstances, there is this invariable antecedent of a sequent phenomenon, has a new idea attached to the antecedent, expressed by the terms *cause* and *power*. The lodestone is called a cause of this change in the iron, and is said to have power to produce it.

But these words are used in another sense, with reference to any circumstance which is so indispensable to a given phenomenon, as that it *will not* take place without it. Thus in the case of the iron and the lode-

stone. The attraction will not take place until they are placed adjacent to each other, and this will not take place until some person produces this proximity, and so the person, and the proximity, are both called causes of the event, and are said to have power to produce it. This distinction is indicated by the terms *efficient* cause and *occasional* cause.

An *efficient cause* is a real existence, which, in appropriate circumstances, has power to produce a change, in some other real existence. An *occasional cause*, is any circumstance so indispensable to the existence of a given phenomenon, as that it *will not* take place without it. Thus the lodestone is the efficient cause of the movement of the iron, and the proximity, and the person who produced it, are the occasional causes. The cause next immediately before the change is called the *immediate* or *proximate cause*, and the more distant causes are called *intermediate* or *remote causes*.

Efficient causes are of two classes. The first, is material causes or matter. These have the power of producing certain changes in mind by the instrumentality of the senses; and these effects are called ideas of touch, taste, smell, color, figure, weight, attraction, divisibility, inertia, and various others. Material causes also, have the power, in given circumstances, of producing changes in other material bodies. Thus fire causes certain sensations in the mind, through the aid of the eye and touch, and it also changes solids to liquids and liquids to vapor. Matter can also be changed by the volitions of mind.

The second kind of efficient causes are minds. These are so constituted, that they are susceptible of change by matter through the senses, and at the same time with power to act without any other cause, than their own constitutional endowments. The phenomena of mind may be classed thus;

First, the changes produced in the mind, by material objects acting on the senses.

Secondly, those constitutional changes, which have no other cause than the constitution given by God, and which take place without any power in the mind to prevent them. Among these are the conceptions and emotions, the succession of which is regulated by certain laws of our mental constitution which the mind can not refrain from obeying. Thus, associated ideas bring past associates, and certain conceptions always are connected with certain emotions.

The third class of mental phenomena are *volitions*, or changes which, in all given circumstances, the mind has power to prevent. All those changes in matter or mind, which the thing changed had no power to prevent, are called *necessary events*, and their causes, *necessary causes*. All events, where the cause had power to refrain from producing the change, are called *contingent events*, and their causes, *contingent causes*. All events that directly or remotely are caused by volitions, are, in reference to these volitions, contingent events; because in the given circumstances they could have been otherwise without any change in the constitution of things, whereas necessary events, in the given circumstances, could not have been otherwise without such a change.

Moral causes or *motives*, are those circumstances which so influence volition, that, had they not existed, the volition would have been otherwise, or would not have existed.

An *excited desire* is called a motive or cause of a given volition, because had it not existed, the volition would not have existed, or would have been otherwise.

The *object* which excites the desire is called a motive or cause, because without it, the desire would not have existed, and consequent-

ly the volition would not have existed.

The *constitutional susceptibilities*, and the *induced characteristics*, are called motives because, without them, the desire and consequent volition would not have existed. As an example, a man steals, and the cause assigned is, gold, as the object exciting desire, or it is the desire of gold, or it is the man's avaricious disposition. Any one of these, in common parlance, would be assigned as the motive or cause.

Sometimes it is the case that a cause is sought for what *did not* happen. Thus it is asked why a man did not choose to go to a certain place, and why a fire did not burn. And the answer may be, that the man did not go because he was sick, and the fire did not burn for want of fuel. This is a peculiarity which seems to demand a distinctive designation and it may be named and defined thus. A *negative cause* is any circumstance which had it not existed, a given event would have existed. Thus in the above examples, sickness, and want of combustibles are negative causes.

These distinctions enable us to discriminate in using the terms *power*, *ability*, and their equivalents. The only case in which we conceive of power as existing in a cause, is in substances or *real existences* of matter or mind. Those alone are efficient causes, which actually produce changes. All other things spoken of as causes are circumstances without which the given event would not have taken place. It is owing to this that the same thing may be spoken of as having power and not having power, at the same moment of time. Thus fire is said to have power to explode powder, in reference to its constitutional power; and at the same time it is said not to have this power, because the appropriate circumstances for the exercise of the power do not exist. So a man when he is asleep is said to have power to read,

in reference to acquired abilities, and not to have power to read because he is asleep. This distinction may be indicated by these terms and definitions. *Direct power* exists when the constitutional power exists, and also the appropriate circumstances indispensable to its exercise. *Indirect power* exists when the constitutional power exists, but the appropriate circumstances for its exercise are wanting.

A distinction is also often made between *natural power* and *moral power*. When a man can do a thing by willing to do it, he has natural power; but when there are not motives that will actually secure his choice to do it, then it is said the *moral power* is wanting. According to this very common use of language, *natural inability* implies the want of constitutional power to perform a thing; and *moral inability* signifies the want of motives that will actually secure a given volition. Thus a man is said to be able to cure his habits of idleness, in reference to his natural constitutional powers, and unable to do it, in reference to a want of motives that actually will secure this result.

We now return to a consideration of the intuitive truth, that every change is produced by some cause, which, in appropriate circumstances has power to produce it. This proposition, it is manifest, refers only to real existences or efficient causes, and therefore it may be stated in another form thus. Every change in matter or mind, is produced by some real existence or efficient cause which has power to produce it. Material existences are not endowed with power to change themselves, but are dependent for change on some *ab extra* cause, either of matter or mind. But mind is endowed with inherent powers of activity, so that it changes its states without any cause *ab extra*, having constitutional powers of change. Of course the meaning of this term

must be thus limited. There are certain changes in mind which are produced by *ab extra* causes; there are others which are the *necessary* results of the constitution of mind; and of which God is the remote efficient cause; and the class called volitions are acts of the mind itself, which do not result from any necessary constitutional law, but of which the mind itself is the sole efficient cause, motives being merely occasional causes.

With these discriminations and limitations, it is maintained that the above intuitive truth is believed by all mankind, and that they speak, write, feel, and act so as to prove that they believe it. And any mind which acts as if this truth were not believed, is said to have lost its reason and become insane. The assertion that any existence, or any change in existence, sprang into being without any efficient cause, is always deemed incredible, and no case can be found where any sane persons ever talked or acted on such an assumption. It is true, some atheists have maintained that there was a time when all creation, with its myriads of contrivances and powers sprang into being without any cause; but in all practical matters they deny their theory, nor can they in all their sophistries hide its enormous absurdities.

There have been many abstruse discussions among metaphysicians in regard to this principle of mind, and most of them relate to the following questions: First, What is the idea of power or causation? Secondly, When and how is this idea first gained? Thirdly, How is the idea of causation gained in common experience, or in other words, what is the process by which the cause of a phenomenon is detected?

In reply to the first, (What is the idea of power or causation?) Brown, Hume, and some others, assume that it is simply a perception that, in given circumstances, a

particular change is invariably preceded by a particular antecedent, and that antecedent invariably followed by this sequent phenomenon, —together with a belief of a future similar connection. To expose the error of this assumption, it may first be remarked, that what the nature of the idea is, must be determined by an appeal to the internal experience and observation of mankind. And it is the unvarying testimony of all but a few speculative metaphysicians, that this definition describes not their idea of power or causation, but only the circumstances in which the idea is called into existence. They say that they can conceive of a cause which acts for the first time, and the only time, and which therefore is not an invariable antecedent of an invariable sequent. And they say also, that they can conceive of an invariable antecedent of an invariable sequent, without attaching to it the idea of a cause. We can imagine a constitution of things in which phenomena might precede and follow as invariable antecedents and sequents *without* the power of causation in the antecedents, and the same succession also, *with* this power. This proves that the idea of invariable antecedence and sequence is not the idea of causation. It can be proved by another consideration. It can be shown that mind is the efficient cause of its own volitions, and that this is an intuitive truth. It can also be shown, that in volition there never is any such invariable antecedence and sequence as is claimed to be the sole idea of causation. For mind in choosing never can be *twice* in precisely the same circumstances, as it must be in order to be a cause in the sense claimed by Hume and Brown. For mind, by every act of volition, gains some new knowledge and experience, and some new force of habit, be it ever so minute. Of course it is forever in new circumstances, and thus it

never is twice in precisely the same circumstances. If then it is conceded that mind is a cause, it must be allowed that the controverted assumption is false. The idea of a cause is a simple idea, which, it has been shown, can be defined only by mentioning the circumstances in which it arises in the mind. One of the occasions when it always exists is, when there is an invariable antecedent of an invariable sequent phenomenon. But this is not the *only* occasion when it exists. The mind possesses an ever living consciousness of its own power as a cause, and this consciousness is intuitive, and not the result of any observed antecedence and sequence of phenomena.

The second question is, *When and how* was the idea of power or causation *first* acquired? In reply, some say that it is an idea which comes at the commencement of existence as a part of the first mental consciousness. Some say that it originates when the infant first perceives that its own volitions move its muscles, and affect outward objects. Others say that it originates when repeated experience has detected some invariable antecedent of an invariable sequent. But these are all assumptions without a shadow of proof. For who can go back to the mysterious silence of early infancy to question its vague and forgotten experience? These are questions entirely out of the reach of philosophical investigation, which asks for evidence and not for imaginary theories.

The third question is, *What is the process by which we detect causes?* In reply it may be said, that mind is recognized as a cause by intuition, but in regard to matter, we can detect causes only by discovering what it is that in precisely similar circumstances, is the invariable antecedent of an invariable sequent.

The second intuitive truth is, that *when in given circumstances there is*

an invariable antecedent of a given phenomenon, which, in those circumstances, is an invariable sequent, there is no power in the thing changed, or in the antecedent cause, to prevent this result. Thus in the case of the lodestone and the iron, it is impossible to believe that the iron has power to refrain from approaching the lodestone, or that the lodestone has power to refrain from attracting it. And thus in every other case where antecedents and sequents have been uniform. It is the belief of this principle which gives most of the force to the mode by which the doctrine of fate is defended. Its advocates endeavor to establish the position that every act of volition has the "strongest desire" or "most agreeable" object as an invariable antecedent, and that volition is the invariable sequent of this antecedent. And when this is maintained, the mind feels that *if it is so*, there is no power in any mind to choose otherwise than as it does choose. But inasmuch as this antecedence and sequence is an assumption contrary to fact, no mind can by this argument shake off its sense of the conscious power of free agency.

The third intuitive truth is, the *unity and plurality of efficient causes.* We can imagine mind so constituted as to notice changes and qualities, and yet without power to trace them to separate causes. We might suppose that one and the same thing produced all the effects on our various senses which we now trace to various distinct causes. And we can conceive that mind might be so constituted, that when one and the same thing produced different effects on the different senses, each effect might be regarded as produced by a different cause. Thus the color of a fruit might be regarded as produced by one cause, its taste by another cause, and its smell by another. Instead of this, we believe these diverse effects to be produced by

one and the same cause. And when several diverse objects act on the senses, we believe each set of effects to belong to their separate distinct causes. And no other reason can be assigned for this belief, but that constitution of mind imparted by the Creator which secures this result. The unity of our own mind, as the sole distinct cause of our own mental acts, and as the recipient of all the ministrations of the senses, is one of the particulars included under this general head. If any person should maintain (as some writers seem to do) that there are distinct and diverse agencies that perform our different mental acts, each receiving diverse external impressions which are not experienced by the others, nothing could be said to prove the contrary, except that all mankind talk, write, feel and act, as if each believed that his mind was one indivisible agent, performing all mental acts and receiving all external impressions. And thus of material units; if any one should maintain that a fruit or a flower was not the one and only cause of the sensations of color, figure, smell, taste, and touch, conveyed to the mind by the different senses, no argument could prove the fact. We could simply say, that mankind believe in this unity of cause, and prove their belief by their words and actions.

The fourth intuitive truth is, that *those objects which act on the senses are real existences, or efficient causes.* There are some philosophers who deny that there are two distinct classes of efficient causes. Such maintain that mind is the only real existence, and that matter does not exist as a real efficient cause of those effects on the senses which we call the qualities or properties of matter. What is generally believed as to the real existence of matter, is by them deemed a mental hallucination, and not a reality. There are others, and among them Stewart abroad, and Tappan in this

country, who seem to teach, that though matter may be a real existence, still it is not the efficient cause of its supposed effects on our senses, but that the direct volition of the Creator is the sole cause of every change in every particle of matter, and of all apparent effects of matter on our senses. How these things have been discovered, we are not informed; nor has any evidence of the truth of these theories been produced. They are assumptions without proof, and are contradictory to an intuitive truth. For all mankind always have believed, that matter exists, and that it produces its various effects on their senses; and it would be as impossible to destroy this belief as it would to destroy the belief of the existence of their own minds. And any person who should talk and act as if he disbelieved this truth would be deemed insane.

The fifth intuitive truth is, that *mind is a separate distinct existence or efficient cause, and not matter, or a portion of the material body.* Materialists maintain that mind is a peculiar organization of matter in connection with the body, and that with the body it will be dissolved and its powers annihilated. This is all a mere assumption, without a shadow of proof. For by the word *matter*, we mean that efficient cause which produces on our mind, through the senses, the effects called color, figure, and the other qualities of matter. Of course the only way of proving that the mind is matter, is to show that it has the qualities and properties of matter; that is, that it produces some of those effects on the senses or on other material existences which matter produces. Some have attempted the proof in this way. They say, 'Mind must exist in some place, so that it is there, and not elsewhere. This involves the ideas of position in space, extension, figure, and divisibility, which are four of the properties of matter. For if it is in one

place and not in another, there are limits to its extension, and this is *figure*, and this extension can be divided into two or more portions.' This is rendered plausible only by a want of discrimination as to the ideas of position, extension, figure and divisibility in regard to matter. For the position and extension of matter in space signifies simply this, that in a given point of space certain effects would be produced on the human senses if they were there. That is, in a given point of space, a certain cause called matter acts to produce the sensations of extension, figure, color, and other effects of matter. Now in regard to mind, it is true that it exists, and produces its appropriate effects in a given point of space, and that there is a limit to the extent of space in which it thus acts; but it is to be marked that matter produces not one of the acts of mind, and mind produces not one of the effects of matter, and therefore there is not one reason for calling them the same, or even similar things, but every reason there can be for calling them dissimilar and distinct things. It is true that both exist and act in limited points of space, which extension of space, of course, has limits and can be divided; but this does not at all involve the necessity of supposing the least resemblance of matter to mind in any one particular. They are no more one and the same thing, because they exist in space and act within certain limits, than fire and water are the same thing because they exist in space, and have the properties of figure and divisibility. In opposition to this unsupported assumption, it can be shown that every language on earth has terms to express the distinct existences called spirit and body, and every adult that is not insane, talks, writes, feels, and acts, as if he believed that the part of himself which feels and thinks is not his body, nor a part of his body.

The sixth intuitive truth is, that *the mind is the sole efficient cause of its own volitions, and that, in given circumstances, it has the power of deciding to deny or to gratify any excited desire*. The advocates of the doctrine of fate deny this principle. They maintain that mind is constituted with susceptibilities of desiring diverse species of good, which can be excited with different degrees of intensity; and that in all cases, it chooses to gratify the most intensely excited desire, so that there is the same invariableness of antecedence and sequence between the most highly excited desire and volition, as there is between certain conceptions and their invariably sequent emotions. And, in consequence of this, they maintain that mind, in the given circumstances, has no direct power to choose any other way than as it does choose.

In opposition to this, it is maintained that mind is formed not only with these susceptibilities of desiring different kinds of good with different degrees of intensity, but also with a quiet, never-ceasing desire for happiness in general, and with faculties (called usually reason and conscience) enabling it to judge which modes of enjoyment will secure the most happiness *on the whole*;—that when various desires coëxist it can, and sometimes does, deny the most highly excited desire in obedience to reason, and sometimes it does not;—and that, in all cases of volition, there is power to decide in either of two ways, i. e. either to deny or to gratify any given desire. This, it is maintained, is an intuitive truth, believed by all men, as proved by their words and actions. Should it be claimed that this susceptibility of desiring happiness in general, is one of the susceptibilities which can be more or less highly excited, and that when the dictates of reason are obeyed, this is the strongest desire; it is replied, that the different degrees of

desire are matters of consciousness, and that when a susceptibility is more highly excited at one time than another, we are conscious of these different states. But the testimony of consciousness is opposed to this assumption of such varieties of degree in our desire for happiness in general. It is an assumption, made to support a theory, which has no foundation in fact.

The seventh intuitive truth is, that *we are the same persons now as we were in times past*. Personal identity can be established by no process of reasoning, but all mankind believe it, and any one who acted as if he disbelieved it would be regarded as insane.

The eighth intuitive truth is, that *what we distinctly remember is a reality*. By this it is not intended that we are never mistaken in our recollections, but that there are things so distinctly remembered that it is impossible to disbelieve the testimony of memory. A person just returning from a scene of terror and distress could by no process be made to doubt that it really was as he remembers it.

The ninth intuitive truth is, that *our own acts and states of mind belong to ourselves and are realities*. If a person maintains that what we think and feel is not as we are conscious that it is, or that it is another mind and not our own, that has this experience, though we could not disprove the assertion, we could by no means be made to believe it. It is this certainty as to the nature of our ideas, together with confidence in our memory, which is the foundation of the certainty we feel in what are called mathematical axioms. For example, the axiom *twice two are four* is not believed as an intuitive truth, but because the idea expressed by *twice two* is felt to be the same as is expressed by the word *four*. It is the certainty we feel as to the identity of the ideas and the memory of the words used

to recall them, which has led to the naming of such expressions intuitive truths. So the expression *the whole is greater than a part*, is not an intuitive truth, but the confidence felt in its reality rests on intuitive truths. For we have always had a given idea recalled by the word *whole*, and another idea by the word *part*, and another by the word *greater*, and when these words are announced they recall ideas which are perceived to be true to past experience. So that this maxim is no more an intuitive truth than the expression *while is not black, or the top is not the bottom*. Our confidence in the truth of such expressions rests wholly on our confidence in the reality of just experience, and confidence in our memory of ideas and words.

The tenth intuitive truth is, that *mind never will choose what involves evil without compensating good*. The conscious power of free-agency is so strong, that many persons, if asked, do you feel that you can choose to put your hand in the fire, when no good will be gained by it, will reply in the affirmative. But if asked, whether they believe they ever shall do it, and all would answer in the negative. Much of our confidence in human testimony rests on this principle. Whenever it is shown that a witness knows that he will gain evil and no good from falsehood, all must believe that he will speak the truth.

The eleventh intuitive truth is, that *contrivance proves an INTELLIGENT CAUSE, and the nature of a contrivance proves the design of the author*.

The mind is so made that it can not believe that existence can originate without an efficient cause. Yet the existence of *unorganized* matter would not prove the existence of an *intelligent* cause. But when an existence is discovered where there is an adjustment of parts, all fitted to accomplish an end, no person could observe it without believing that the

cause of it is an intelligent mind, with the capacity of adjusting means to ends. Nor could the end designed be observed, without the belief that it was the intention of the author to accomplish this end. If a savage should find a watch in his forest shades, nothing could convince him that it sprang into being there without any cause. If he should notice its delicate machinery and nicely adjusted parts, he could not be made to believe that a brute, or any but an intelligent mind contrived it. If he should have its movements explained, and should perceive that it accurately pointed out the hours of the day, he could not be convinced that the author had no such design in the contrivance. An interesting case is recorded of the exhibition of this principle in the mind of a young child. His father had planted a bed with seeds arranged in the form of letters to spell the child's name. When the green symbols sprang up, and were discovered by the delighted child, the father in vain endeavored to force his belief that they came by chance. "No, father, *somebody* planted them—*somebody meant* to have them come up and spell my name," was the persevering response.

It is this principle which is the foundation of some most elaborate arguments to prove the existence of God, and the benevolence of his character, one of the most interesting of which is found in Paley's *Natural Theology*.

The last intuitive truth is, that *things will be according to past experience, when there is no reason to the contrary*.

The mind is so constituted that whenever any regular succession of antecedents and sequents has been discovered, the belief always follows that this uniformity will continue. Why do men expect that the sun will rise, the seasons return, and harvests wave in the fields? It is simply because their minds are

constituted to believe that things in future will continue to be as they have been in past experience. All the business of life, all the projects, the hopes and the enjoyments of mankind, rest upon this principle of the mind.

Every process of inductive or analogical reasoning rests upon this principle as the foundation. Every inductive process consists in accumulating facts to establish a certain uniformity of phenomena in given circumstances, and when this is done, the belief always is secured that this uniformity is perpetual. Thus, it is by a process of inductive reasoning that we arrive at the conclusion that *all iron is magnetic*. The principle that things will be according to past experience, is the major proposition, or truth conceded. Then facts are brought to light to show that in all past experiments all iron *has been* found magnetic. When this is done, the belief is secured that all iron *is* and *will be* magnetic.

Analogical reasoning differs from inductive, in having some want of uniformity in certain respects, so that the expectation of entire uniformity is not so strong. For example, when we reason from analogy that the moon is inhabited, the argument runs thus. The only planet we know of by experience is the earth, and we are to reason from our past experience. According to this, a planet *has been* found magnetic. But in two respects this differs from an inductive argument. The first is, there is but *one* case in which experience has been known, and the second is, that this experience in several points is dissimilar from what we find is true of the moon, which in some respects is unlike the earth, and therefore may be unlike in respect to inhabitants. Analogical reasoning, therefore, is far less conclusive than inductive.

One of the most interesting specimens of analogical reasoning is

found in Butler's Analogy. In that work the foundation principle is, that things will be according to past experience where there is no reason to the contrary. The writer then exhibits evidence that in past experience the soul goes through various changes resembling death and yet survives; that the dissolution of the body is no evidence of the destruction of the soul; that there is no kind of evidence that the soul is destroyed when the body is dissolved, and therefore, according to the above principle, its existence continues when the body dies.

This enumeration, it is supposed, embraces all that may properly be called intuitive truths, according to the test indicated at the commencement. Some writers have placed other propositions among the intuitive truths, but it is believed that a

rigid analysis will show that they are only specific instances included under some one or other of these more general principles. Several of those enumerated as intuitive truths in this article, have never before been thus presented in any work which the writer has examined.

These principles, it will be seen, are the foundations of all our knowledge. There is no proposition that can be announced, the belief of which can not be traced back to one or the other of these maxims as the basis on which it rests. And the grand hope for the future development of truth and exposure of error, is connected with a full development of these principles, together with expert methods of developing errors, as contradictory to them.

THEODORE PARKER.*

"PRAY, sir, did you come here in a hat or a turban?" was the grave inquiry of Charles Lamb, addressed to a young man, who had annoyed him and his guests of an evening by some rather free and impertinent remarks on religion. We in our simplicity might think that the same question would not be inappropriate to Theodore Parker, although he styles himself "minister of the second church in Roxbury," and we have never heard that the church in question professed to be other than a *Christian* church. The name of Mr. Parker we can hardly suppose to be unknown to any of our readers. Most of them, we presume, are more or less acquainted with the opinions of which he is at

once the representative and champion. He is known to many as the author of a sermon preached at South Boston, May 19, 1841, entitled "A Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity," which attracted much attention at the time, and gave rise to a somewhat spirited discussion in the Boston newspapers. The views advanced in the sermon were given more fully to the public during the winter following, in a series of lectures delivered in Boston, and, as we are informed, to a large, intelligent, and highly interested audience. These lectures are embodied in the volume of which the title is given below.

The reason why his volume and the opinions which it advances have not been made more extensively the subject of criticism, may be the strangeness of these opinions. To a common man, even if intelligent or learned, they seem more like the

* A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion. By Theodore Parker, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury, Mass. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1842.

dogmas of a French or Hindoo deist, or mayhap the more refined religionism of a Persian Soofee, than the Christian theology of a Christian teacher—and such a reader is likely to dismiss them with the mingled emotion of pity and amazement with which we regard the victim of any of the countless species of monomania. These opinions are not strange, however, in the sense of being uncommon. We think that we can readily show, that there are sufficient reasons, why they should receive a grave and considerate attention in our journal. We shall not stop to give these reasons, but shall enter at once upon our work, which we trust will justify itself to our readers.

The volume is entitled “A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion.” The design of it, as we are told in the preface, is “to recall men from the transient shows of time to the permanent substance of religion; from a worship of creeds and empty belief, to a worship in spirit and in life.” It consists of an introduction and five books, each of which treats of a distinct head under the following titles. 1. Of Religion in general, or a discourse of the Religious Sentiment and its manifestations. 2. The Relation of the Religious Sentiment to God, or a discourse on Inspiration. 3. The Relation of the Religious Sentiment to Jesus of Nazareth, or a discourse of Christianity. 4. The Relation of the Religious Sentiment to the greatest of books, or a discourse of the Bible. 5. The Relation of the Religious Sentiment to the greatest of human institutions, or a discourse of the Church.

The Five Points of this Parkerian system, which by courtesy, and under protest, we must call Christian,—inasmuch as its author wears a hat rather than a turban,—are as follows.

1. Man is by nature a religious being. The religious sentiment is

as natural to him as the sense of sight or of hearing. By it he can not but communicate with the spiritual world, as by these with the natural. This sentiment as perverted or more or less mingled with baser elements, has given birth to all the *historical religions*, Christianity among the rest. Its legitimate and purified product is *absolute religion*, which is *love to man*, and *love to God*.

2. Of inspiration. Every man *may be inspired*. All men *are*, who give room and play to the religious sentiment. Just in proportion to its influence do they hold clear views of truth, and exercise warm and pure religious feeling. Other things being equal, one man is more inspired than another, as is the quantity of his being and the quantity of his obedience. The inspired needs no miracles, nor the testimony of man or angel or God, to prove his inspiration. He carries the voucher in his own breast to himself, and he calls up the same in the breast of his neighbor.

3. Of Christianity. Jesus of Nazareth differs from other men, only in this, that in the sense already described he was a man of the most religious sentiment, or a *little the most of an inspired man* whom the world has ever seen. His life in the main, was consistent, beautiful and holy. His precepts were wise and good, though the substance of them had been uttered before, yet never in a form so free from gross admixtures, or so variously and delightfully applied to practical uses. As a teacher and model of absolute religion, he is unrivalled. *The story of Jesus* however, as we find it in the New Testament, is incredible and absurd. It is a mixture of the legendary, the mythical and the true,—a confused record of the various verbal reports of what he was and did, that naturally arose out of the admiration and love which he rightfully awakened,

and were engrafted also on the fanatical expectation of a Messiah so current among the Jews of that time.

4. The Bible is the greatest of books, as it has in it more of absolute religion than any other book. But the common notion of it as divine, miraculous or infallible, is false and foolish. A portion of it is inspired in the sense already defined, but in different degrees. Other portions, intermingled with these, are absurd, legendary, and incredible.

5. The true idea of the church is Christ, the model man and teacher, and men and women listening to his instructions, and observing his life. That which is called the church, has answered important purposes, but if the question were to be raised, which is the greater, the good or the evil which it has done, it would be difficult to answer. The true church is yet to arise.

We have given to our readers, this condensed summary of the contents of the volume, in order to furnish them with a bird's-eye view of the entire system of its author, so that they may understand the relation of each single principle to the whole of the well compacted scheme. We are well aware that were this to be their first or only view of it, they would say at once, "It is only a naked and vulgar Deism. Better leave it to itself, to rot by its own fermenting, than scatter the poison and prolong its life." Not such would be their conclusion were they to see it in the volume itself, as it there appears not in the nakedness of its anatomy, but in the seducing beauty and grace with which it puts on the mien and gathers about itself the robes of an angel of light. Here will they find the gravest objections against historical Christianity and the Bible, which the honest or dishonest infidel has ever started, put forth in their gravest form; much truth, which theologians have denied or despised, stated with eloquence and power; and error, which too

many have prudently feared to face, no longer on the defense, but storming their citadel, and flushed with all the ardor of expected success. They will find here philosophy propounding her hardest problems, and essaying to solve them not by the cold analysis of the sensual school, with its meagre results of death, but in the glowing and life-like methods of the spiritual, with its elevating conclusions. Here also is learning, of which the great fault is that it has read too much, and been overborne by that authority which it professes to brave. The style too is clear, so clear that it seems to give perspicuity to opinions that are vague and shifting as the cloud that piles itself at noonday. It is pointed and vigorous, and rises to heights of no mean eloquence. We have no desire to flatter Mr. P., certainly we do not fear him. We think that it is neither in fear or flattery that we say, that his volume is not a book to be despised. It is true, it is nothing more or less than Deism, and no man would more readily own it than its author. He is too well acquainted with the history of words and of opinions not to know, and too freespoken not to confess, that according to his principles Deism is quite as good a name as Christianity in the vulgar acceptance of the term. But if the book is Deism, it is not the naked and low Deism of the French and English school. It would scorn to own an affinity with the sensual and low-lived railings of the pot-house, however readily the affinity might be claimed on that side. The imputation of such a relationship would be resented by the highly cultivated audience who listened with an interest so entranced to the eloquence of the author. Nor would it be acknowledged by not a few who bend over its pages, as bound by the spell of an enchanter.

We know not how readily this volume was sold. We do not care to ask whether there are more or

fewer who go to the length of our author in his conclusions. But we do know that these opinions are the infidelity of the age; that in substance or in form, secretly or openly, they are the creed of, we will not conjecture how many, among those who promise to become the gifted men of the day. We also know that its leaven pervades much of what may be called the better part of our literature, and if we do not greatly err, is not unfelt or unseen in the church—even in that which calls itself orthodox.

We think therefore that it requires attention, quite as much as those inflated specimens of quackery which appear too often under the name of bishops' charges, apostolic letters, &c. Indeed, as an antagonist it is far more desirable and respectable than the system which indites these things. It has an air of wholeheartedness and radicalism which we like. Though not without a cant and pretension peculiar to itself, it has none of the monkish sanctimony and whine. It goes upon the principle of settling questions by argument and not by authority. It acknowledges some wisdom in the present, and does not oblige us to open all the musty cloisters of the past. If we must deal with either, we certainly prefer Protestantism run mad to Oxfordism in the same calamity.

We do not propose to give a full or critical analysis of this volume of five hundred pages. To consider all its arguments, to review all its statements of fact, to rebut its conclusions, as well as to follow its learned references, and recriticise its criticisms upon all the systems of religion and philosophy which the world has ever seen, would require a volume as large as Mr. Parker's. We shall attempt only to consider his leading positions and arguments.

The first book, "of religion in general," is designed to give us the

leading principles of the author's entire system of religious philosophy. It is what it purports to be, "a discourse of the religious sentiment and its manifestations," or in other words, an examination of that part of man's nature which makes him capable of religion, and a critique of the forms of true and false religion, which it has in fact assumed. In this discussion, the aims of the author are distinctly made known, and his conclusions are clearly anticipated. We are soon informed that the religious element is almighty and independent; that it is seen in every form of religion, while it has been poorly represented by the best; and that man's only and his sufficient resource is, to fall back on his own nature and let it lead him on to the noble issues of absolute religion.

Of course, we expect that this religious sentiment shall be accurately defined, that its nature shall be described by a strong and unerring hand—that its relations to all revealed religions, as supreme and above them all, shall be most triumphantly demonstrated. For such a definition we look through its one hundred and fifty pages, and we look in vain. We are led on from chapter to chapter, and we find it not. In the first we find the proposition that there is in man the religious element, briefly argued and in the main argued eloquently and well.

Having shown that there is in man a sentiment which connects him with God, our author in the second chapter seeks to show how with that sentiment is given the *idea* of a God, which is always true, and from it is developed the *conception* of God which is always imperfect, and therefore false. This distinction he considers most important. The critical reader will see in it the whole doctrine in a nut-shell. If it is so, that whenever man thinks about God in the way of conception, reasoning, or discourse to himself or

another, he is and must be in error, then indeed it is shown at once, that every revealed religion is and must be imperfect, and worthless too, except as it enables man to fall back upon the *idea* within his own soul. But more of this anon. Next Mr. P. discourses of the extent and power of this sentiment. He shows that it is universal, indestructible, and the strongest and deepest element in human nature. In all this there is much truth and eloquence. In the fourth chapter, he discourses of the idea of religion as connected with science and life. In the fifth, he sets before us the three great historical forms of religion, which are, Fetichism, Polytheism, and Monotheism. Here we find much ingenuity, and more power of description, and still more fanciful philosophizing. He concludes this chapter as follows, pp. 110, 111 :

"In passing judgment on these different religious states, we are never to forget that there is no monopoly of religion by any nation or any age. Religion itself is one and the same. He that worships truly, by whatever form, worships the only God. He hears the prayer, whether called Brahma, Jehovah, Pan, or Lord; or called by no name at all. Each people has its prophets and its saints; and many a swarthy Indian, who bows down to wood and stone; many a grim-faced Calmuck, who worshipped the great God of Storms; many a Grecian peasant, who did homage to Phœbus Apollo, when the sun rose or went down; yes, many a savage, his hands smeared all over with human sacrifice, shall come from the east and the west and sit down in the kingdom of God, with Moses and Zoroaster, with Socrates and Jesus,—while men, who called daily on the only living God, who paid their tribute and bowed at the name of Christ, shall be cast out, because they did no more. Men are to be judged by what is given, not what is withheld."

In chapter sixth, he discourses of "certain doctrines connected with religion,—I. Of the primitive state of mankind; II. Of the immortality of the soul,"—and here he argues in the same strain as in the previous chapter. In chapter seventh, he speaks of the influence of

the religious sentiment on life, under the heads of Superstition, Fanaticism, and Solid Piety. From this we make the following extract, that our readers may see the mixture of falsehood and truth, of weakness and strength, with which the volume is filled :

"But why go back to Patriarchs, at Aulis or Moriah; do we not live in New England and the nineteenth century? Have the footsteps of superstition been effaced from our land? Our books of theology are full thereof; our churches and houses not empty of it. When a man fears God more than he loves him, when he will forsake reason, conscience, love, the still small voice of God in the heart, for any of the legion voices of authority, tradition, expediency, which come of ignorance, selfishness, and sin; whenever he hopes by a poor prayer, or a listless attendance at church, or an austere observance of Sabbath and fast days, a compliance with forms; when he hopes by professing with his tongue the doctrine he can not believe in his heart, to atone for wicked actions, wrong thoughts, unholy feelings, a six days' life of meanness, deception, rottenness and sin, then is he superstitious. If he were superstitious who in days of ignorance, but made his son's body to pass through the fire to his God, what shall be said of them in an age of light, who systematically degrade the fairest gifts of man, God's dearest benefaction—who make life darkness, death despair, the world a desert, man a worm, nothing but a worm, and God an ugly fiend, who made the mass of men for utter wretchedness, death and eternal hell!" "But the milder forms of fanaticism we can not escape. They meet us in the theological war of extermination in which sect now wars with sect, pulpit with pulpit, man with man. If one would seek specimens of superstition in its milder form, let him open a popular commentary on the Bible, or read much of that weakish matter which circulates in what men call as if in mockery, good pious books. If he would find fanaticism in its modern and more pharisaic shape, let him open the 'religious' newspapers, or read theological polemics."

The conclusion of *Solid Piety* would doubtless surprise those of our readers who have judged of the author by report, or by the summary which we have given of his creed. Were it a translation from some ancient stoic, or new Platonist,

we should call it one of the finest specimens of their somewhat exaggerated but still glowing eloquence. We give the following:

"Now in some men, religion is a continual growth. They are always in harmony with God. Silently and unconsciously, erect as a palm tree, they grow up to the measure of a man. To them, reason and religion are of the same birth. They are born saints, aborigines of Heaven. Betwixt their idea of life and their fact of life, there has been at no time a gulf. But others join themselves to the armada of sin and get scarred all over with wounds as they do thankless battle in that leprous host. Before these men become religious there must be a change,—well defined, deeply marked,—a change that will be remembered. The saints who have been sinners, tell us of the struggle and desperate battle that goes on between the flesh and the spirit. It is as if the devil and the archangel contended. Well says John Bunyan, 'the devil fought with me weeks long and I with the devil.' To take the leap of Niagara and stop when half way down, and by the proper motion reascend, is no slight thing, nor the remembrance thereof like to pass away. This passage from sin to salvation, this second birth of the soul, as both Christians and heathens call it, is one of the many mysteries of man. With bleeding feet the man retraces his way, but gains at last the mountain top of life and wonders at the tortuous track he left behind."

But the religious element, what is it? says the reader to his friend the critic. You have not yet told us what he means by this potent and all absorbing thing. Have patience, gentle reader, that is the very point which we ourselves have been endeavoring to discover. Our author, though he is much of a philosopher, and thinks to move the heavens and earth thereby, is one of such a species that he defines by describing, and piles on a metaphor where he should draw a line in analysis, or at best defines by snatches, and trusts to the *tout ensemble*, for a just impression of what he would be at. For instance, at three several points he makes the attempt formally to define this essential matter. First, on page 18: "Looking carefully at this sentiment, separating this as a

cause from its actions, and these from their effects, &c., we find as the ultimate fact, that the religious sentiment is this—A SENSE OF DEPENDENCE." And yet he is not very confident that he has reached the bottom, for in a note he says: "Perhaps all will not agree with that analysis which makes a *sense of dependence*, the ultimate fact in the case. This is the statement of Schleiermacher, not to mention more ancient authorities. (But you—such a philosopher as you, Mr. Parker, the very hero and apostle of the inward light—you do not go by authority!) Of course, a sense of infinite as well as finite dependence is intended. Others may call it a *consciousness of the infinite*; and contend less for the *analysis* than for the *fact* of a religious element in man." (So it would seem.)

In our apprehension of the matter, it is a very imperfect account of the religious sentiment, to say that the ultimate fact which analysis discovers, is a sense of dependence. Doubtless it is true that this is one element and an important element, but it is not the *specific* element. The slave feels a sense of dependence that is well nigh absolute, greater perhaps than any one man feels on any other, in any relation but his, and of course more like that which man feels on the infinite Being. But he must have a very godlike master, and he himself must be a very perfect man, to have this sense of dependence result in any thing like religion. That which would make it akin to religion is not the sense of dependence, but the character of the master and the character of the servant. The sense of dependence is not the ultimate fact in the analysis of the religious sentiment, it is only *one* of the ultimate facts, if we may be allowed to use a phrase so self-contradictory. Nor is it the one of the ultimate facts which constitutes the sentiment religious, or gives to the species its

differentia,—as is clear from our illustration.

But as Mr. Parker is not himself very confident of the correctness of his definition, we will not hold him to it. We follow him through several pages in the hope that he will propound one with which he will be better satisfied. In the fourth chapter, (p. 44,) we find the following development of his views, which though not a formal definition is designed to answer the end of one by description. "Now the legitimate action of the religious element produces reverence. This may ascend into trust, hope, and love, which is according to its nature; or descend into doubt, fear, and hate, which is against its nature. It thus rises or falls, as it co-exists in the individual with wisdom and goodness, or with ignorance and vice. Its legitimate action leads straightway and of necessity to reverence, absolute trust and perfect love of God. Thus there can be but one kind of religion, as there can be but one kind of time and space." We are bold to say, that there are few passages in the English language more incongruous and inconsistent than this. First is the proposition that the religious element produces reverence as its legitimate result. This element whatever it may be, whether the sense of dependence or not, is *something*, for it has an action of its own and a result that is *according to its nature*. And yet it is capable of two opposite results, results as opposite as trust is to doubt, hope to fear, love to hate—and of these results one is according to, and the other against its nature. How is this? Because it co-exists in the individual with wisdom and goodness, or with ignorance and vice. One would conclude from this that religion, true religion, is not a simple but a complex result, as it depends on these circumstances—that this thing called the religious element has no legitimate result, but the re-

sult depends on the company which it keeps—that it is as much according to its nature to fall as to rise, to end in doubt, fear, and hate, when in bad company, as in trust, and hope, and love, when in good; and finally, that of all sorts of things called religions, there may be as many kinds as there are bad associates for the religious element. But no, we are not allowed to draw such a conclusion; for that would blow up the whole framework of absolute religion. On the contrary we are required to draw another conclusion, directly at war with the premises,—*"Thus, [thus!] there can be but one kind of religion, as there can be but one kind of time and space."*

The part which the religious element plays in this result is not altogether unlike the part of the element which gave the name to the *stone-broth*. The broth had one element the action of which was to give the broth a name, but that it was broth depended on the mutton and vegetables, and spices, that were boiled with the stones.

On pages 45–6, the question arises, how are we to learn what is perfect religion? To answer the question we must not go to the actual religions, all of which are imperfect, but to man's nature, "to the primitive facts of religious consciousness within us. There we find religion is VOLUNTARY OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW OF GOD, INWARD AND OUTWARD OBEDIENCE to that law he has written on our nature, revealed in various ways through instinct, reason, and conscience, and the religious sentiment."

If no other fault were to be objected against this definition, this would fairly be against it, that it does not draw the line of distinction between religion and morality. The author himself tells us on page 48, that "a sharp analysis separates between the religious elements in man;" and he illustrates the point reasonably well. In a perfect defi-

nition, a distinction so important should have been kept in mind. But waiving this, we allow the definition of absolute or perfect religion to be reasonably just and well stated. It is only unfortunate that it is so true, as to upset the grand first principle of the author's system. Here we have his definition, "absolute religion is voluntary obedience to the law of God written on the heart of man;" and yet absolute religion may be found in all the so called historical religions. Let the reader refer to what he himself says, as quoted on page 375, from 110-11 of his volume. Look at the practical workings of absolute religion as defined by himself, under the Polytheism of the Greeks. It is 'voluntary obedience to the law of God.' Of which god—of Jupiter or Mars, or Venus or Neptune? Is it answered, Of none in particular, of any one, of none, of all—no matter; but the inward and outward obedience to that law which he has written on our nature—to the eternal law of duty impressed on every heart, with no specific reference to any one or many deities. But this is morality, it is not religion; for religion according to our author's own showing carries with itself a reference to a Deity. Or if it be obedience to conscience, then conscience will and must reject such "monsters of cruelty and lust" as deities at all; and so instead of Polytheism we have its rejection. Or if it is replied that there must be a reference to one God, the God of Nature, the God who appeals to the heart, then again it is Monotheism, the worship of the living and true. The Fetish worshiper, so far as he has absolute religion, is no longer a Fetish worshiper. The Hindoo no longer worships Brahma, or Vishnu, or Juggernaut. Absolute religion so far from being at peace with the imperfect form of falsehood and sin, fights against and destroys it. The principle of which it is the

great object of the volume to show that it may dwell in the same house with all sorts of inmates, no sooner fairly gets possession, than its first act is to turn them all out of doors. Thus by his own definition does Mr. P. destroy his own system. If he will follow it out instead of retaining his fondly cherished and fanciful theories of all religions, he will adopt the words spoken by a good man of old—"Forasmuch as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind;" and of another good man, who says—"They that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them." He will accept these conclusions not as the bigoted ravings of Jewish exclusiveness, but as the calm conclusions of sound philosophy and of unshaken truth.

These are specimens of the way in which our author defines and reasons even upon the point which is entirely fundamental to his system; and yet he would seem to many as not only a clear, but a very clear writer. His words are simple and effectively chosen. His single sentences are often most admirable for their point and force. His illustrations are numerous, and some of them surpassingly fine. But he is not a logician. Conceptions he does not delight in; for, according to his system, they are of necessity imperfect, and belong to the province of the understanding. We only wish that Socrates could have the handling of him for an hour, and by questions drive him to say what he does or does not mean, and whether in some cases he means any thing. Though a somewhat vulgar fellow, he would bring such a reasoner to his bearings. Perhaps it might not be without profit, if the examination were held before the audience who thronged his lecture-room, and swallowed what some would call elegant blasphemy in the name of truth and of God.

But can it be, we are asked again, that Mr. Parker does not know what his own opinions are? Can it be, that a theory which was thought by not a few to blow sky-high all the received notions of Christianity and the Bible, and which has been received with so great favor by so many of the reflecting and educated minds of Boston, should turn out to be so indefinite and shadowy a thing? Not in the least. Mr. Parker holds opinions which are definite, false, and dangerous. It is by no means difficult to gather these opinions from his writings. He knows well what they are when he applies them in the conclusions to which they lead. It is not his fault, but the fault of the opinions, if, determined as he is to hold them, he can not state and define them better. They will not bear analysis. They rejoice in metaphor and pomp of description.

If then we leave his definitions and arguments, and gather his conclusions from the general course of his writings, we can not be at a loss to know what he holds concerning the religious element in man. We dwell longer on this topic as it is fundamental. His views upon this point may be viewed psychologically and practically.

First, what is his psychological view of this sentiment. This may be gathered from the second chapter, which is entitled "Of the Sentiment, Idea and Conception of God." The religious sentiment, being a sense of dependence or something of the sort, takes for granted an object on which we depend. If this object does not exist, then nature has provided an instinct to which answers no existence, which is contrary to her usual method. Therefore there is a God. But we are not to suppose that we come to this conclusion by inference, and rest upon it as a probable conclusion. This is but the attainment of a low and sensual philosophy. No, the sentiment gives it, and it is itself the idea

of God. This idea is we know not what; but it is the revelation which God makes of himself—the manifestation of himself to man, as separate from the subject which beholds it, and yet in the subject. This is the *eternal and true idea* of God. But when we attempt to *conceive* of him, i. e. think, talk, or reason of him as a being with attributes, then we form a conception of him which is very different from the idea, and which is therefore imperfect always, and most likely false. In their conceptions of God men always fail, and often err. In their idea of him they can not err. Positive religions always give us conceptions of God. Positive religions therefore are always imperfect, even the best of them; and man as he falls back on the idea, knows better than they all can tell him—he is above them all, his own guide and teacher. No religion clothed in conceptions taken from the understanding can satisfy the reason. None can teach it.

To all this we have only to say, If it be true that there is *this* difference between the idea and the conception of the infinite, both being objective, and the idea being the only revelation of truth, then Mr. Parker's conclusions are true. Man is his own light and his own inspiration. All that is said to him falls short of what he knows already. He is above the Bible and the Koran. They can tell him nothing new. He can detect their errors. Here then is the question in a nut-shell. Is there an idea of God and a conception of God, one of which is not the other, and both of which are objective? We deny that there is, or that there can be. We deny that there can be any thing objective to the mind, which is not a conception, and we call on Mr. P. to prove that there can be. There may be instincts, wants, a sense of dependence, a consciousness of the infinite, or whatever you please to call them in Platonic or Aristotelian

phrase, and they may afford ground to believe that nature has provided an object answering to them, and you may rest on the conclusion that there is such an object, and wait with eager longings till the angel of Jehovah, or the voice from the cloud, or a miraculous token, shall satisfy your doubt, or waken the inattention of your fellow men; but to say that there is an object itself revealing and itself revealed, which scorns the ordinary garb of things knowable, is really too bad. We know well enough that it is very fashionable, and in some quarters very taking, thus to put on lofty airs of spiritualism, and to talk most transcendently; but we also know that it is more spiritual than Plato, more ideal than Lord Bacon, and more transcendental than Kant. We are not of those who suppose *all* German philosophy to be mist and nonsense. We believe that much of it is capable of being understood, and is also true. But what of it is true is not taught by such writers as these. Such spiritualism as this needs only to be tested by its fruits. On the one hand it leads to a vulgar fanaticism, under the name of the witness of the Spirit and the inward light of the spiritually proud. On the other, it sets man above all forms of worship, all truth revealed to the conscience and by miracles,—installed on the heights of absolute religion, above the warmth of human wants and human prayers, frozen into a would be god by the chill air of his own self-sufficiency. So much for a metaphysical distinction. So much for the importance of metaphysical studies. If there are to come down from these pretended summits of a lofty philosophy such teachers as these, who shall give us atheism by system and in lectures before schools of divinity, and who shall preach the falsehood of Christianity to educated men and women, and all in the name of a spiritual nature; then it is time that mental

science should be acknowledged of some consequence in forming the principles of those who are to influence their fellows.

Let us now turn to Mr. Parker's practical view of the religious element. Here his chief error is, and it is a great error, that he makes the religious in man a *sentiment*, and a sentiment only, without showing its relation to the moral character of the man who feels it, and the moral government of the God whom he worships. *Religion*, with Mr. Parker, is a *thing instinctive and involuntary*. As is the feeling of delight to the beautiful, as the emotion of awe is to the sublime, such is religion to the divine. The man who feels it may be as remorseless as a pirate, and as sensual as a Turk, and yet in the intervals of his sensual and cruel nature, he may rise to the lofty heights of religious feeling and worship, as the glory of the Eternal shines forth upon him in the splendor of a magnificent moonlight evening, or rushes by in the fury of a tornado. No matter what his god may be, whether one like himself—sensual, crafty, and cruel, or, which answers the same end, a holy God, who is yet indifferent to his character; if he do but pay him *worship*, it is still *religion*, and as all religion is one and the same, we must recognize it in its divine origin. No matter what the worship may be,—it may be the burning of a candle, the pouring out of a liquid, the muttering of a prayer, or the high and rapt contemplations of a proud and intellectual sentimentalist, if it be worship it is *religion*, and religion is one and the same. If this be religion, man can not avoid being religious. In the words of Mr. Parker, "Religion follows necessarily, as vision from the existence of a seeing faculty in man, and that of light out of him." If this be religion, it is consistent, as Mr. Parker would have us believe, with every species of folly and

falsehood in the form of religious belief, and almost every species of indulgence in sin by which men have dishonored the image of Him who made them. If this be religion, it is easy to see it in the sacrifice cruel and bloody, where man offers up his fellow to his horrid Deity,—easy to see it in the worship of every image, monstrous and vile, which has gone up from man's degraded and besotted imagination, to be exalted as his God, and to repay him by degrading him to a deep still lower. If this be religion, it is easy to believe "that many a swarthy Indian, who bowed down to wood and stone; many a grim-faced Calmuck, who worshiped the great God of the storms; many a Grecian peasant, who did homage to Phœbus Apollo when the sun rose and went down; yes, many a savage, his hands smeared all over with human sacrifice,—shall come from the east and the west, and sit down in the kingdom of God."

But this is not the true idea of religion. The sentiment on which religion is founded is indeed instinctive, and so are all the prime elements of man's nature; but that which makes this emotion religion, is the moral character in its great under current one with God, and that God a holy God. Hence true religion or right worship implies and supposes a moral administration enforced by a reigning God. It supposes a man under the dominion of the law of duty—at peace with himself, and in harmony with the will of Him whom he worships. Thus and thus alone do adoration, praise, and prayer, become holy and pure emotions; so does the religious nature sit as a crown of grace on the whole moral being rightly attuned and subdued; so do the pure in heart see God.

But if there be no moral perfection, no oneness with the true God, then religious sentiment, or the feeling with which we regard the Di-

vine, becomes the most certain and rapid agent in man's degradation—forasmuch as it gets his gods on the side of his lusts, and makes the indulgence of his most debasing propensities the passport to the favor of the Being on whom his all depends. When religion fills her temples with harlots, and makes worship to be prostitution and debauchery, let her no longer be called divine. If the sentiment of worship is to deserve a decent name, let her keep her gods decently moral.

We know very well that Mr. P. will not accept our representation as just. He will claim that he himself has recognized the relation of religion to morality. We admit the fact. But we deny that he has remembered or used it. He has recognized the principle to a certain extent, in statements not wholly correct but not greatly false. He must be a great blunderer, if on such a subject he did not sometimes say the truth. But *the* view which he makes the basis of his actual philosophizing and the ground of his conclusions, is the one which we have given. It confounds the religious sentiment with real religion.

No distinction can be more important than this, between the instinctive sentiment of religion and that which is indeed religion,—between that homage to truth which the sensibilities and the conscience can not but render, and that love of the truth, which the soul gives that has yielded itself to the authority of truth. And yet no distinction is oftener lost sight of. The sentimentalist may be a wretch, whose practice is unprincipled and base, and yet by the deep sea or on the mountain top, or beneath the still influences of some lonely midnight hour, he thinks of his Creator and is elevated to what he calls worship. The gay young man, or the gayer young lady, who would scorn of all things a life of duty and of prayer, can yet hold high discourse of the

spiritual and divine. The philosopher, selfish and proud, whose god is his intellect, and whose life instead of being ordered ever as under "his great taskmaster's eye," is but a splendid career of intellectual ambition,—he too sometimes kindles into lofty aspirations after the ethereal and divine. 'Surely,' he says, 'all men are religious. Let us adore the sentiment, and hold loftier views of man, and with a gentle heart, judge of the various forms by which it shows itself.'

This is the religionism of too much of our literature. It is a sentiment of religion, a reverence for goodness, some lofty views of God, without obedience to such a sentiment, in a life that serves a holy God. It is the religionism of Byron, of Bulwer, of Dickens, of Göthe, which, lofty in sensibility and noble in aspirations, makes the realization of religion in living goodness a vulgar and contemptible matter.

This kind of religiousness is seen in the conventicle, when some iron-fisted wretch, seeks by his noisy prayers and his high-wrought antinomian fervors, to propitiate the God whose will he does not care to fulfill. He is an instance of religious sentimentality, though of the vulgar sort. It is seen in the cathedral. Here is a throng of wild Milesians, earnest in their worship, because that worship indulges their vices and opens to them the gate of heaven. With what devotion do they cry, "Hail, Mary, mother of grace." There is a group of educated Romanists, or a few Puseyites whose hearts have long been here. See how as the organ swells to its loftiest notes, and the choir respond in their majestic melody, and the imposing ceremonial proceeds, the sentiment of worship fixes every countenance and moves every heart. The worship is finished. The crowd disperses. They have discharged to God his due. But as that due does not take hold

of their lives and themselves, their religion is but a farce, which would deserve our laughter did it not destroy the soul. It is seen too in the chapel of the rationalist, where God is no longer revealed as one who is holy and must be obeyed, but is discoursed of in the words of a fond and sickly sentimentalism; where the realities of a coming eternity are not proclaimed in words of earnestness and power, but the religious sentiment is gently stirred, Christ is praised, the audience are flattered, and the ceremonial concludes.

Now we are upon this point, we must make a clean breast of it, and say all that we think. We charge this sentimentalism upon no class or sect of men. It is found every where, for its elements are deeply grounded in the nature of man. We see it not unfrequently in the spruce rector of some fashionable Episcopal congregation, who reads the liturgy in the way best fitted to excite the religious sensibilities of his fastidious flock, and pronounces a sermon that shall in no wise disturb the conclusion that they are truly devout, if they do but admire the organ and love chanting, and are stiff for the bishop. We see it also in the Congregational or Presbyterian minister who plays so gracefully the part of an amateur divine, and astonishes the ladies by the exquisite appropriateness of his devotional services, but who knows nothing of the dignity or the duty of a manly dealing with the consciences of his hearers. But no where do we see it so systematically taught as in the writings of certain leading Unitarian divines. We do not charge it as a necessary consequence of their leading and peculiar articles of belief. We do not excuse or palliate those outrages on common sense, in the form of theology and under the name of Calvinism, which have been made their justification. We simply assert it

as a matter of fact, that as we read the writings of Channing, so justly esteemed for his pure and lofty sentiments—of Greenwood, so tasteful and elevated—and of Ware, so honest hearted and devotional,—their religion seems to us sentimentalism rather than holiness. It is the product of the feelings refined by culture, rather than of the will consenting to the dominion of a perfect God. Religion is represented as an accomplishment, which should be cultivated, refined, and matured, rather than as a condition and a token of acceptance with God. It is a matter of taste rather than of duty—a thing which pertains to “the absolutely beautiful, the absolutely true, and the absolutely good,” rather than a requisite for the dying hour. It soothes and elevates the feelings, rather than speaks peace to the conscience. It reconciles man to his outward sense of propriety, rather than to the actual favor of the living God.

We know that it will occur to many that none make so much of the social virtues, or the kindlier charities of life. We will admit that none exhibit those virtues and charities, better than some who may be found in Unitarian congregations. There must be holiness however, as the grand constituent of character,—love to God as a holy Being, and joy in the law of duty as it reaches to the inmost soul and takes hold of the eternal state; or the religious sentiment is but an instinct or an emotion, with no more morality in it, than a sensation of the nervous system, or the gratification of the palate.

We do not enter here into the question, as to what man was made to be, or how deep is his depravity. We believe him godlike. We call him divine. But the higher his capacities, the baser is it to pervert them—the more godlike his destination, the more damning is the failure to fulfill it—the more divine his

best and highest aspirations, the more wretched and guilty and ill-deserving, is it not to obey them. It has become fashionable, of late, for men of a refined taste and cultivation, to pay great respect to the religious sentiment. Philosophers acknowledge its reality, and ascribe magnificent results to its influence on man and society. All this is very well as far as it goes. It shows an advance in the high feeling of literary men. It argues well of the philosophical literature of Christendom. But if the religious sentiment is to be honored and religious truth is to be denied; or if Christianity *as a spirit* is to be received, while its facts and principles are to be represented as mere moonshine, it is not so well. And yet we fear that this is but too faithful a description of many of the writings of the so-called spiritual philosophy, alike recalcitrant to conscience, to the wants of man, and to all the laws of historic interpretation.

But to Mr. Parker and his volume. Book second is entitled “the relation of the religious sentiment to God, or a discourse of inspiration.” The inspiration of which Mr. Parker here “discourses,” is not the usual question of fact, whether or not the writers of the Scriptures were in truth inspired above other men. It is the more fundamental and previous question, whether one man *can be inspired* above another in the supernatural or miraculous sense. If it is decided that they can not be thus inspired, it is easy to see that the subordinate question is disposed of. If in the nature of things it is impossible that God should thus impart miraculous inspiration, it follows of course that he *has* never so inspired particular individuals.

The critical reader will see at a glance that Mr. Parker has decided this question already. Indeed, as we have already stated, if his view of the religious element is just, as defined in the distinction between the idea and

the conception of spiritual truth, he has carried all his points by the previous question. We ought not to wonder that he seeks to carry this view through the volume, with unflinching consistency. The argument, as we have already stated, is this. God is revealed to the reason of man, and whatever man can know of God or spiritual truth, with absolute certainty, he knows through the reason. It is natural for him to make a conception of God, as of the finite objects of the senses or the understanding; but in these we have only our subjective notions, which do not of necessity have an objective reality corresponding thereto. These conceptions he attempts to analyze in the first chapter. At the same time he enters somewhat deeply into the other matters pertaining to the metaphysics of the Deity. But we may not follow him here, though the inconsistency of his reasoning is greatly tempting.

The field being thus opened, the following inquiries are started? How does God act in nature? The answer is, that God is immanent and active in nature; that he imparts perpetual life to the laws which he has given to created being, and in their life makes himself perpetually manifest. His only way of acting in nature is by sustaining and executing the material laws. This is true of the inorganic, the vegetable, and the animal world. From these we go up to man. In him we find a self-conscious moral and religious being. What would analogy lead us to conclude as to the way by which God is present in him. Plainly in the same way, by giving life and execution to the laws which make him what he is. As he acts in nature by sustaining the laws of physical existence, so will he act in man, according to the laws of moral and self-conscious being. If we question nature farther, we shall find that every want is supplied—over against every necessity is set

its appropriate supply. We should expect it would be so in the special case of man. His animal nature has wants. For these is provided a supply. Not only for every want of the body, but for every disease of the body a supply is furnished. But of what use is the supply unless man can avail himself of it? Nature meets him here. She not only gives the supply, but she guides man to use it by instinct and understanding. So is it with his intellectual being. So also with his moral and affectional nature. "But the religious element is the deepest, highest, and strongest element in man. Shall this be neglected? Our analogy teaches us, that in this as in the other case, there must be a supply for the wants, and some plain, regular, and not miraculous means, accessible to each man, whereby he can get a knowledge of this support, discover this will, and thus by observing the proper conditions obtain the highest spiritual welfare." Or in other words, every man is inspired if he will be.

Then comes the question of fact, Are men in fact inspired? In support of the affirmative he argues, that men are inspired, is the belief of all nations. This argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much. The general belief is not that men are inspired in the way for which he contends, but supernaturally.

Of the manner in which men are inspired, or communicate with God, there are in his classification three theories—the Rationalistic or Naturalism, which in philosophy is Sensualism, and in religion is the Unitarianism of Priestly; the Anti-Rationalistic or Supernaturalism, which has the same philosophy as its basis, but in religion is Orthodoxy as understood among ourselves; and the Natural-Religious view or Spiritualism, which is Mr. Parker's own view. This theory teaches, that "as we have bodily senses to lay hold on matter and supply bodily wants,

through which we obtain naturally all needed material things ; so we have spiritual faculties to lay hold on God, and supply spiritual wants, through them we obtain all needed spiritual things. As we observe the conditions of the body, we have nature on our side ; as we observe the law of the soul, we have God on our side. He imparts truth to all men who observe these conditions ; we have direct access to Him through reason, conscience, and the religious sentiment, just as we have direct access to nature through the eye, the ear, or the hand. Through these channels and by means of a law, certain, regular, and universal as gravitation, God inspires men, makes revelation of truth ; for is not truth as much a phenomenon of God as motion is of matter ? Therefore if God be omnipotent and omni-active, this inspiration is no miracle, but a regular mode of God's action on conscious spirit, as gravitation on unconscious matter. It is not a rare condescension on the part of God, but a universal uplifting of man. To obtain a knowledge of duty, man is not sent away outside of himself to ancient documents for the only rule of faith and practice ; the word is very nigh him, even in his heart, and by this word he is to try all documents whatever."—p. 216.

Or in other words, if the reason gives to man all the knowledge that he *can* have, the man has only to open his eye, and he sees and is inspired. Supernatural inspiration is impossible and useless. It is impossible, for there is no work for it to do. It is useless, for all its work is done. But we have remarked at length upon this fundamental argument.

There is however in the synopsis given, one argument drawn from the analogy of nature which we must notice. In the universe, we are told, whenever there occurs a want, there is found a supply—a supply

which is natural and not miraculous. Therefore for the religious wants of man, there must be a supply which is also not miraculous. This argument, for one from analogy, is sound as far as the cases are similar, though in regard to the abundance of the supply, it is somewhat over stated. But there is one great fact overlooked, and that is altogether material. In respect to man's religious wants, there is *an indisposition on his part to avail himself of the supply*. If, in respect to these necessities, man had the same willingness that he feels in regard to the wants of his animal or even his intellectual nature, and the supply were not furnished, then indeed nature would be untrue to herself, and God to his own promises of hope and love. We hold that in such a case there is a supply. We hold as truly and as fully as Mr. Parker, that by the light of nature and their own souls men may know the truth concerning duty and God. We do not hold with him that they are so taught by reason, that if they do not listen to this voice, there is no other help for them. We hold that men know their duty and *do* it not ; that they *might know* more, but they *will not*. Here then is fact which Mr. Parker does not allude to. Here is a want, for which according to his system there is no supply. Man knows his duty but does it not. He sees the light, but will not follow it into greater light, but suppressing it, he yields himself to falsehood and darkness. He does this willingly ; he does this perversely. What shall be done for him ? Mr. Parker has evaded this whole question. It would seem that he hardly believed it to be a fact. He does indeed speak of man as disobedient, but he gives him as such no place in his argument.

We repeat the question, What shall be done for him ? Mr. Parker can not answer. His system forbids him to answer. With lofty phrases of God's spiritual presence

and influence; assuming to hold higher views of man than the Naturalists with their sensual philosophy, and the Supernaturalists with their inconsistent and fanatical notion of a miraculous intervention, he has no remedy for man's deepest want, and his grandest necessity. God has done all for man that he can. He dwells in him so fully, and reveals himself so perfectly, that he can do nothing more to help him. He can communicate himself no more; he can give no new life; he can awaken no new energy. Thus exalting man so high, and talking greatly of God, while man hears from his conscience and nature the wail resounding, "Thou hast destroyed thyself," and looks up to hear the voice of hope from on high, "In me is thy help," he tells him, "In God is no help. In nature for every want there is a supply, but for this want there is no supply."

So much for the second book, or the discourse of inspiration.

Our author, having prepared the way, and with the measure of success which we have traced, proceeds to book third, which is entitled, "the relation of the religious sentiment to Jesus of Nazareth, or a discourse of Christianity." In this book, we have the application of the principles already expounded, and the more full statement of the results which have been before not dimly announced. In the first chapter the question is stated, and the method of inquiry is indicated. He tells us again, as often before, that the religious element bears the same relation to particular systems of religion that reason does to the various systems of philosophy. When a particular form of religion is discussed, the question to be asked in respect to it is this—Does it teach absolute religion. This is the question in respect to Christianity. To answer this inquiry, we must know two things—what is absolute religion, and what is Christianity? The

former is not at all difficult. The latter is the most difficult of all matters. To determine it, we must go to the words of Jesus, and the question which we must ask is, Are these words true? We need not ask whether he wrought miracles, or lived a good life, for if he did both, it would not prove his words true. If he did no wonders, and was intellectually and morally very imperfect, yet his words, if true, are just as true notwithstanding. In the next chapter, the author comments on the records of these words as reliable sources of information, and concludes that they are inconsistent, contradictory, credulous, and wholly untrustworthy. His argument we shall not follow. In it there are as many assertions as sentences, and, as we think, as many falsehoods as there are assertions. His conclusion in respect to the worth of these writings and the amount of fact which may be gathered from them is as follows:

"What has been said is sufficient to show that we must proceed with great caution in accepting the statements of the gospels. The most careless observer sees inconsistencies, absurd narrations; finds actions attributed to Jesus, and words put in his mouth, which are directly at variance with his great principles and the general tone of his character. Still there must have been a foundation of fact for such a superstructure; a great spirit to have commenced such a movement as the Christian; a great doctrine to have accomplished this, the most profound and wondrous revolution in human affairs. We must conclude that these writers would describe the great features of his life, and set down the great principles of his doctrine, its most salient points, and his most memorable sayings, such as were poured out in the highest moments of inspiration. If the teacher were true, these sayings would involve all the rest of his doctrine, which any man of simple character, religious heart, and mind free from prejudice, could unfold and develop still farther. The condition and nature of the Christian records will not allow us to go farther than this and be curious in particulars. Their legendary and mythical character does not warrant full confidence in the narrative. There are certain main features of doctrine in which the evan-

gelists all agree, though they differ in most other points."—pp. 250-1.

In a note he adds—

"The character of the record is such, that I see not how any stress can be laid on particular actions attributed to Jesus. That he lived a divine life, suffered a violent death, taught and lived a most beautiful religion, this seems the great fact about which a mass of truth and error has been collected. That he should gather disciples, be opposed by the priests and Pharisees, have controversies with them, this lay in the nature of things. His loftiest sayings seem to me the most likely to be genuine. The great stress laid on the person of Jesus by his followers, shows what the person must have been. They put the person before the thing, the fact above the idea. But it is not about vulgar men that such mythical stories are told."

As the considerations which lead to this conclusion are not of the nature of argument, they demand no refutation.

In the third chapter, he inquires what are the main features of Christianity, and we are told that they are love to man and love to God. It is indeed admitted that Christ might have taught something about baptism and the Lord's Supper, though it is somewhat doubtful. "Did he lay any stress on the watery dispensation? count it valuable of itself? Then we must drop a tear over human weakness." . . . "But if it came from him, we can only say, there is no perfect guide but the Father."

The authority of Christianity is the subject of the fourth chapter. Its only authority is its truth. But as it has been contended, that it depends also on miracles, this question is discussed; the conclusion is that miracles are impossible, and that there is no evidence that they occurred in the case of Christianity. In the fifth chapter, he asks what are the essential peculiarities of Christianity. In the sixth, he inquires what was the moral and religious character of Jesus of Nazareth, under the two heads of the negative side, or the limitations of

Jesus, and the positive side, or the excellencies of Jesus. Chapter seventh is devoted to the mistakes about Jesus, his reception and influence; it gives a graphic portraiture of his sufferings and trials, within and without, and then proceeds to show how the same thing is fulfilled in all the Jesuses before and since his time, and particularly in the case of Theodore Parker, hero and apostle of absolute religion. The picture is pleasant and not unaffecting, though it becomes somewhat serio-comic when we remember that he alludes to the scribes and chief priests of Boston and Harvard College.

Next we have in book fourth, "the relation of the religious sentiment to the greatest of books, or a discourse of the Bible." He describes the position which the Bible holds and the influence which it wields, and says justly, that there must be a reason for it, and that is the soul and spirit of truth that is in it. The common view of the Bible, that it is the only authoritative rule of religious faith and practice, is in his view untenable. Of this view he says, "Accordingly with strict logical consistency, a peculiar method is used both in the criticism and interpretation of the Bible. Reason has nothing to do in the premises but accept the written statement of 'the word;' the duty of belief is just the same whether the word contradict reason and conscience, or agree with them." "Now this is true or not true." If it is true it is capable of being proved. Of the four ways by which it may be established, he considers at length the following, "the examination of the contents of the Bible, and the external history of its origin." In regard to the Old Testament he lays down the following thesis. "Every book of the Old Testament bears distinct marks of its human origin; some of human folly and sin, all of human weakness and imperfection." This he main-

tains at some length, and concludes thus, "To look back upon the field we have passed, it must be confessed that the claims made for the Old Testament have no foundation in fact; its books like others, have a mingling of good and evil. We see a gradual progress of ideas therein, keeping pace with the civilization of the world. Vestiges of ignorance, superstition, folly, of unreclaimed selfishness, yet linger there. Here the moral and religious sentiment are insulted; there, is beautiful instruction for both. There is a gradual progress in the Jewish as in all mythologies. First, God appears in person; walks in the garden in the cool of the day; eats and drinks; makes contracts with his favorites; is angry, resentful, sudden and quick in quarrel, and changes his plans at the advice of a cool man." He examines the New Testament also, and comes to a similar conclusion. He then adds, "These facts can not be hushed up; nor put out of sight; we must look them in the face. They have pained already many a breaking heart, who could not separate the truth of Christianity from the errors of its record, felt with groans that could not be uttered. It need not be so. Christianity is one thing; the Christian documents are another." He concludes with some remarks about the excellency of the Bible, to which we may have occasion to refer. It is no part of our design to follow the author through his criticism on particular passages. His argument is hasty and superficial. It is but the striking extracts from a pretty thorough course of neological reading, or the siftings of the sweepings from German lecture rooms. There is nothing new, nothing said which has not often been answered, and the best answer to which, is a good commentary on the Bible, if indeed, such a thing there were. We can only offer some general considerations.

Let us take into our hands then this Bible, in respect to which Mr. Parker has adopted these conclusions. Let us look at it as it shines with its own light—that venerable collection of Hebrew literature, with that other assemblage of writings that is grouped around Jesus and his followers. We apply to them no peculiar principles. We will go no farther than we are led by the canons which sound sense and reason prescribe in the study of all the literature and history of the past. If given by God, the Bible will speak for itself. We repel and reject the charge, that a peculiar method of criticism must be used in respect to it. We open first the Old Testament, and study it by the light of historic interpretation. These Hebrew writings are in the hands of a peculiar people, who honor them as their sacred books; whose history they record; and out of whose occasions of joy and sorrow, of prosperity and affliction, of worship and wailing, they are said to have originated. Their gifted men composed them, their legislators, philosophers, prophets and poets. Far back in the world's youth, we see Abraham, the patriarch of this wonderful nation, whose name and lineage are still remembered with honor, for the Jew of this day though unlike Abraham in his faith, boasts Abraham as his father. This patriarch is a wandering herdsman, in all the simplicity of the pastoral life. You may see him even now in the Bedouin of the desert, if you take from the latter his vile and selfish creed, his thievish and hungry life. His tribe and kindred are loved with the freshness and strength peculiar to his time and his calling, and his strongest desire is to be the founder of a family and a name. He knows not the mystery of letters. His vocabulary of oral communication is greatly limited. His views of things human and divine are narrow and short-sighted, except as there beats within his bo-

som a strong and true heart. We see him in his wanderings, with his household of dependents ever about him. We must judge of his attainments not by our light, but by comparing them with those of his contemporaries in that early morning of the world's life. But of these we have no record. The world had rolled on a decade of centuries farther when Homer painted the manners of his time; five at least intervene between Moses and the painter of Ulysses. But look at Abraham with these centuries against him, and look at Ulysses and his history. We see in both, the same simplicity of manners, the same dignity and tenderness of affection. The pictures of both must have been taken fresh in the earliest times. They could have been traced by no modern hand. See Ulysses, pious indeed after his way, honest and upright. But how does Abraham the Chaldean herdsman tower above him in his knowledge of the Judge of all the earth, who can not but do right, to whom he offers the simple sacrifice, *calling on his name*. Amid temptations to worship the host of heaven or the stupid image, he worships the unseen. He stands out in the earliest history of man as a worshiper of *one* and a *holy* God, and he honors his faith by the life which his worship was fitted to inspire. Here is a phenomenon in the history of the race, strange and peculiar. How are we to account for it? Is it enough to tell us that he obeyed the religious elements, and fell back on the guidance of absolute religion? No, the question still returns, the *historical question*, why have not others done the same?

But the story attempts to explain itself. It tells us that God spoke to him in a dream; that he made a promise to him, that if he would be faithful to his service as the One, he would make him the father of a great family; that in a vision he confirmed to him the covenant, after

the usual way of those times, by passing in a visible symbol between the quivering and divided limbs of slaughtered victims; that he tested his faith by long delay in respect to the child of his promise, and tested that faith again, by demanding that child in sacrifice. These things appear to Mr. Parker trivial, contemptible and shocking, interesting indeed as the poetic drapery with which the filial devotion of his descendants delighted to invest the memory of their honored sire, but utterly unworthy of the Eternal; and besides, to him it is philosophically impossible for God to reveal himself to man. But laying aside this last objection, we ask, why trivial? How could the Eternal reveal himself to that mind except in the way in which he did, without destroying it. The future state is too distant, from which to bring motives that shall be strong enough to move him, and so he appeals to his strongest passion, that was instinctive and innocent, and promises to make of him a great nation. But he bade him offer his son in sacrifice. Oh horrible! the perfect God could never do that! Why not? Is not he the master of life? Did not Abraham know that it was to test his faith and that God could and would raise him to life? Does Mr. Parker know enough of Abraham and his time and all the circumstances, to know that it offended his moral sense? But we are curious to know, how God could reveal himself to such a mind, except in the way in which he did. Would Mr. Parker have him teach Abraham all the doctrines of the absolute religion in the phrase of Hegel, Spinoza, or Schleiermacher? Viewed in the light of the age in which Abraham lived, the call by night, the covenant and the demand of sacrifice, not only form no objection, but add truthfulness to the picture.

Against all this Mr. Parker has but two arguments. First, the met-

apphysical one, touching the idea and conception of God. Second, the following. The sacred books of all nations tell mythological stories about their great men, therefore all stories about revelations or wonders are of course mythic. He has carried the argument by the previous question.

We pass over the history of Abraham's family, as it expands itself into a tribe and prepares to become a great nation. It is still surrounded by idolatrous influences. The yearnings of the uninstructed and sensual nature, demand a visible image, the embodied Deity, to say nothing of the temptations that beset it from debasing rites. In the world's uplifting and recovery, it is the plan of its instructor to teach his lessons as he may, and it is a hard and slow one, this first lesson of the one spiritual God. The tribe are suffered to become captive to the proudest and wealthiest nation of the world. They are delivered, after inflictions of evil on their oppressors; and as the sea rolls over the bodies of their haughty pursuers, this unlettered tribe sing a song composed by their leader, which is to be ever in their mouths as a memorial of what the one God, their God can do. They go to Sinai. The path by which they were conducted thither, can even now be traced; and the rock, which God selected as the place on which to enthrone his law, can be well nigh identified. Beneath its overhanging precipice, shaken by horrid thunderings and resounding with the voice of the unseen, the law is given in precepts, which an unlettered people could understand and remember, but which are the sum of moral wisdom for all time. To these was added a ritual system, which addressed the senses of a nation who could only thus discern the spiritual. The ark may have been taken from some Egyptian ceremonial, and the entire ritual from prac-

tices common to the surrounding nations. Certainly they were adapted to the age and the time. Jehovah is revealed as the national Deity, in conformity with the views of the time, and conducts himself as such. He takes them to the land provided for them. He gives it the blessing of his promise. He holds over his people a government of temporal rewards and punishments. To their faithfulness he gives harvests of plenty, to their recreancy, blasting and mildew. The laws he gives are wonderful for their wise forecast. They provide for the occasions of domestic life, for the welfare of the soil, for the national harmony and union. There are in it rules for dress, for gathering of seed. And in all this system, there is present a pure religion which reaches to the heart, while in its sacrificial offerings there is the symbol of a sublime mystery yet to be unfolded.

And yet Moses lived five hundred years before the *Odyssey* was written. Except as we account for him, by supernatural guidance and inspiration, Moses is a monster striding more than a thousand years before his age. In comparison with his code, viewed as adapted to the age for which it was designed, the code Napoleon, that production of the master mind of modern times, with all the experience and education of the world centuries older, sinks away from admiration.

We put it to you, Mr. Parker, account for Moses if you can. Oh, fie, fie on you, that with your Homer in your hand, and able as a scholar to enter into the spirit of the past, you fail to admire the wonder of wonders, and to see in him a supernatural influence. Surely you must have had sad teachers at the school and the university; and it is not for us to say that the way in which you repay them now, is surprising or undeserved.

But you will tell us that the God of the Jews was a God of war and

of cruelty ; that he doomed the unhappy Canaanites to massacre ; and that he is most inconsistent with himself, now holy, now sinking to the level of their prejudices and passion.

Of this we have only to say, that it is for you to show, that there was any other way in which he could reveal himself to imperfect and bigoted Jews, they being as they were. We say that there is not the least evidence that the moral sense of the people was offended in the least, by his allowance of war, of slavery, or by any word or act which in your view is so strong an argument.

Of the devotional poetry of these Scriptures, we take your own description. "The excellence of the Hebrew devotional hymns has never been surpassed. Heathenism, Christianity, with all their sciences, arts, literature, bright and many colored, has little that approach these. They are the despair of imitators ; still the uttered prayer of the Christian world. Tell us of Greece, whose air was redolent of song ; its language such as Jove might speak ; its sages, heroes, poets, honored in every clime ;—they have no psalm of prayer and praise like these Hebrews, the devoutest of men, who saw God always before them, ready to take them up, when father and mother let them fall."

We ask you, as a scholar, and a student of the world's history and literature, where did this poetry come from ?

We turn now to the New Testament. Rome is in her pride and power. She has swallowed the world in her insatiate appetite for dominion. In her broad empire, there is learning and culture ; there is luxury with its daintiest contrivances, and art with her proudest triumphs in painting, statuary and architecture. But man is degraded in his morals, and still babbles with the driveling of an idiot about the Deity. Though Athens still opens her schools of wisdom ; and philosophy, protected and fos-

tered by her conqueror, has had centuries in which to test and mature her conclusions in respect to the elements of moral and religious wisdom ; the wisdom of the world is still at loss, or if she snatches at some gleams of truth, she has not the moral force to hold them, much less to impress them on man, and give them a swift and victorious propagation.

The Jewish people still continue. Though they have not been without service for the well-being of the world, yet they have ill understood and fulfilled the commission, which was placed in their keeping. At this period, the mass of them are fanatical bigots, with a few who understand the import of their religion, and are waiting for the consolation of Israel.

Upon this scene, see Jesus step forth in the dignity of the Eternal, and yet with the simplicity and just proportions of a man. But of him let Mr. Parker speak. "Try him as we try other teachers. They deliver their word, find a few waiting for the consolation, who accept the new tidings, follow the new method, and some go beyond their teacher, though less mighty minds than he. Such is the case with each founder of a school in philosophy, each sect in religion. Though humble men, we see what Socrates and Luther never saw. But eighteen centuries have past since the Sun of humanity rose so high in Jesus, what man, what sect, what church has mastered his thought ; comprehended his method, and so fully applied it to life." We see him in his life with his rude and half-taught disciples ; patient and mild, he brings out by degrees the wonderful truths concerning his system and person, as they were able to bear them. He is crucified ; he rises from the dead ; his followers gather new views in respect to his character, his teaching and the destiny of his kingdom ; and by and by there dawns on their

minds a full and just view of the Christian system. What a literature have they left us? As Mr. Parker says, "Little need now be said of the New Testament, of the simple truth that nestles in its leaves, its parables, epistles, where Paul lifts up his manly voice, and John pours out the mystic melody of his faith." Test Jesus by his age, by any age, and need we ask what is the only solution of the wonder? Did we not know how Mr. Parker on his theory would answer us, we should almost feel that we insulted his understanding and moral taste to question whether he could answer it in but one way! So much for the men of the Scriptures, and their recorded lives and sayings. Tested by the light of their own time, they tell their own tale.

"But allowing the inspiration of the men," the objector will say, "surely you will not contend for that of the collected writings." In respect to these writings, we give criticism her amplest scope. We give her all her usual license to ascertain by whom they were written, and whether or not they have come down to us as they were at first written. So too in regard to the meaning of the several passages, she has all the range which she ought to ask, and all the light which a knowledge of the times, and of the modes of poetic or oriental speech can possibly furnish. But the writings of the Old Testament come down to us as the sacred books of this people among whom God dwelt. To many of them are affixed the names of authors known to be inspired as men. They were inspired to speak. Why should they not be guided as writers? They have received also the attestation of Jesus and his inspired preachers. Difficulties embarrass this question; but to make them decisive as objections, against an argument so strong, they must not merely be *said*, but be *shown* to be without a possible solu-

tion. We are told of the contradictions, the inconsistencies, the thousand and one verbal difficulties, which a minuter criticism would raise. And are we not reasonable enough to consider that these records are but fragments, coming down to us through centuries of time long gone by; that the difficulties might vanish in a moment, did we know the languages as did the writers, and did we see with their eyes; that on the supposition that such writings were to be inspired, and yet be the writings of men and in the hands of men—writings so various in kind, so remote and diverse as to the time of their origin—we should expect precisely these difficulties to exist, and that they could not but arise? The offenses arising from the imprecatory psalms—putting on them the most unfair construction, and from war and slavery, vanish as we consider that the men and writers were inspired not to discern all the applications of truth, else must Abraham have been a Paul in the completeness of his knowledge, but that they were inspired *in their age, and for their age, and by their age are to be judged*. The vagueness and mystery that to many seems to hang over the traces of the Messiah, promised in the Old Testament and recognized in the New, can be removed only in proportion as we ourselves can become Abraham, and see with his eyes the first tints of the day that was to dawn in Christ, and then trace its slow uprising before the mind of Jacob, of Samuel, of David and Isaiah. Who shall tell us that together with the prophetic intimations concerning this Messiah of which there is record, there were not many spoken which never passed to the sacred page?

"But the miracles and the rising from the dead!" And what are these as grounds of wonder or offense, by the side of Moses, or David, or Jesus? What more natural, what more necessary, than in a sen-

sual and besotted age, they should be needed, and being needed should be given? What more natural appeal could be employed to break up the torpor of sin, and to call the attention of astonished man to spiritual truth, till its dominion be established in the soul by higher evidence? Because rattles and horn-books and toys in all their gradations, are useful for infancy and childhood, are we to conclude after we have outgrown them and exhausted all their good, that there can be no such things as toys? Shall we, as we stand on the heights of absolute manhood, reason by grave demonstration, that a rattle is an absurdity, and our recollections of them are but the dreams of infancy?*

Thus do we account for and vindicate the Bible, as critics and students of its literature. Thus do we give the solution to the secret of its hold on man, which Mr. P. acknowledges and so well describes. See pp. 318-19.

There is another argument of which Mr. Parker seems to have taken but little heed. Though he talks much of absolute religion, and would have us believe that in it is the essence of that which meets the heart of man, he seems to us to have failed to reach the just idea of that heart, and of what it needs. His absolute religion is a sentiment, not a moral principle. His God is to be the theme of poetic musings by twilight, rather than of reverential yet confiding obedience; and is to be honored by the graceful observances of a beautiful religion, rather than by the inner realities of spiritual worship. Man in this system, though a moral being, is not so disordered and

guilty as to need pardon and strength, nor is God a moral ruler that will bring man to judgment. But, in truth, man *is* a sinner, his God does condemn him, and his soul thirsts for peace and satisfaction. He opens the Scriptures. As literature, and history, and poetry, they must have come from God. Received as his medicine and guide, they are the book of life. He reads their pages anew. He traces through them the history of God's progressive revelation of himself to man for man's moral recovery, till he beholds at last the full glory of God manifest in the flesh, and Christ is revealed as man's "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." He binds the holy volume to his heart and goes on his way rejoicing.

Of the fifth book, or "a discourse of the church," we have but a word to say. It is a critique on the history of the church and the several forms of Christianity, and is characteristic of its author. It includes two sections under the head of Protestantism, with the following titles,—"Of the party that sets out from the sovereignty of God,"—and "Of the party that sets out from the pater-nity of God." The first of these might not come amiss if it should be read at the opening of the annual Assembly of the Presbyterian church. We would recommend that the second be read at the meeting of the American Unitarian Association, particularly that part of it which describes the present condition of Unitarianism.

The reasons which induced us to give so extended a notice of this volume of Mr. Parker's, we have already hinted at. It is not a recent work. Some of the interest which it at first excited we are well aware has died away. But it remains as a representation of that which is and is to be the infidelity of the age. This system demands the notice of every observer of the times. We see in the *Dial* of October, 1843, a re-

* It will be observed that the argument here is *argumentum ad hominem*. It would indeed be a narrow view of the relation of miracles to the Christian revelation, if we were to suppose that they were wrought *only* because of the ignorance and debasement of the period in which the revelation was made.

view from Mr. P., commending two works by Hennel, in which it would seem his own views are if possible more fully made known than in the Discourse of Religion. We give the following from Hennel :—" With no hostility then towards Christ and Christianity may the Theist renounce his faith in miracles and prophecy. Let all benefactors of mankind continue to look to Jesus as their fore-runner in this great cause, and recognize a kindred mind in the Galilean who preached lessons of wisdom and benevolence in an early age of the world, and fell a sacrifice to the noble idea of introducing a kingdom of heaven upon earth. Let the good Samaritan still be cited as the example of humanity, the Passover supper be remembered as the farewell of Jesus to his friends, and God be worshiped under the character which he attributed to him, the Father in heaven. Let painting and music still find solemn themes in the realities and fables relating to Jesus ; let feasts and holydays still take their names from the events of his life, our time be dated from his birth, and our temples surmounted by his cross. Christianity then has been neither evil nor useless, but out of it will proceed a further mental growth."

Such is its creed. Its peculiarities are twofold—its views of natural religion, and its views of the Scriptures. In respect to both of these, it professes to receive all that is valuable and permanent in Christianity, and to let fall the transient and temporary. In its absolute religion it professes to retain the essential principles that are derived from the nature of things. Nay, it claims to itself the higher merit that it beholds them by the intuition of the reason. It tells us in effect, " We cherish the same piety which you inculcate—we worship the same God and with the same spiritual worship—we recognize the same regeneration which is enjoined by

the Christianity of history and of miracles—we require not testimony—we cherish a loftier and more believing spirit." *But it is not the same religion.* It gives us but half the religion of nature, and not the whole. It gives us a God of purity indeed, for any other is rejected by an elevated taste, but it gives no God whom we love and worship as our Father—no God who upholds a pure law and gives life to an actual government. It recognizes man with a spiritual nature and moral faculties, but not man responsible to a reigning Jehovah, and held to the issues of blessing and of sorrow by him who is no respecter of persons. And yet, that infidelity should honor these eternal principles so far as it does, is a cheering token of the times. It shows that these truths have fought their way and have seated themselves in triumph in the convictions of man. Whether the Bible be true or not, the mind of man knows and acknowledges that these are truths. Infidelity itself is compelled to own them, even while it evades their force and pressure. It seems to own the truth but hides it, and gives us instead of the truth its own cant about " the spiritual nature and destiny of man ;" that painted mirage by which so many gifted minds are still led on, thinking that the next stage shall quench their thirst for " the living water,"—and *still are they pilgrims, and still are they in the desert.*

So too in respect to the Scriptures. It seems to give them all the honor which they deserve. It can use the choicest epithets, to set forth their value. It can expatiate on their beauty and worth as with an angel's tongue. We deny not the sincerity with which it pays its homage. The days of such vulgar and illiterate scorn as Voltaire or Diderot presumed to pour upon the literature of " the barbarous Jews," are gone forever. The world has grown wiser.

Her science, and taste, and knowledge of the past, all have taught her better. But after all, this proud—religion shall we call it?—scorns the word so admired, when that word claims the authority of a revelation from God. Thus does it take off the heavy weight of obligation. True, it professes to do this on the ground both of piety and historic sense. It is shocked at such exhibitions of God, and it is too well acquainted with man's credulity to believe in a miracle or Theophany; so with strange talk of myths and legends does it profess to solve the question whence came the word. But it is a heavy burden that it undertakes, and a barbarous solution that it gives. Better sneer with Voltaire than affect to revere with Strauss. By believing so much, you make difficulties that you can not shake off.

This infidelity is adapted to the age, not to the uncultured and vulgar mind, but to the most cultivated and refined. It is learned; nay, learning has made it mad. It is engendered by reading without reflection, by yielding the mind to passive impressions, without the energy of an active will, an honest moral sense, and the stern discipline of an active life, till finally the power of comparing shrinks into incapacity, and the man is given up to an idiocy of judgment, "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." It satisfies the taste—it makes peace between the taste and the moral sense by enthroning the beautiful, and making religion and holiness nothing but poetry. Nay, it is more pious than the Scriptures—more believing than to be willing to need their aid. Its atheism is so scientific, so tasteful, so intellectual, so bland, so devout, that it wins golden opinions. Its infidelity is so learned, so catholic, so ready to appreciate all that is good in the Scriptures, while yet it can not bring itself to believe all that it desires to, that multitudes conclude there must

be something in it. "There must be something in it," so would say the careless reader of fine intellect and refined taste, and noble aspirations, who would make his peace with his conscience, and yet can not bring himself to the spirit and life demanded by vulgar piety. This we suppose to have been the influence of Mr. Parker and of the school to which he belongs, on the minds of hundreds. They have not been persuaded to follow the author to the full length of his speculations, but their faith has been unsettled; and they cry out in inward agony, but with a calm brow. To this state much of the mind of Christendom sometimes seems to be tending.

We would not be intolerant in using the word infidelity so often in respect to such men as those of whom we write. We do only apply it after its ordinary usage; and until their views have gained a currency so wide as to reverse that usage, the word must retain its propriety. But we write in no scornful mood. They are brethren to us, not merely by the ties of common humanity, but by those of similar studies and tastes, and we may add similar difficulties with much that passes for truth. We know something of the fascination they are under, and would fain greet them as they rise to a better way of thinking.

But this is the infidelity of the age. What shall be done to meet it? We can only indicate the answer to this inquiry. Declamation will not do it. Nor will cant, nor denunciation. Nor Pietism with its warm heart and busy hand, but with eye askance upon enlarged and liberal studies, and a generous course of manly cultivation. Nor will the zeal and devotedness of a ministry, however graceful in manner, or easy in utterance, which has not mastered the high problems of philosophical enquiry, and attained a catholic and liberal taste for all that is excellent

in character and literature. We need not say that Oxfordism, with all its train, will but aggravate the evil. Nay, Oxfordism, in the last analysis, is little else than another type of the same disease, poetry instead of holiness.

We must have a learned but yet a logical, vigorous, and bold philosophy, which shall be true to man and true to God; which shall do justice to the problems that are committed to her for solution, and which shall argue and demonstrate rather than dogmatize and sneer. We dare to affirm that to philosophy is committed a most important position, in vindicating the truth from prevailing error. No man can doubt it, who traces the influence of a false but seductive system in the volume of Mr. Parker.

- We must also have a scheme of interpretation which shall do justice the most complete to the Bible, as written by man, while yet it shall vindicate its dignity and authority as revealed from God. The truly liberal mind sickens at the amount of nonsense that has been written vaguely about the Bible, under the name of spiritual interpretation. It is stunned and confused amid the Babel-like confusion and the wordy wars of modern exegetes, and is lost in the labyrinthine cane-brake of their long drawn speculations. It starves on the vapid nihilities of a frigid and soulless neology. It looks for a true and consistent historic interpretation, which shall bring out the parts of the Bible each in relation to its own time, and shall show the wisdom and condescension, the providence and skill which they testify of him who revealed them.

Such a vindication of historical Christianity and of progressive revelation, we hesitate not to say, is one of the grandest wants of the age, and may well be one of its proudest achievements.

It was our original design to add to the considerations already given, a view of the relation of Mr. Parker's opinions to the fundamental principles of the Unitarian system, with some remarks upon the position he holds in that denomination. We regard this as one of the most important topics suggested by the volume, and we intended to have given to it, an important share of our notice. But this article is already long enough; and the topic which remains untouched is too large to be fairly disposed of in a closing paragraph. In a future number, we shall probably pay our respects again to the apostle of "Absolute Religion." The appearance of such a teacher, the publication of such a book, in the name of Christianity, at the metropolis of New England, is a phenomenon, which, if justly explained and resolved into its elements, can not but teach us some important lessons. Merely to argue against the Discourse concerning Religion—merely to refute its fallacies ever so completely, is comparatively a small matter. How came the book to be written, published, read, admired? How came Mr. Parker to be what he is? These are questions which no philosophical mind, Unitarian or Trinitarian, Liberal or Evangelical, can avoid asking. The right answer to such questions will give the lessons which ought to be learned from the phenomenon before us.

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

THE doctrine of baptismal regeneration, may be traced to an early origin in the Christian church; as early as about the middle of the second century. This fact is much relied on, as evidence of its truth. But it might be adduced for this purpose, with more plausibility, if it were not notorious that even at that early period, other great corruptions had crept into the church. How this doctrine first came to be believed, we may not perhaps, at this late period, be able to determine. Dr. Doddridge accounts for it in the following manner: "In the earliest ages of the church, persons were generally baptized, as soon as they were converted to the cordial belief of Christianity, and therefore, the time of their conversion, and that of their baptism, might naturally enough be spoken of as one; and as this was a period when they did, as it were, come into a new world, it is no wonder that the action by which they testified a change so lately made, should be put for that change itself. In a word, a man by baptism, solemnly professed himself a Christian; and as it was generally the first overt act by which his believing the gospel could be publicly and generally known, and was also supposed to be very near the time of his inward conversion, they dated his regeneration, that is, his happy change, as that word used to signify even among the heathen, from that time."

In addition to these considerations, it may be remarked, that baptism was originally intended to be a sign of regeneration. The outward washing of water, was intended to represent the necessity of inward purification. As mankind are naturally prone to attach undue importance to outward forms, they began, in process of time, to confound the sign

with the thing signified, and to speak of regeneration and baptism as one and the same thing. The doctrine of transubstantiation may be traced to a similar origin. The bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, gradually came to be regarded as the real body and blood of Christ, of which they are only symbols.

A false interpretation of certain passages of Scripture, particularly John iii, 5, and Titus iii, 5, also had much influence in giving currency to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. That some of the early fathers should have mistaken the meaning of these texts, is no more wonderful, than that they should have fallen into other egregious mistakes in interpreting the Scriptures.

When we find Barnabas, one of the apostolic fathers, maintaining that Abraham and his one hundred and eighteen trained servants, signify Jesus and his cross; when we find Origen mentioning that in the account given of the destruction of the Hebrew male children in Egypt, and the deliverance of Moses, Pharaoh is the devil, Pharaoh's daughter is the church, the midwives are the Old and New Testaments, and the male and female children are the animal and rational faculties of the soul, and Moses is the law; that the three hundred foxes caught by Sampson, are teachers of heresy; and that the phrase used by the Apostle, "saved so as by fire," teaches that all the saints after the resurrection from the dead, will be purified by flames, and have the dross of sin burnt off by literal fire; when we find Jerome interpreting the controversy between the two women who came to Solomon, as a representation of the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church contending about the child Jesus—when we find

these facts, and a multitude of others like them, illustrating the exegetical wisdom of the three first centuries, we need not be surprised to find that the fathers have fallen into the mistake of supposing, that our Savior, when he said, John iii, 5, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he can not enter into the kingdom of heaven," did teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

But although the word, regeneration, in the writings of the ancient fathers, after the middle of the second century, is generally used to signify baptism or something inseparably connected with baptism, it is not used in this sense, so invariably as some have seemed to imagine. Clemens Alexandrinus uses the word, in one instance at least, to denote a change of character by true repentance. Speaking of a penitent female, he says, "that being born again by conversion, or a change in her temper and behavior, she has the regeneration of life." Chrysostom and Augustine, although they frequently used the language current in their day, admitted that many who were outwardly baptized, were not baptized virtually and spiritually by the Holy Ghost.

As true religion declined, a superstitious observance of outward rites and ceremonies, usurped the place of vital godliness; and the idea of regeneration, as an inward spiritual change of character, became almost entirely lost. For many centuries, no other regeneration was ever thought of by the great mass of Christian professors, but that which was supposed to take place in baptism. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is still maintained, as it ever has been, by the whole Romish church. It is also maintained by the high church party in the church of England, and in the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States. By the *evangelical* party in that communion, it is entirely dis-

carded. But they meet with great embarrassment, in being obliged to make use of a liturgy, which seems most explicitly to contradict their belief. The high church party strenuously insist that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is a doctrine of the church—clearly taught in the Prayer-book; and if the language of the Prayer-book is to be understood in its most obvious meaning, they certainly have the right of the argument; while it is equally certain, that their opponents have the evidence of Scripture on their side. The English liturgy, it is well known, was compiled from the Romish; and by persons whose eyes were not fully opened to all the corruptions of Popery. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should contain some things which ought to have been excluded. Of these, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is one.

The language of the baptismal service is very explicit. The minister, after the baptism of an infant, is directed to say, "Seeing now dearly beloved, that this child is *regenerate*, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits," &c. . . . "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to *regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit*, to receive him for thine own child, by adoption, and to incorporate him into thine own church."

At the baptism of adults, the minister is directed to say, "Mercifully look upon these thy servants; wash them, and sanctify them with the Holy Ghost; that they being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church." Again, "Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons, that they *may be born again*, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ." After baptism, the minister is directed to say, "Seeing now, dearly beloved, that these per-

sons are *regenerate*, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits." The thanksgiving then follows, and after it this prayer: "Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons, that *being now born again, and made heirs of everlasting salvation*, through our Lord Jesus Christ, they may continue thy servants," &c.

In the church catechism, which all are required to learn before they offer themselves for confirmation, are the following questions and answers. "Ques. What is your name? Ans. N. or M. Ques. Who gave you that name? Ans. My sponsors in baptism, *wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.*" Such is the teaching of the Prayer-book, which all the ministers of the Episcopal church are obliged to use. While, therefore, we rejoice that there are many evangelical and pious ministers in that church, who adopt scriptural views on the subject of regeneration, we can not but regard them as objects of pity, that they are obliged to make use of formularies so utterly at variance with their doctrinal belief. In order to reconcile their principles and practice, they are under the necessity of resorting to the most unnatural interpretation of the language of the Prayer-book.

Nearly thirty years ago, there was a protracted controversy on this subject, in England, between the high church party and the evangelical. The questions in dispute, were two. 1. Is the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a doctrine of the Bible? 2. Is it a doctrine of the church? In the opinion of candid and distinguished judges, the result of this controversy, was victory and defeat, to both parties alike. On the first question, the evangelical party were triumphant. On the second, the high church party were equally so. Thanks be to God, that

in the discussion of this subject we have but one question to settle, viz. What is the testimony of the Scriptures? In the following remarks, we propose,

First, To attempt to ascertain what the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is, as maintained by high church Episcopalians, in England and in this country; and

Second, To show that the doctrine, so far from receiving any support from the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, is utterly opposed to the genius of Christianity, and the explicit declarations of the word of God.

What then is the doctrine of baptismal regeneration?

There has been some doubt in the minds of many as to the precise sense in which this doctrine is held by its advocates; and it is not certain that it is held by all in exactly the same sense. Of this we may perhaps be able to judge, by bringing together and comparing the statements of different individuals. Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, in his late charge to his clergy, thus states the doctrine.

"The true economy of the Christian religion, regards men as by nature children of wrath. It takes them from this state, which is called in Scripture the 'kingdom of Satan,' and transfers them by baptism into the family, household, and kingdom of the Savior—where they are called 'children of God,' 'members of Christ,' and 'heirs of the kingdom of heaven.' From adults, repentance and faith are required as qualifications for baptism; and from infants there is required a subsequent repentance and faith, which stands in the nature of a debt, and which they are bound to discharge when they come to years of discretion. After baptism, the person is regarded as in a *state of covenant relationship with God*; becomes entitled to the aids of his Holy Spirit, and through the instrumentalities provided in the church, is daily set forward in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. THIS CHANGE OF STATE, EXPECTED IN BAPTISM, IS CALLED IN SCRIPTURE, AND IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE BAPTISMAL OFFICE, REGENERATION."—p. 21.

"Let them be assured, that those who

are sacramentally baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, become by that act, (not in name only but in deed and in truth,) 'members of Christ,' 'children of God,' and 'heirs of the kingdom of heaven;' that by the renunciation of the dominion of Satan, and their adoption into the kingdom of Christ, they are restored to a state of favor with God, and brought within the sphere of the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. And this is not to be regarded as a mere temporary act, but as an initiation into an abiding state. On this ground the Apostles exhorted their baptized converts to count themselves 'dead unto sin, and alive unto God.'"—p. 31.

Bishop Hobart says—

"In the sacrament of baptism, we are taken from the world, where we had no title to the favor of God, and placed in a state of salvation in the Christian church."—*Sermon on Confirmation*, p. 26.

Again, "Into this church, the body which derives life, strength, and salvation, from Christ its head, baptism was instituted as the sacred rite of admission. In this *regenerating ordinance*, fallen man is born again from a state of condemnation to a state of grace."—*Companion for the Altar*, p. 186.

Again, "Wherever the gospel is promulgated, the *only mode* through which we can be admitted into covenant with God, the *only mode* through which we can obtain a title to those blessings and privileges which Christ has purchased for his mystical body, the church, is the sacrament of baptism."—*Ib.* p. 189.

Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, in his refutation of Calvinism, says:

"The word *regeneration* is in Scripture solely and exclusively applied to the one immediate effect of baptism, once administered; and is never used as synonymous to the repentance or reformation of a Christian; or to express *any operation of the Holy Ghost upon the human mind subsequent to baptism*."—2d edition, p. 86.

"Neither Scripture nor the writings of our church authorize us to call upon those who have been baptized, whether in their infancy or at a mature age, to regenerate themselves, or to expect regeneration through the workings of the Holy Ghost."—p. 92.

Dr. Mant, a distinguished advocate of this doctrine, whose writings occasioned the controversy in the church of England, to which we have

already alluded, says, (as quoted by the Christ. Obser. Vol. XV, p. 70,)

"To the proselyte from heathenism to the Jewish faith, baptism had been a death to his natural incapacities, and a new birth to the civil privileges of a Jew. To him who should be admitted to a profession of the Christian faith, and who should be 'born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God,' it was a *death unto sin*, and a new birth unto those spiritual privileges which should accompany his deliverance from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

"* * * Baptism is a *new birth*, by which we enter into a new world, the *new creation*, the blessings and spiritualities of the kingdom. From this time forward, we have a new principle put into us, the spirit of grace, which besides our soul and body, is a principle of action." * * *

"The doctrine of regeneration by baptism is most clearly asserted by her, (the church.) She supposes, not merely that all real Christians are regenerated by God's Holy Spirit, by which I understand all those who live a Christian life, but that *those also are so regenerated, to whom baptism is rightly administered, notwithstanding by their future conduct they may forfeit the privileges of their new birth*." * * *

"If the work of regeneration is not effected by baptism, it is impossible for any sober man to say when and by what means it is." * * * "Sanctification and purity, unspotted and unblemished holiness, are attributed to the church of Christ as the effect of the washing of water." * * * "All Christians, all persons who have been baptized, are indiscriminately said to have been regenerated."

Several inquiries are suggested by the foregoing statements.

1. Do these writers mean that baptism itself is regeneration? or that regeneration is effected by baptism? or that it is an invariable concomitant of baptism? Bishop Brownell says, "This change of state effected in *baptism*, is called—regeneration." According to him, therefore, regeneration is effected in *baptism*. By what agency, we are not informed. Bishop Hobart calls baptism a "regenerating ordinance;" which seems to imply that in his view, baptism produces the change. But he says also, "*In this regenerating ordinance*, fallen man is born again," &c. This language,

while it teaches that baptism and regeneration are inseparable, leaves it uncertain by what agency the change is produced. According to Bishop Tomline, "regeneration is the one immediate effect of baptism." This seems to make baptism the cause of regeneration. Dr. Mant calls baptism "*a new birth*," and speaks of it as "a death unto sin," and a new birth unto the privileges which are conferred on God's children. This seems to make baptism and regeneration identical. It is proper, however, to remark, that none of these writers exclude the agency of the Holy Spirit in regeneration. They all maintain, (whether consistently or not, the reader will judge,) that this divine agent has something to do in effecting this change.

2. Does regeneration in the view of these writers, denote a change of state merely, or does it denote also a change of character?

On this point, their representations do not seem to be entirely consistent. From some things which they affirm, it would seem that they mean by it only a change of state. They speak of it as "a change of state," and never, in so many words, as a change of character. Bishop Brownell most explicitly discards the idea that regeneration denotes "a change of heart." But how can there be any change of moral character, without a change of heart? He also discards, as New Light theology, the idea of a "sudden change of heart by the operation of the Holy Ghost." But if there is a change of character wrought by the Holy Ghost at the moment of baptism, it must be a "sudden change of heart." Besides, Bishop Brownell says, "From adults, repentance and faith are required as qualifications for baptism; and from infants there is required a subsequent repentance and faith." This language seems to imply, that no change of character is expected at the time of

baptism, and consequently that regeneration in the view of Bishop Brownell denotes no change of character. If adults possess the qualifications required; that is, if they are the subjects of repentance and faith, they have already experienced a change of character. They are penitent believers before baptism. What more are they, so far as moral character is concerned, after baptism?

But here difficulties crowd upon us in a mass. If no change of character is effected in regeneration, what does the Holy Spirit do? All these writers, and all who sympathize with them, maintain that those who are regenerated, are born of the Spirit, as well as of water. In the baptismal service they say, "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant *with thy Holy Spirit*." But what does the Holy Spirit do in regeneration, if he does not change the heart? Besides, many of the expressions used by these writers, seem to imply that regeneration denotes a change of character. Dr. Mant calls it "a death unto sin." He says also, "From this time forth, we have a new principle put into us, . . . which . . . is a principle of action." And again, "Sanctification and purity, unspotted and unblemished holiness are attributed to the church of Christ, as the effect of the washing of water." Bishop Brownell speaks of baptized persons as "dead unto sin, and alive unto God." This language would seem to imply an inward spiritual change. How persons who are "by nature children of wrath," can become "dead unto sin, and alive unto God," and become the subjects of "sanctification and purity, and unspotted and unblemished holiness," without any change of moral character, is to us inconceivable.

But still greater difficulties press upon us. According to all these wri-

ters, regeneration denotes a change of state in relation to man's immortal interests—a change from a state of condemnation to a state of reconciliation and favor with God. Bishop Hobart says, “In the sacrament of baptism, we are taken *from the world, where we had no title to the favor of God, and placed in a state of salvation* in the Christian church.”

“In this regenerating ordinance, fallen man is born again from a *state of condemnation to a state of grace.*” Bishop Brownell says, “The true economy of the Christian religion, regards men as by nature children of wrath. It takes them from this state, which is called in Scripture the kingdom of Satan, and transfers them *by baptism*, into the family, household, and kingdom of the Savior, where they are called ‘children of God,’ ‘members of Christ,’ and ‘heirs of the kingdom of heaven.’”

Now is it true that such a change takes place in man's spiritual condition, without any change of moral character? Are those who are “children of wrath,” “in a state of condemnation,” “in the kingdom of Satan,” “where they have no title to the favor of God,” transferred into “the family, household, and kingdom of the Savior,” and made in very deed “children of God, members of Christ, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven,” without the least change of moral character? Does the unchangeable Jehovah, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, look upon an individual as a “child of wrath” one moment, and as an “heir of heaven” the next moment, while his character remains precisely the same? Is baptism the only dividing line between the heirs of heaven and the heirs of hell? Is character nothing in the sight of God?

Again, according to Bishop Brownell, men are “by nature children of wrath.” And how are they delivered from this state? By baptism.

Consequently, whatever change may be wrought in their moral character, they continue to be children of wrath, until they are baptized. No matter how deep and genuine may be their repentance, how cordial may be their faith in Christ, how fervent may be their love to God, and how unreserved their consecration of themselves to his service; these things will avail nothing towards securing an interest in the divine favor. Repentance and faith, Bishop Brownell informs us, are qualifications for baptism in adults. Suppose them to possess these qualifications. This change of character, it seems, effects no change in their spiritual condition. Let them possess the faith of Abraham, the humility of Job, and the holy zeal of David; still, they are “children of wrath,” in “the kingdom of Satan,” and heirs of hell, until they receive baptism. According to the principles laid down by these writers, God regards the outward observance of this ordinance as of infinitely greater consequence than any change of character whatever. It is the condition of salvation. Without it, however holy we may be in heart and life, we have no title to the favor of God. Bishop Hobart says expressly, “Wherever the Gospel is promulgated, the *only mode* through which we can be admitted into covenant with God; the *only mode* through which we can obtain a title to those privileges which Christ has purchased for his mystical body, the church, is the sacrament of baptism.” He says again, “Repentance, faith and obedience will not, of themselves, be effectual to our salvation. We may sincerely repent of our sins, we may heartily believe the Gospel, we may walk in the paths of holy obedience, but until we enter into covenant with God by baptism, and ratifying our vows of allegiance and duty at the holy sacrament of the supper, commemorate the mysterious sacrifice of Christ,

we can not assert any claim to salvation."* But what saith the Scripture? "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

3. Another inquiry suggested by the statements above given, is, Are all who are baptized by persons duly authorized, regenerated, whatever may be their character and motives? Suppose a person hypocritically to profess repentance and faith, and to apply for baptism, for the purpose of accomplishing some base design; and suppose the ordinance to be administered in due form, and by a person duly authorized; is he regenerated? On this point, we are inclined to believe there is not an entire agreement among the advocates of baptismal regeneration. Dr. Mant, if we understand him, strenuously maintains the affirmative of this question. He says, "All persons who have been baptized, are indiscriminately said to have been regenerated." He maintains that Simon Magus was regenerated; for he asks, "When was Simon Magus admonished of the necessity of undergoing another new birth?" The Bishop of Lincoln seems to have been of the same opinion. He says, "The word regeneration is, in Scripture, solely and exclusively applied to the one immediate effect of baptism, once administered." He says, also, "Neither Scripture, nor the writings of our church, authorize us to call upon those who have been baptized, to regenerate themselves, or to expect regeneration through the workings of the Holy Spirit." And is it so? Is the veriest hypocrite, whose heart is full of enmity to God, and hatred of holiness, translated by baptism, without any change of character, from the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God's dear Son, and made a child of God and heir of the kingdom of heaven? But as we said, we are inclined to believe, that this ground

is not taken by all the advocates of this doctrine.

Bishop Brownell says, "The sacrament of baptism, as well as that of the Lord's supper, will always prove efficacious, unless hindered by the unworthiness of the receiver." This language seems to imply, that its efficacy may be hindered; that is, that persons may be baptized, and not be regenerated. But this view of the subject is not free from difficulty. Suppose a person to be duly baptized, but not possessing the requisite qualifications, to fail of regeneration; how is it possible for that individual to be saved? Christ has declared, that "except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God." This individual has been baptized, but he has not been regenerated; and if there is no regeneration but that which is effected in baptism, how can he be saved, unless he shall be rebaptized? And do the high church Episcopalians deem it necessary to rebaptize all those, whose unworthiness, they have reason to fear, hindered the efficacy of the ordinance when first administered?

4. What, in the view of the high church party, is essential to the validity and efficacy of baptism? On this point, so far as we know, there is an entire harmony of views among them; and they are correctly expressed in the following declarations of Bishop Hobart.

"In order to be effectual, to be acknowledged by God, and accompanied by his power, they [the sacraments] must be administered by those who have received a commission for the purpose, from him." "None can possess authority to administer the sacraments, but those who have received a commission from the bishops of the church."†

It is here most explicitly affirmed, that none but those who have been episcopally ordained, have any right

* Companion for the Altar, p. 190.

† Companion for the Altar, pp. 193, 200.

to administer baptism; and that when professedly administered by others, it is not acknowledged by God, nor accompanied by his power. In other words, regeneration never takes place except in connection with baptism administered by an Episcopal clergyman. Consequently, all the members of non-episcopal churches, whatever may be their character, are in an unregenerate state. They are, of course, according to the foregoing statements, "children of wrath," "in the kingdom of Satan," "under condemnation," without "any title to the favor of God." The legitimate inference is, that they can not possibly be saved. This inference, we are aware, they do not admit, in its full extent. They admit, nay, they strenuously maintain, that none but those who have been duly baptized, have "a covenanted title to salvation;" but they express the charitable hope, that some of them may, in some way, they know not what, through the uncovenanted mercies of God, finally escape the sorrows of the second death. But it is easy to prove, that none but those who have "a covenanted title to salvation," can possibly be saved. A covenanted title, is a title secured by promise.

Now to whom is salvation promised? It is promised to all true believers; John v, 24. It is promised to those who repent; Ezek. xviii, 30. It is promised to all who love God; James i, 12. It is promised to the righteous; Psalm lviii, 11. It is promised to the godly; 1 Tim. iv, 8. It is promised to the just; Prov. iv, 18. It is promised to the merciful; Matt. v, 7. It is promised to the meek; Psalm cxlix, 4. It is promised to the upright; Psalm vii, 10. It is promised to the pure in heart; Matt. v, 8. It is promised to them that fear the Lord; Psalm ciii, 17. It is promised to those that call upon the Lord; Rom. x, 12, 13. It is promised to all in every nation, who

fear God and work righteousness; Acts x, 34, 35. Thus we see to whom salvation is secured by promise; in other words, who have a "covenanted title to salvation." The question now is, can any who do not possess some one or all of the above traits of character, be saved? Can any who do not believe be saved? What saith the Scripture? "He that believeth not shall be damned;" Mark xvi, 16. Can any who do not repent, be saved? "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish;" Luke xiii, 8. Can any who do not love God, be saved? "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema, maranatha;" 1 Cor. xvi, 22. Can any who are not righteous be saved? "Know ye not, that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?" 1 Cor. vi, 9. Can any that are not godly be saved? "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly, and the sinner appear?" 1 Pet. iv, 18. Can any that are not just be saved? "The hope of unjust men perisheth;" Prov. xi, 7. Can any that are not merciful be saved? "He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy;" James ii, 13. It is needless to search any further. Nothing can be plainer from the Bible, than that the promises and threatenings include all descriptions of people. In other words, all to whom salvation is not promised, are under condemnation. Every man is a believer or an unbeliever, penitent or impenitent, righteous or unrighteous, godly or ungodly, just or unjust, merciful or unmerciful. Now to the believer, to the penitent, to the righteous, &c. salvation is secured by promise. But the unbeliever, the impenitent, the unrighteous, &c. are under condemnation, and dying in this state, must be lost. No man, therefore, can possibly be saved, who does not come within the pale of the covenant. If then, none but those who have been baptized by persons episcopally or-

daigned, have "a covenanted title to salvation," all others must inevitably perish.

Such then, is the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, as maintained by its advocates. Although it is difficult to ascertain their precise meaning on some points; and although there may be some slight difference of views among them; yet on the following points, which are sufficiently plain, they are, it is believed, perfectly agreed,—

1. That there is no regeneration except in connection with baptism administered by a clergyman episcopally ordained.*

2. That when baptism is administered to a proper subject, and by a person duly authorized, regeneration always takes place.

3. That the regeneration which takes place in baptism, denotes a change in man's spiritual state, so that from a child of wrath, he be-

comes a child of God, and an heir of heaven.

4. That every person duly baptized, does by that act obtain a title to heaven, and will finally be saved, unless he apostatizes, and loses the grace given at his baptism.

5. That no unbaptized person has any covenanted title to salvation; that is, any interest in the promises of the Gospel.

We now proceed, as was proposed, to show that this doctrine, so far from receiving any support from the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, is utterly opposed to the genius of Christianity, and to the express declarations of the word of God.

The argument from ecclesiastical history, we pass over as of no weight; because, if we were to collect all the testimony of the fathers on this subject, we should find it very contradictory.† We know also, that great corruptions crept into the church at an early age. The opinions of the fathers, therefore, are not to be relied on, any farther than they are found to agree with the word of God. "To the law and to the testimony." What saith the Scripture?

* There is an inconsistency in the practice of high church Episcopalians in reference to this point. While they strenuously maintain the principle above stated, yet in receiving members from other denominations, they do not generally rebaptize them. The consequence is, that many of the members of their church, and not a few of their clergy, (bishops not excepted,) have never received any but Congregational or Presbyterian baptism. Now it is a very serious question, whether these persons have ever been regenerated. If they have, when did their regeneration take place? Not when they were baptized; for according to Bishop Hobart, their baptism was "not acknowledged by God," nor "accompanied by his power." Now it is strenuously maintained, that there is no regeneration but that which takes place in baptism. But these persons were not regenerated when they were baptized; consequently, they never have been regenerated.

To obviate this difficulty, it has been lately said, that *confirmation* supersedes the necessity of rebaptizing those who have received none but lay-baptism. But how? Suppose a person, who was baptized by a Congregational clergyman twenty years ago, should be confirmed by the bishop to-day. Is he regenerated? If he is, when did his regeneration take place? Did his confirmation to-day, make it true that he was regenerated twenty years ago,

when, previous to his confirmation, it was true that he never had been regenerated? Or was he regenerated at the time of his confirmation. We would ask then, what becomes of the doctrine of BAPTISMAL REGENERATION? Where, in the Bible, or in the Prayer-book, or in the writings of the fathers, is confirmation styled a "*regenerating ordinance*?" Bishop Brownell tells us, that it is by *baptism* we are taken from the kingdom of Satan, and transferred into the kingdom of Christ. So says Bishop Hobart. And so say all the theologians of this class. Let these tell, then, if they can, when those among them, who have never had any but Presbyterian or Congregational baptism, were regenerated.

† The conductors of the London Christian Observer (themselves Episcopalians) say, "The opinions of the early Christian fathers are scarcely to be deemed good authority on this subject; if for no other reason, at least for this, that it is extremely difficult to get at their meaning at all; and that, when obtained by long research, it is often found very contradictory." Vol. XV, p. 228.

The only passages of Scripture which have been adduced with any plausibility, in support of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, are John iii, 5, and Titus iii, 5. The first reads thus: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he can not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Here it is said, we are explicitly taught, that baptism is essential to regeneration—just as essential as the operation of the Holy Spirit—that without the application of water to the outward man, as well as of the Spirit to the inward man, there can be no scriptural regeneration. This, at first view, is quite plausible. But upon close examination, it will appear not to be conclusive. What does our Savior mean by the phrase "born of water?" Does he mean water-baptism? That he does, is not to our mind, certain: for

1. Baptism is not mentioned in the passage. It is said, "except a man *be born of water*;" but it is not said, except a man *be baptized with water*. To assert that these phrases are synonymous, is a mere assumption.

2. There are no parallel texts which support this interpretation. There are many passages in the New Testament which teach the necessity of regeneration, which represent it as the work of God, and which describe its nature and effects; but there is none in which baptism is mentioned as constituting any part of it. Now if baptism is an essential part of this saving change, would there not have been some explicit declaration to this effect, especially since regeneration is so often brought into view in the Scriptures, and represented as absolutely necessary to salvation? We know that other texts are referred to by those who adopt the interpretation in question. But no one has been adduced more unequivocal than the one we are considering. The one principally relied on is Titus iii, 5: "According to his mer-

cy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." But it will be observed that *baptism* is not mentioned in this passage. To affirm that by "*the washing of regeneration*" the ordinance of baptism is intended, is again taking for granted what needs to be proved. It is equally doubtful, to say the least, whether this phrase means baptism, or whether the phrase "born of water" has this meaning; and it is a gross departure from all the rules of sound interpretation to explain one doubtful passage by another equally doubtful.

3. At the time of our Lord's conference with Nicodemus, Christian baptism was not instituted.* The old dispensation had not yet ceased. Christian baptism was not instituted, until after Christ's resurrection. The first account we have of it is in the commission given to the Apostles, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Previously to this, we have no account that Christ ever enjoined baptism.† In all his preaching, so far as we can learn,

* This so far as we know, is admitted by all who adopt the interpretation here opposed. Dr. Mant says, "Our Savior was alluding by anticipation to the sacrament of baptism which he meant to ordain."—*Tracts*, p. 8.

† It is true that the disciples of Christ did baptize, probably with his approbation, at least with his permission. But it does not appear that he ever enjoined baptism as a duty upon any whom he addressed. "On this subject, the truth seems to be that our Lord, on entering upon his ministry, permitted the continuance of John's baptism, as harmonizing with his own designs. The import of this rite was the same, whether administered by John himself, or by the disciples of Jesus. In either case, it implied the profession of repentance, and a consecration to the kingdom of heaven. To this baptism none but Jews were admitted, to whom the ministry of John was wholly restricted. The introduction of *Christian baptism*, strictly so called, was immediately consequent upon our Lord's ascen-

he said nothing on this subject. To many a penitent sinner he said, "Go in peace;" but to what one did he ever say, Go, be baptized? No such case is recorded; and the reason is obvious. The time had not yet come, for baptism which was to be an ordinance of the new dispensation, to be instituted. Now is it credible, that our Savior in his conference with Nicodemus, should refer to an ordinance which had not been instituted? Especially is it credible that he should declare it to be essential to that new birth, without which he had just informed Nicodemus, he could not see the kingdom of God?

4. If by the phrase, "born of water," baptism is intended, we see not that any without baptism, can possibly be saved.* The declaration of our Lord is absolute. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he can not enter into the kingdom of heaven." But did Christ declare baptism to be essential to salvation, and with the same lips afterwards promise to the unbaptized thief, that he should be with him in paradise? If, to evade this difficulty, it should be said, that by "the kingdom of heaven," the visible church only is intended, there is an insuperable objection to this explanation. It would make the passage teach that no man can enter the visible church without being born of the Spirit. But is this impossible? Is it impossible to make

a hypocritical profession of religion? Is every man who joins the church, let his motives be ever so base, born of the Spirit? Was this true of Simon Magus? Is it true of those to whom Christ will say at the judgment, "*I never knew you?*"

5. To suppose that the phrase "born of water," means baptism, is to ascribe to this ordinance an importance which is no where else given to it in the Scriptures. According to this interpretation, to be baptized is just as essential to salvation as to be born of the Spirit. But no such importance is elsewhere given to baptism. It is written, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned," but it is not said, he that is not baptized shall be damned. Nor is it any where said, unless it be in the passage under consideration, that except a man be baptized he can not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

6. That our Lord did not mean baptism by the phrase "born of water," may be inferred from the reprimand which he gave to Nicodemus. "Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not these things?" But what means had he of knowing these things, if baptism is an essential part of the new birth? Where could he have learned this doctrine? Not from the Old Testament, for no such doctrine is there inculcated. Not from the mere custom among the Jews, (a custom of human origin,) of baptizing Gentile proselytes; for he certainly could not be expected to infer the necessity of baptism to himself, being a Jew, from such a practice. Not from the New Testament, for the New Testament was not then written. How, then, could Nicodemus have known these things? And how could he be criminal for his ignorance? If Christ inculcated simply a change of heart, this is a truth abundantly taught in the law and prophets; a truth, of course, which Nicodemus ought to

sion, and the most important commission for receiving it as an universal ordinance of the church, is given in Matt. xxviii, 19."—*Coleman's Christian Antiquities*, pp. 256, 257.

* "If our Lord, in his discourse with Nicodemus, intended thus solemnly to declare that except a man be *baptized* he can not see, can not enter into the kingdom of heaven, then must the multitudes in all ages, (for the primitive times of Christianity must not be excluded,) who have lived and died without baptism, whatever may have been their knowledge of Christian doctrine, or their practice of Christian duties, be peremptorily excluded from heaven, and perish in their sins."—*Chris. Obser.*, Vol. XI, p. 367.

have well understood. In this view of the subject, we can see the utmost propriety in the reprimand which he received. But if baptism is essential to the new birth, and to salvation, and if this is what our Savior inculcated, Nicodemus was quite excusable for his ignorance of this truth; for it is a truth which had never before been revealed.*

But if the phrase "born of water," does not mean baptism, what does it mean? We are inclined to think with Calvin, and others, that the term water in this passage, is used not in a literal, but in a figurative sense. If this view is correct, to be born of water, and of the Spirit, are but different modes of expression to signify the same thing. The one, however, may be designed to point out the nature of the effect produced, and the other, the agent by whom it is produced. The passage is thus paraphrased by Dr. Scott. "*Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit—except his heart be purified by that inward washing of the Holy Spirit, of which water hath been the constant emblem, he can not enter into the kingdom of God.*" It is well known that the term water is often used in the Scriptures as the emblem of the Holy Spirit. When Jesus said, "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive." When it is said, "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean;" there can be no doubt that the influences of the Spirit are intended. Why, then, may we not suppose, that the term water is used in the same emblematical sense, in the passage under consideration?

Should it be objected that the form

* The writer does not consider himself justly liable to the charge of plagiarism, for having made free use of the thoughts in a comment on this passage, published in the first volume of the Christian Spectator.

of expression, "born of water and of the Spirit," clearly imports that two distinct things are intended, we would reply, that similar phraseology is often used to describe, not two distinct things, but what in the sense above supposed, is one and the same thing. Take the following texts as examples. "Make you a new heart, and a new spirit." "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you." What is the difference between a new heart and a new spirit? "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring." In this passage, water and the Spirit evidently denote the same thing. The promise expressed in figurative language in the first part of the passage, is repeated in literal language in the last part. John the Baptist, speaking of Christ, said, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." That by fire, is here intended the application of literal fire, no-one will pretend.* The meaning as commonly expounded is, that Christ should baptize with the Holy Ghost, "which has the energy and efficacy of fire to refine us from our dross and corruptions." So in the passage under consideration, to be "born of water and of the Spirit" is, to be renewed by the Holy Spirit, which, like water, purifies us from the pollutions of sin.

We are aware that many who discard the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, differ from the opinion we have given as to the meaning of this text. Dr. Doddridge, while he

* There may be an allusion in this passage to the miracle on the day of Pentecost. But still no one supposes that the "cloven tongues like as of fire," were tongues of literal fire. If then, we should admit that there is an allusion to baptism in John iii, 5, it would not be necessary to suppose that the term water is used in a literal sense. It may be used in the sense expressed by Dr. Scott in the paraphrase given above.

speaks of the interpretation above given as one that may be true ; rather inclines to the opinion that baptism is referred to, and gives the following paraphrase of the text. "Whosoever would become a regular member of the kingdom of God, must *not only* be baptized, but as ever he desires to share in its spiritual and eternal blessings, must experience the renewing and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit on his soul, to cleanse it from the power of corruption, and to animate and quicken it to a spiritual and divine life." The difficulty attending this interpretation is, that it seems not to be consistent with the unqualified language of our Savior. Christ does not say, except a man be born *not only* of water, but of the Spirit, &c. ; but "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit," &c. In the face of so positive a declaration, we can not explain the phrase "born of water," to mean any thing without which a man can enter into the kingdom of heaven. If we admit that the phrase "born of water," does mean baptism, it is not easy to avoid the conclusion, that every unbaptized person must be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. But if we mistake not, it has been shown, that we are not obliged so to understand it, any more than we are obliged to believe, that the Apostles were baptized with literal fire.

It has been said, "Baptism is an open profession of religion. Nicodemus was probably one of the rulers, who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. What is more probable than that Jesus would require of so timid a character, an open profession of his religion?" This does not remove the difficulty ; for the declaration of our Lord is not restricted in its application to Nicodemus. He did not say, except you, Nicodemus, be born of water, &c., but except a man be born, &c. His language is unrestricted in its application. It is applicable

to all men, in all ages, and is left on the sacred record, as a part of that gospel which is to be preached to every creature.

We have dwelt the longer on this passage, because, so far as the Scriptures are concerned, those who contend for the doctrine in question, regard this text as their strong hold.

Another text on which they place much reliance, and which we have already mentioned, is Titus iii, 5. "According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." Baptism, as we have already had occasion to remark, is not mentioned in this passage, and to affirm that the phrase "washing of regeneration" means baptism, is taking for granted what needs to be proved. But if it could be proved that it does mean baptism, this would not prove that baptism is regeneration. Regeneration itself, and the washing of regeneration, may be entirely distinct. Baptism may be called the washing of regeneration, as being the emblem of regeneration. It is the outward visible sign of an inward spiritual change of heart, which the Scriptures denominate regeneration. But to us it seems more reasonable to believe that baptism is not referred to in this passage. The washing of regeneration, probably denotes that inward purification which is effected by the operations of the Holy Spirit. Dr. Doddridge thinks that the last clause of the verse is exegetical of the first, and that the passage would be correctly translated if it should read "by the washing of regeneration, even the regeneration of the Holy Ghost."

We do not deem it necessary to spend time in examining other passages which have been adduced in support of this doctrine ; for as we have said, these two are the only texts from which any thing like a plausible argument has been derived.

We proceed now to show from the

Bible that the doctrine can not be true.

1. It is opposed to the whole spirit and genius of the Christian religion. The religion of the Gospel is a spiritual religion—not a religion of forms, but a religion of the heart. "God is a spirit, and he seeketh such to worship him as worship him in spirit and in truth." Mankind have ever been prone to place undue reliance upon the observance of outward forms. This was true of God's ancient people. They were punctilious in their observances of the rites and ceremonies enjoined in their law. But in this they placed the essence of religion. Hence God reprobated their services as vain oblations. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I can not away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting." The Jews in the days of our Savior, were also very strict in the observance of outward forms. They tithed mint, anise and cummin, but they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith. "God looketh on the heart." "He is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men but of God." With equal truth it may be said, "He is not a Christian who is one outwardly, neither is that baptism which is outward in the flesh," &c. "For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, *but faith which*

worketh by love." Again, "For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, *but a new creature.*" Thus we see how little stress the Scriptures lay on the externals of religion, when compared with those inward feelings of the heart, which constitute the essence of holy obedience. We must possess that faith which worketh by love, and thus become new creatures, in order to be interested in the divine favor. To suppose that baptism is regeneration, or constitutes an essential part of it, is to give to it an importance which is not given to the outward observance of *any* religious rite in the Scriptures, and is utterly inconsistent with the genius of Christianity, which is "a religion not of forms, but of realities; not of shadows, but of substance; not of words, but of things."

2. That regeneration denotes an internal, spiritual change, may be inferred from the literal signification of the word. What is it to be regenerated? It is to be begotten again; which is the same as to become a *new creature*; and this, according to the representations of Scripture, denotes not merely a change of state, but a radical change of character. It is to have "a new heart, and a new spirit"—to be "created in Christ Jesus unto good works." Regeneration is the work of God. Those who are regenerated, are "born of God;" or as it is in the original Greek, *have been begotten of God*. It is the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit; and what does the Holy Spirit do in regeneration? "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." In regeneration, these Christian graces are wrought in the soul. To be born of the Spirit is, in a moral sense, to become a *new creature*. It is to experience a transformation of moral character. The sinner is raised from the death of sin, to spiritual life. He is

brought to love what before he hated; and to choose what before he refused. The whole current of his moral feelings is changed. This, according to the Scriptures, is regeneration. But how widely different is this view of the subject, from that which supposes regeneration to be a mere change of state effected by the reception of an outward ordinance.

3. Those who have been regenerated are children of God. This is admitted by the advocates of baptismal regeneration. Bishop Brownell says, "Those who are sacramentally baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, become *by that act*, (not in name, only, but in deed, and truth,) members of Christ, *children of God*, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven." But how according to the Scriptures, do persons become children of God? Is it by baptism? Where do we find any such doctrine taught in the Bible? The Apostle says, Gal. iii, 26, "Ye are all the children of God *by faith in Jesus Christ*." Again, it is written, John i, 12, 13, "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name; which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." Here we are explicitly taught that persons become the children of God by faith. Those who receive Christ, or who believe on his name, are the sons of God, and are born of God. Nothing is said of their being regenerated in baptism. Again, it is written, Rom. viii, 14, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." Not, as many as are baptized—but, as many as are renewed by the agency of the Holy Ghost, and are under his influence and guidance. And how, according to the Scriptures, are we to ascertain whether we are the children of God? If we become children of God by baptism, all that is necessary is,

to enquire whether we have been duly baptized. But the Apostle says, "The Spirit itself, beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God." Again, the Apostle says, Phil. ii, 14, 15, "Do all things without murmurings and disputings, that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world." Here a holy life is represented as evidence that persons are sons of God. Nothing is said about their becoming such in baptism. Nor is there a text in the Bible in which it is affirmed that persons become children of God by baptism.

4. If baptism is regeneration, or a necessary and constituent part of it, then those who are regenerated, are born of the will of man, contrary to the express testimony of the Scriptures. In regard to adults, it depends on their own will, and that of the officiating clergyman, whether they shall be born again or not. However sincerely a person may repent and believe in Christ, and however faithfully he may walk in the paths of holy obedience; unless he believes it to be his duty to be baptized by one who has been episcopally ordained, and consents to be thus baptized; and unless some such clergyman will consent to baptize him, he can not be regenerated. In regard to infants, it depends on the will of their parents, the minister, and the sponsors, whether they shall be regenerated or not. We are aware that Bishop Brownell denies this inference. He says, "The true doctrine of the church is, that the regeneration of the infant is not effected by any arbitrary decree of election, nor does it depend on the faith, or the prayers, or the *intention* of the minister, or of the sponsors; but on the *positive institution and promises of Christ*." But we ask, suppose the parents refuse to offer their child in baptism—or

suppose the minister refuses to baptize it—or suppose no individuals can be found to act the part of sponsors—can that child be regenerated? If it can, then the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is not true. If it can not, then it does depend on the will of man whether that child shall be regenerated, “*the positive institution and promises of Christ*” notwithstanding.

5. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration virtually sets aside the great doctrine of justification by faith, the doctrine which Luther called “*articulus stantis, vel cadentis ecclesiæ*,” and which has ever been regarded by Protestants, as a fundamental doctrine of the Gospel.

Bishop Brownell says, “The true economy of the Christian religion, regards men as by nature the children of wrath.” And how are they delivered from this state of condemnation, and brought into a state of favor with God? He tells us, “It takes them from this state, which is called in Scripture, ‘the kingdom of Satan,’ and transfers them by *baptism* into the family, household, and kingdom of the Savior.”—“After baptism, the person is regarded as in a state of *covenant-relationship with God*.” Bishop Hobart says, “In this regenerating ordinance, fallen man is born again from a state of condemnation to a state of grace.” According to these divines, therefore, it is by baptism that sinners are brought from a state of condemnation to a state of favor with God. They are *justified* not by *faith*, but by *baptism*. No matter how sincerely they may believe in Christ, they are still in a state of condemnation, till they are taken from this state by baptism. Bishop Hobart says expressly, “Repentance, faith, and obedience, will not of themselves be effectual to our salvation. We may sincerely repent of our sins, we may heartily believe the Gospel, we may walk in

the paths of holy obedience, but *until we enter into covenant with God by baptism*, and ratifying our vows of allegiance at the holy sacrament of the supper, commemorate the mysterious sacrifice of Christ, we can not assert any claim to salvation.”

But what is the testimony of the Scriptures on this subject. The Apostle Paul says, Rom. iii, 21—26, “But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God, which is *by faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them who believe*; for there is no difference; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God:—*being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ*; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation *through faith in his blood*, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare I say, at this time, his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of *him that believeth in Jesus*.” We are here taught, that the only meritorious ground of the sinner’s justification is the righteousness of Christ; and that it is by faith in Christ, that the sinner is justified. “The true economy of the Christian religion,” according to this Apostle is, that men are transferred from “the kingdom of Satan,” into “the family, household, and kingdom of the Savior,” not by *baptism*, but by faith. The righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, is “*unto all and upon all them who BELIEVE*.” The moment the sinner truly believes in Christ, whether he has been baptized or not, he is delivered from condemnation, and is in a state of favor with God. This idea is abundantly taught in the Scriptures. Acts x, 43, “To him give all the prophets witness, that *through his name, whosoever believeth on him,*

shall receive remission of sins." Eph. ii, 8, "By grace are ye saved, *through faith*," not through baptism. Luke vii, 50, "And he said unto the woman, *thy faith hath saved thee*, go in peace." See also Luke xxiii, 42. When did the Lord ever say, Go in peace, thy baptism hath saved thee? John iii, 14, 15, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that *whosoever believeth in him*, should not perish, but have eternal life." See also ver. 16, 18, 36. John vi, 35, 40; xi, 25, 26. Rom. i, 16, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation *to every one that believeth*." Rom. x, 4, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness *to every one that believeth*." Compare these declarations with that of Bishop Hobart, given in the extract above.

We see from these texts, (and many others of similar import might be added,) the importance which the Scriptures attach to faith. It is that which unites the soul to Christ, and brings it into a state of favor with God. We are assured in the most explicit manner, and in a great multitude of instances, that *all* true believers, (not excepting those who are unbaptized,) are justified—in other words, are in a state of favor with God, and have a "covenanted title to salvation." To maintain, therefore, that men are taken from a state of condemnation by *baptism*, and made by that act, "in deed and in truth," "members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven," is to subvert "in deed and in truth," one of the most important doctrines of the Gospel.

6. If baptism is regeneration, then circumcision was regeneration, under the ancient dispensation. But is circumcision ever thus spoken of in the Scriptures? Are we any where taught, that those who were by nature children of wrath,

were taken from this state, and *transferred by circumcision*, "into the family, household, and kingdom of the Savior?" Observe what the Apostle Paul says on this subject, Rom. iv, 6—11, "Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without works; saying, blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin. Cometh this blessedness, then, upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned? When he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? *Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision*. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had being yet uncircumcised." Here we are assured, that the blessing of pardon under the ancient dispensation, was bestowed upon all true believers, whether they had been circumcised or not; for even Abraham himself was justified by faith before he was circumcised. So under the Christian dispensation, this blessedness, cometh not upon the *baptized* only, but upon the *unbaptized* also, if they are true believers in Christ.

7. If baptism is essential to regeneration, it will follow, that no unbaptized person can be the subject of evangelical love, faith or obedience. It is written, 1 John iv, 7, "Every one that loveth, is born of God." Again, 1 John v, 1, "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." Again, 1 John ii, 29, "Every one that doeth righteousness is born of him."

The argument on this point stands thus.

Every one that loveth is born of God; but no unbaptized person is born of God; therefore, no unbaptized person loveth.

Again, Whosoever believeth that

Jesus is the Christ, is born of God ; but no unbaptized person is born of God ; therefore, no unbaptized person believeth that Jesus is the Christ.

Again, Every one that doeth righteousness is born of him, (God) ; but no unbaptized person is born of God ; therefore, no unbaptized person doeth righteousness.

And is it so ? Must a person be baptized before he can love, or believe, or do righteousness ? Does not Bishop Brownell say, that "from adults, repentance and *faith* are required as qualifications for baptism ?" Does not Bishop Hobart plainly intimate that persons may "sincerely repent of their sins, *heartily believe* the Gospel, and walk in the paths of holy obedience," while unbaptized ? If these things are so, it is evident from the texts above quoted, that persons may be regenerated while unbaptized. Indeed from adults, regeneration is required as a qualification for baptism. Besides, was not the dying thief a believer ? Was not Cornelius a devout man, and one that

feared God, and one that had received the Holy Ghost, previous to his baptism ? Did not the three thousand on the day of Pentecost, receive the word with joy, and, of course, believe, before they were baptized ? But the case of the eunuch is decisive. "The eunuch said, see here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized ? And Philip said, if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest." Mayest what ? Mayest be baptized, i. e. regenerated, according to the doctrine under examination. But "whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." If then the eunuch did believe with all his heart, he was already regenerated ; yet this was required as the condition on which he was entitled to receive baptism. The ordinance of baptism, therefore, is not regeneration, nor has it any necessary connection with regeneration. On the contrary, no adult person possesses the requisite qualification for baptism, till he has been already regenerated.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.*

A THOROUGH knowledge of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church is daily becoming more important to every evangelical minister, and in fact to the whole Chris-

tian world. We had almost said that it is indispensable to the faithful discharge of the duties of the ministry in that great conflict between truth and error which God has cast upon our times. A knowledge of these doctrines will enable us to understand the Gospel better, and to appreciate more highly its simple truths ; it will qualify us to contend against some of the most

* The Council of Trent : comprising an account of the proceedings of that Assembly ; and illustrating the spirit and tendency of Popery. Philadelphia : Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1841.

A Synopsis of the Moral Theology of Peter Dens, as prepared for the use of Romish Seminaries and Students of Theology. Translated from the Latin of the Mechlin edition of 1838, by Joseph F. Berg, formerly Professor of Latin and Greek in Marshall College. Third edition. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1842.

Symbolism : or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and

Protestants as evidenced by their symbolical writings ; by John Adam Moehler, D. D., Dean of Wurzburg, and late Professor of Theology at the University of Munich. Translated from the German by James Burton Robertson, Esq., translator of Schlegel's Philosophy of History. New York, published by Edward Dunigan, No. 151 Fulton St. 1844.

fatal errors which have ever enslaved the human mind, and will assist us in our endeavors to release those who, under these delusions, have been "all their lifetime subject to bondage."

It is but just to Roman Catholics themselves, that we should carefully investigate their system of belief before we oppose it. Nothing is gained in any controversy by misrepresenting the views of an opponent; but in that controversy in which all evangelical Protestants have enlisted simultaneously against the Roman Catholic system, a controversy about the very foundations of our faith—the cause of truth, the cause of the Bible, the cause of the world's salvation, demands that the natures of these conflicting systems and the differences between them, should be fairly represented, and universally made known.

It is with this view that we now proceed to lay before our readers an outline of the Roman Catholic system of faith. We shall endeavor to present it with so much accuracy and fidelity as to entitle it to the confidence of those who can not have access to the authorities from which it is derived. We hope, indeed, to exhibit this system with so much fairness that even Romanists may apprehend the precise doctrinal differences between themselves and Protestants, and see wherein they have departed from the true faith. With the church of Rome as she appears in history we have no concern; we are to look at her simply as she appears in her symbols of faith, and in her standard authors. In these will be found much that is sound and scriptural, mingled, however, with much that is opposed both to Scripture and common sense. At times the two are so closely interwoven as to give much perplexity to the unpracticed eye.

It will naturally be expected that we acquaint our readers with the
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authorities on which we rely in the following statements. The first and most important of these is the Council of Trent. This council, among Roman Catholics, is the high court of appeal in matters of faith. Its decrees are decisive. It is referred to by all standard Roman Catholic writers as the highest authority known to their church. It was the last ecumenical or general council, though some Romanists have disputed its title to the name.* A general council is one to which the bishops of the whole world are summoned, (though it is not necessary that they should all assemble,) and over which the Pope himself presides, either in person or by his legates. The right of convoking a general council, or presiding over it, of approving its measures, and of continuing or dissolving it, belongs exclusively to the Pope as the head of the church; and no synod can have the authority of a general council without his sanction. There have been eighteen approved general councils since the time of the Apostles; but there is much diversity of opinion among Roman Catholic authors as to which councils are entitled to the name "general," and some slight variation in respect to the whole number. That general councils approved by the supreme pontiff, can not err in defining matters of faith and practice, is an established article of faith; so that they are at once regarded as heretics who presume to call in question any thing decreed by such councils; whence St. Gregory (lib. i, epis. 24) says, that "he received and venerated the first four coun-

* "The council of Trent comprised 186 Italians, 35 Spaniards, 27 Frenchmen, 6 Germans, 6 Greeks, 3 Portuguese, 3 Illyricans, 3 Irishmen, 2 Flemings, 2 Hungarians, 2 Poles, 1 Moravian, 1 Croatian, and 1 Englishman; nor were there always 50 prelates in attendance, or even 30, at each session."—*Blair's Letters on the Revival of Popery*, Let. 16.

cils, *just as the books of the holy gospel.*"*

The council of Trent was summoned by a bull of Paul III. The necessity of convening a general council had been repeatedly urged upon the pontiffs from the days of Leo X. The flagrant corruptions of the church demanded reformation; the bishops longed for an opportunity to assert their rights, in opposition to the encroachments of the monastic orders, which were under the control of the Pope and furthered his aggrandizement; the political powers of Europe looked to a general council as the means of allaying excitement and healing disension throughout their dominions, as well as of restraining ecclesiastical usurpation; while the rapid spread of the Reformation called either for a compromise with its leaders, or for vigorous measures to suppress it.

When Leo issued his bull giving validity to indulgences, (Nov. 9, 1518,) Luther, "seeing clearly that from Rome and from the Pope, he could look for nothing but condemnation," set forth an appeal to a general council; but though his appeal "went throughout all Germany, and was read by many and esteemed reasonable," Leo was too wary to grant the bold reformer such a public opportunity of vindicating his opinions. Nevertheless "Leo's bull extinguished not the fire that was kindled in those parts." The diversity of interests claiming the attention of a general council, and of motives actuating those who urged its convocation, as set forth by Father Paul,† strikingly exhibits the ecclesiastical condition of Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century. "First those that

had embraced Luther's opinions, desired the council with condition that therein all might be decided and governed by the Scripture, all the Pope's constitutions and school learning being excluded; for so they assured themselves, not only to defend their own doctrine, but also that only theirs should be approved. But a council that should proceed as the use was eight hundred years before, they would not, and would be understood that they referred not themselves to that censure. And Martin was used to say, that in Worms he was too faint-hearted, and that he was so well assured of his doctrine, that it being divine, he would not submit so much as to the judgment of angels; yea, that with it he was to judge all, both men and angels. The princes and other governors of the countries regarded not much what the council might determine concerning doctrines, but desired it might be such a one as might reduce the priests and friars to their beginning, hoping that by that means the regalities and temporal jurisdictions would return to them, which in such abundance and plenty were passed into the ecclesiastical order. And therefore they said that it was in vain to call a council where the bishops and other prelates only should have a deliberative voice, because they ought to be reformed, and it was necessary that others should have the charge thereof, who could not be deceived by their proper interests, nor constrained to resolve against the common good of Christendom. The meaner sort, though they had not much knowledge of the affairs of the world, desired that the ecclesiastical authority might be moderated, and the poor people not burdened with so many exactions, under pretense of tithes, alms, and indulgences, nor oppressed by the bishops' officials under color of corrections and sentences. The court of Rome, the most principal part,

* Dens, *Tractatus de Ecclesia*, tom. 2, Nos. 86-90. The superiority of the Pope to a general council is a disputed point, but the prevailing doctrine is that which Dens lays down.

† History of Council of Trent, lib. i, sec. 50.

desired the council, that it might restore obedience to the Pope, which was taken from him, and approved such an one as might be governed according to the forms used in the last ages. But that it should have power to reform the Papacy, and to take away those introductions from which the court received so many emoluments, and by which a great part of the gold of Christendom was glued together in Rome, this pleased them not. Leo, the Pope, being as it were, in a strait between both the parties, knew not what to desire. He saw that every day his obedience was diminished, and that whole countries separated themselves from him, and desired a council for remedy. But when he considered that it would be worse than the malady, carrying with it in consequence a reformation, he abhorred it." In this state of things Leo died, at the close of the year 1521.

Adrian VI, the successor of Leo, and one of the most upright of the Popes, immediately upon his accession to the pontificate, resolved to correct some of the most prominent abuses then prevalent in the church, much to the consternation of the Italian cardinals and bishops. He consulted the diet of Germany respecting the best method of settling the contentions of the empire. The diet replied that "they deemed no remedy for existing grievances more commodious, effectual, and opportune, than if his holiness, by the emperor's consent, would call a godly, free, and Christian council, so soon as it were possible, in some convenient place in Germany; not deferring the convocation thereof above a year; granting power to every one, as well ecclesiastical as secular, to speak and give counsel for the glory of God and salvation of souls, any oath or obligation to the contrary notwithstanding." The secular princes drew up a long memorial against the vices of the ecclesiastics, "a writing ignominious

to the ecclesiastics of Germany, but more to the court of Rome," which specified a hundred grievances, and was therefore called *centum gravamina*. But the early death of Adrian frustrated whatever hope of reformation his gentle and yielding disposition might have excited.

His successor, Clement VII, was one of the most subtle pontiffs that ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. He seemed to have as great a horror of a council as ever a Stuart had of a parliament; and notwithstanding the increasing necessity for its convocation, and the urgent remonstrances both of the diet and the emperor of Germany, "he contrived by pretexts, excuses, and artifices, to defer the dreaded meeting, and kept all Europe at bay till his death." He was wont to say, "that a council was always good when any thing else was treated of but the Pope's authority; but, that being called in question, nothing was more dangerous. For as in former times, the Pope's strength consisted in having recourse to councils, so now the security of the Popedom consisteth in declining and avoiding them; and the rather, because Leo having condemned the doctrine of Luther, the same matter could not be handled or examined in a council, without doubting of the authority of the apostolical see." He had just reason to fear the judgment which a council might pass upon his own simony, and the illegitimacy of his title to the Papal throne. The whole of his eventful pontificate was agitated by movements from various quarters, in favor of an ecumenical council; but he thwarted every scheme for convoking the dreaded assembly.

Paul III, the successor of Clement, "whose chiefest virtue was dissimulation," affecting to be desirous of a council, soon after his elevation to the Papal chair summoned "a general council of all Christendom," to meet at Mantua

in May, 1537. But there was so much unwillingness on the part of the Protestants of Germany to unite in a council in the Papal dominions, that the project was again defeated. By this time, indeed, the Protestant party, though conscious of the inherent strength of their cause, yet despairing alike of reforming the abuses of the Romish church, and of receiving justice at her hands, were far less solicitous for the convocation of a council than they had been under former Popes. They only desired now to be let alone.

At length after much controversy, and almost by the compulsion of the emperor of Germany and the king of France, now leagued together for the defense of the Roman Catholic faith, Paul summoned a council to meet at Trent, (a city of the Tyrol, on the confines of Germany and Italy,) on the 15th of March 1545. After much altercation about preliminaries, the council was finally opened with great pomp on the 13th of December. Three legates of the Pope were present, Cardinals De Monte, Santa Croce or Cervinus, and Poole. These assumed the right to preside in the council, and the better to maintain their authority, they caused the council to be divided into three congregations, one of which assembled at the residence of each legate. Every point of doctrine or practice was first determined by these congregations separately, and "a general congregation was afterwards convened, where the results of their discussions were embodied in a decree." As Trent was but about 250 miles from Rome, it was easy for the Pope to control these discussions, and to send a new supply of bishops from Italy to carry any controverted question in his own favor. This he did repeatedly. The frequent suspension of business by the legates in order to receive instructions from his holiness, gave rise to the saying that "the Holy Ghost was sent in a traveling bag

from Rome." A congregation of cardinals and courtiers at Rome, with whom the Pope conferred, governed the proceedings of the council at Trent.

To harmonize the views of conflicting parties, it was determined to discuss and decide a doctrinal point, and a question of practice, reformation or discipline, at every session of the council. The Papal party were anxious only to determine points of doctrine; while the reform party, among whom the Cardinal of Lorraine was at one time conspicuous, were eager to apply some remedy to the flagrant abuses and corruptions existing in the church.* It was impossible therefore for the council to proceed without the compromise just referred to; and we have accordingly as the result of each session both doctrinal canons and a decree for reformation. The council continued its sessions with various interruptions, with a migration to Bologna, on account of the alledged prevalence of a contagious fever at Trent, (probably the fever of *reformation*), and with a protracted suspension consequent upon that removal, in all about eighteen years; and was finally dissolved at the close of the twenty-fifth session, Dec. 4, 1563. Four Popes had died during its continuance viz. Paul III, Julius III, (the former Cardinal De Monte,) Marcellus II, (whose pontificate lasted only twenty-one days,) and Paul IV. But Pius IV, issued a bull enjoining obedience to all the decrees of the council, and framed a creed embodying the substance of its decisions, which has been universally acknowledged as a standard of faith

* On one occasion the bishop of Verdun had inveighed severely against the court of Rome. A prelate who sat near him exclaimed contemptuously, "How the cock crows!"—punning upon the word *gallus*, which means both a cock and a Frenchman. Upon which the bishop of Lavaur immediately rejoined, "Would that at the crowing of the cock, Peter would repent and weep bitterly."

in the Roman Catholic church. Under his direction also was prepared the famous Tridentine Catechism, which though generally approved as a compendium of the doctrines of the council, has never received distinctly the universal sanction of the church.

Our information respecting this council is derived chiefly from Harduin's *Acta Conciliorum*, Galletmar's *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum*, and Father Paul Sarpì's History, which, though in less repute among Roman Catholics than that of Cardinal Pallavicini, probably on account of its superior frankness, yet agrees with it in every important particular. The general reader will find an interesting sketch of the proceedings of the council in the little manual published by the Presbyterian board of publication, which is referred to at the beginning of this article. Many will be surprised to find that the sessions of this famous council were so thinly attended, and that some of its most important decisions were made by a bare majority of those present.

Our next authority is Peter Dens. Dens is one of the most distinguished expounders of the Roman Catholic faith. His "Theologia Moralis et Dogmatica," has long been a textbook in Romish seminaries on the continent of Europe and in Ireland; and is therefore the system of theology and morals in which the mass of the Roman Catholic priests now in this country have been educated. Our materials for a biographical sketch of this "reverend and most learned doctor," are extremely scanty; but we learn from a brief memoir prefixed to the Mechlin edition of his works, that he was born September 12, 1690, received a liberal education in Mechlin and Louvain, was initiated into the priesthood in 1715, and in 1720 was called by the Archbishop of Mechlin to the seminary in that place. In the year 1735, he was appointed president of

the seminary, and *Examinator Synodalis*. In 1737, he was chosen canon in the metropolitan church, and in the same year obtained the office of Mechlin *Scholasticus*. On the 4th of June, 1751, he was honored with the *Dignitas Penitentiarum*. What this was we are not informed; but presume that it differed from the *penitentiary* honors conferred in our day, though these would sometimes well become a father confessor. In 1754, he was further promoted to the dignity of Archpresbyter. He died Feb. 15th, 1775, in the 85th year of his age.

We have in our possession the second Dublin edition of his works, published in 1832, and dedicated to the Archbishop of Dublin, with his approbation. We shall also make use of an abridged translation of his theology, by Rev. J. F. Berg, of Philadelphia. This translation was made from the Mechlin edition of 1838, an edition issued from the Archbishop's own press, and therefore, "stamped with all the authority which the most scrupulous and fastidious Romanist could desire." It has already passed through several editions, and is worthy of being read attentively by all who wish to acquaint themselves with the Roman Catholic system.

Another source to which we shall look for information concerning the tenets of the Romish church, is the "Exposition of the doctrines of the Catholic Church," by Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. This work was published about the year 1670, to vindicate the Roman Catholic faith from the so-called misrepresentations and aspersions of Calvinists, and to convince the world that that faith was scriptural in every point. It is the production of one of the most learned and eloquent of the French divines, exceedingly subtle in its reasonings, well fitted to deceive the reader in respect to the real questions at issue, and to lead him to regard with favor, or at least with allowance, what he

before condemned. On some points it leans so far toward the views of Protestants, that its own orthodoxy has been called in question. But it is amply endorsed by bishops, archbishops and cardinals; and Pope Innocent XI expresses his approbation of it in the following words: "Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Libellus de Catholicæ Fidei Expositione à fraternitate tuâ compositus, nobisque oblatum, eâ doctrinâ eâque methodo ac prudentiâ scriptus est, ut perspicuâ brevitate legentes doceat, et extorquere possit etiam ab invitis Catholicæ veritatis confessionem. Itaque non solum à nobis commendari, sed ab omnibus legi, atque in pretio haberi meretur."

We avail ourselves also of the highly elaborate work of the late Dr. Moehler, dean of Wurzburg, and professor of theology at the university of Munich, entitled "Symbolism, or an exposition of the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced by their symbolical writings." It has long been the custom in the Protestant universities of Germany, to deliver lectures to the students in theology upon the doctrinal differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Dr. Moehler transplanted this custom to the Catholic university whose theological chair he filled with so much learning and ability during the closing years of his life. His course of lectures on these topics was first delivered in 1828, at Tübingen in Würtemberg, and obtained for him the appointment of professor of theology in the university of that place. From Tübingen he was called to the theological chair at Munich, in 1835. Here however, his public labors were soon suspended by a pulmonary disease, which terminated his life on the 12th of April, 1838, in the forty second year of his age. His theological opinions, like those of Dens, (whose theology is still the text-book of

Romish students,) are not the obsolete opinions of a by-gone age, but the opinions now entertained throughout the Roman Catholic church. His "Symbolism" was first published in 1832, and has already passed through five editions in Germany. The reputation which the author gained by it may be inferred from the fact, that he received from the Protestant government of Prussia, the offer of "a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Cologne, and a professorship at Bonn." No man can read this work without feeling that however contemptible Romanism may seem in some of its phantasies, it is not to be put down by a sneer.

Of course we shall make use of the Douay Catechism, and the various Roman Catholic manuals, to show in what manner the decrees of councils, and the elaborate treatises of theologians, are digested for the use of the unlearned.

The survey of a few leading topics will be sufficient to enable a thinking reader to comprehend the most essential differences between the system of the Roman church, and the system of Evangelical Christianity. We begin with

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.

Let us endeavor first to ascertain the precise meaning which Romanists attach to the word *church*; for we apprehend that there is a fundamental difference between them and Protestants upon this point, a difference respecting the very nature of the Christian system. This Catholics themselves admit or rather claim. Dr. Moehler observes concerning Luther, that "he had formed a peculiar theory of justification, before he entertained the clear idea of founding a new church;" that after vainly attempting to unite "two things so contradictory as his dogma and the Catholic church, . . . he

felt necessitated as the parent of a new doctrine, to become the father of a new church."* At the same time he says, that Luther's theological opinions, though first propounded, "may stand in the relation of internal dependence on his view of the church, inasmuch as it not rarely happens that what is merely an effect is already clearly recognized, while its cause, though long busy in the background of human consciousness, exhibits itself only later in its full light and with entire clearness."† And still further he observes, that the theological sentiments of Luther, Calvin and Zwingle, "especially their conception of the relation of the believer to Christ, entirely pervade their theory of the church and of Scripture, and constitute the foundation of the same."‡ These views are substantially correct. For though, as every one knows, Luther had no idea of renouncing the church of Rome when he began to oppose her corruptions, but was led to do so by the manifest incompatibility of his doctrines with her constitution, there is no doubt that the views of the nature of the Christian church which he afterwards derived from Scripture, reacted upon his theological opinions. We are quite willing to have it understood that there is an affinity between a certain system of doctrines, and certain views of the nature and design of the church; and that the system of doctrines known as the evangelical or Protestant, is incompatible with those views of the church which Papists and those sympathizing with them entertain. Neither Luther, nor any other man could reconcile things "so contradictory."

The nature of the church does not seem to have been discussed as a distinct topic in the council of Trent. It was assumed to be well known,

and was made the basis of all their discussions concerning both doctrine and discipline. Dens, however, who aims to be elementary in his treatises, occupies some fifty pages of his second volume in defining the nature, constitution and government of the church. He defines the church to be the "congregation of all who profess the faith and doctrine of Christ, which is governed by one and (next to Christ,) the chief head and pastor on earth."* He then affirms that unbaptized persons, catechumens, heretics, apostates and schismatics, are not in the church; and that neither all the predestinated, (since many of this class may delay *baptism* for years,) nor the predestined alone are in the church, but there are to be found within its bosom both good and bad. From which it appears that the church is an external, visible corporation, admission into which is gained by assenting to its doctrines and receiving the sacrament of baptism. "In Ecclesiam intratur per Fidem et Fidei Sacramentum, quod est baptismus." "Baptismus est janua, per quam ingredimur in Ecclesiam, ut docet Trid. Sess. 14, cap. 2." This church is visible to the corporeal senses and not simply cognizable by faith. It is not only spiritual by virtue of an inward faith, hope, charity, &c., but is also a certain material and visible body, comprising a visible head, visible men, an outward profession of faith, and the gradation of a visible hierarchy.

This visible church is known by four essential marks, unity, sanctity, catholicity or universality, and its apostolical origin, structure and descent. The *unity* of the church consists in having one head, one faith and doctrine in Christian fellowship, participation in the same sacraments, and in whatever else pertains to the communion of saints.

* Page 331.

† Page 332.

‡ Page 332.

* Appendix ad Tractatum de Fide, No. 70, et seq.

The church is *holy* in its doctrines, sacraments, sacrifices, laws, &c. The church is *catholic* in that it may be diffused over the whole earth without limit in respect to place, people or time. It is *apostolic*, because it derives its doctrines from the Apostles, was itself propagated by them, and has from them a legitimate and uninterrupted succession of bishops, especially in the very chair of Peter. According to the Douay Catechism, the church is "the congregation of all the faithful* under Jesus Christ, their invisible head, and his vicar upon earth, the Pope." The *essential parts* of the church are a "pope or supreme head, bishops, pastors and laity." It is essential to the unity of the church "that all her members live under one evangelical law, obey the same supreme head and his magistrates, profess the same faith, even to the least article, and use the same sacraments and sacrifices." The church is "visible at all times as consisting of a hierarchy of pastors governing, teaching, administering sacraments to the world's end, and of other people governed, taught and receiving sacraments at their hands, all publicly professing the same faith, all which things are visible." (pp. 20, 23.) Dr. Moehler informs us, that "by the church on earth Catholics understand the visible community of believers founded by Christ, in which, by means of an enduring apostleship established by him, and appointed to conduct all nations in the course of ages back to God, the works wrought by him during his earthly life, for the redemption and sanctification of mankind, are under the guidance of his Spirit continued to the end of the world." (p. 332.)

We learn then from these various definitions that the church is a *visible* society on earth, embracing all

baptized in the Roman Catholic faith in *one* ecclesiastical organization; to the existence of which a hierarchy of bishops in the line of apostolical succession is indispensable; and through which alone the sufferings and death of Christ for the redemption of mankind are made available to any child of Adam. This notion of the church will be seen at once to differ widely from that entertained by any body of evangelical Protestants. You search their formulas in vain for any such doctrine of a universal visible church as that which is here presented. Their "visible church" is either a *particular* "congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same;"* or if it is spoken of as catholic and universal, it is "the whole body of men throughout the world professing the faith of the gospel, and obedience to God by Christ according to it, not destroying their own profession by any errors everting the foundation, or unholiness of conversation; and their children with them."† They are not united, however, under any form; they are not subject to the same visible head, nor to any one ecclesiastical authority. Such a visible catholic church "is not intrusted with any officers to rule or govern over the whole body;"‡ it is not visible in its organization, but only in the profession and *lives* of its members. There is no "organized unity" among those members, but only the unity of the spirit. Those who are members of *this* visible catholic church, are such by virtue of their being members of Christ, and do not become members of

* Art. XIX. of church of England.

† Saybrook Confession. See also Cambridge Platform, and Westminster Confession.

* That is, all who profess the Roman Catholic faith.

Christ by uniting with an ecclesiastical corporation.

The difference between the two systems is broad and palpable. It concerns the very nature of Christianity. Such views of the church can not be made to harmonize with each other, nor can both be brought into harmony with the same gospel. This, Roman Catholics admit. Says Dr. Moehler, "the differences between the Catholic and the Lutheran views [of the nature of the church] can be reduced to this short, accurate and definite expression. The Catholics teach 'the visible church is first, then comes the invisible; the former gives birth to the latter.' On the other hand the Lutherans say the reverse, 'from the invisible emerges the visible church, and the former is the groundwork of the latter.' In this apparently very unimportant opposition, a prodigious difference is avowed." (p. 398.) Yes, the difference is "*prodigious*." It makes one of these systems, "another gospel." The tendency of our scheme is to exalt Christ, and the way of salvation by faith in him; that of the other to give prominence, to give *pre-eminence* to a visible corporation, its officers and sacraments. True, we are told that the church contains both "good and bad," and that "we are not *living* members of the external church until we belong to the interior one." Yet we can enter the interior or the invisible church only through the external or visible; we must come into the latter in order to be united with Christ, for this is "his body," and it is only in connection with this vast ecclesiastical organization, with its hierarchy of bishops, that the benefits of Christ's death can be obtained. We put Christ first, we make him the "door" of the kingdom of heaven. We hold that no man *can* be a member of the true spiritual church without being "*in Christ*," and that every man *ought* to be in Christ before he

unites with any visible church. They hold that he comes to Christ through the church; the church as a visible corporation; and that he can come in no other mode. Is not this another gospel?

So much for the fundamental difference between Romanists and Protestants in regard to the church. Next we proceed to notice the

ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURES.

The doctrine of the Roman Catholic church respecting the word of God, is so generally understood that it needs no labored exposition here. The Romanists do not deny the inspiration, or the divine authority of the sacred Scriptures. On the contrary, they claim that inspiration and authority, not only for those books which Protestants receive as canonical, but also for those which sound criticism rejects as apocryphal. Nor do the Romanists deny that the Scriptures are the infallible rule of faith. They believe the Bible to be a revelation from God, which all men are bound to honor and obey. They even make the Bible the ultimate source of church authority, by claiming its sanction for the doctrines of infallibility and the supremacy of the Pope. But they maintain that although the Bible is "God's unerring word, . . . *we ourselves* are not exempt from error, but only become so when we have *unerringly received* the word which is in *itself* infallible."* Thus far both Papists and Protestants are agreed. But the question now arises, what is the guide to the right understanding of the Scriptures? The Protestant answers, "The Bible must be interpreted by the same laws of language by which we interpret other books; but the mind of the humble and devout reader is also enlightened by that Holy Spirit, who has come into the world to guide believers into all truth." The

* Moehler, p. 350.

Romanist answers, "We can ascertain the true doctrine of Christ by the *church*, in which *alone* man arrives at the true understanding of holy writ."

In other words, the Roman Catholic claims that the Divine Spirit acts on the mind only through the church; that by a mysterious union with "the human spirit in the church," it engenders that spiritual discernment which constitutes subjective infallibility. Says Dr. Moehler, "By a confiding attachment to the perpetuated apostleship, by education in the church, by hearing, learning, and living within her pale, by the reception of the higher principle which renders her eternally fruitful, a deep interior sense is formed which alone is fitted for the perception and acceptance of the written word, because it entirely coincides with the sense in which the sacred Scriptures themselves were composed. If, with such a sense acquired in the church the sacred volume be perused, then its general essential import is conveyed unaltered to the reader's mind. Nay, when instruction through the apostleship, and ecclesiastical education in the way described, is imparted to the individual, the sacred Scriptures are not even necessary for our acquisition of their general contents." (p. 350.)

Hence arises the Roman Catholic doctrine of tradition. To guard against that diversity of sentiment on minor points of faith, which must exist when every man interprets the word of God for himself, the "judgment of the church" is set up against that of the individual. "The church," it is said, "is the body of the Lord: it is, in its universality his visible form, his permanent, ever renovated humanity, his eternal revelation. He dwells in the *community*; all his promises, all his gifts are bequeathed to the community, but to no individual as such since the time of the Apostles.

This general sense, this ecclesiastical consciousness, is tradition in the *subjective* sense of the word. . . . Tradition is the living word perpetuated in the hearts of believers." But this is not tradition in the ordinary acceptance of the term. "Tradition in the *objective* sense, is the general faith of the church through all ages, manifested by outward historical testimonies; in this sense, tradition is usually termed the *norma*, the standard of Scriptural interpretation, the rule of faith." [Moehler, pp. 351, 352.)

This tradition is the *general* faith of the church. Not every sentiment of the fathers is authoritative; but only such as have been universally received, or such as have been formally sanctioned by a general council. Any doctrine, to have the authority of tradition, must have been taught *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*; three very hard conditions, even for the credulity of the church of Rome; unless, indeed, whoever does not teach a given doctrine is set aside as heretical; then none are more easy.

Bossuet takes substantially the same view of tradition which we take of the common law. The common law, as every body knows, is unwritten. Not indeed that it is communicated from age to age solely by word of mouth, but that its "original institution and authority are not set down in writing, as statutes are, but it receives its binding power, and the force of law, by long and immemorial usage, and by universal reception throughout the kingdom. *Jus non scriptum est tacito et illiterato hominum consensu et moribus expressum*. The monuments and evidences of legal customs are contained in the records of the several courts of justice, in books of reports and judicial decisions, and in the treatises of learned sages of the profession, preserved and handed down to us from the times of highest antiquity."*

* Blackstone, Int. Sec. 3.

In just this way the Bishop of Meaux argues concerning the traditions of the church. "Jesus Christ having founded his church upon *preaching*, the unwritten word was the first law of Christianity; and when the Scriptures of the New Testament were joined to it, that word did not lose thereby its own authority; whence we receive with equal veneration all that was taught by the Apostles, whether in writing or by word of mouth, according to what Paul himself has expressly declared in 2 Thessa. ii, 15. And the certain proof that a doctrine has come down from the Apostles, is, that it is held by all Christian churches, without any one being able to mark its origin. [i. e. The certain proof of a doctrine is, that it has been held 'time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.'] We can not but receive every thing which is established in this manner, with the submission which is due to divine authority: and we are persuaded that those advocates of the pretended reformed religion who are not opinionated, have the same feeling at heart; it being impossible to believe that a doctrine held from the beginning of the church, came from any other source than the Apostles. Our opponents, therefore, should not wonder if, being anxious to gather up all that our fathers have left us, we preserve the trust of tradition, as well as that of the Scriptures."*

He then argues that it is only by means of tradition that the true sense of Scripture can be ascertained, and that the Holy Spirit explains his meaning only through the church.

This latter point he attempts to establish by reference to the decision of the council or conference of the apostles, elders and brethren at Jerusalem, respecting legal observances; which he regards as a precedent for the decision of contested points. He says, "As soon as there

arise disputes which divide the faithful, the church should interpose her authority; and her assembled pastors should declare, after the manner of the Apostles, 'It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.' And when she has spoken, they should teach her children that they should not examine anew those articles which have been determined, but should humbly receive her decisions. In this they will follow the example of St. Paul and Silas, who carried to the faithful the first apostolic decree, and who, far from permitting a new discussion of that which the Apostles had decided, went through the cities teaching them to keep the ordinances of the Apostles."

"Thus it is," he adds, "that the children of God acquiesce in the decision of the church, believing that they have heard by her mouth the oracle of the Holy Ghost; and it is because of this belief, that, after having said in the creed, *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, we immediately add, *and in the holy catholic church*."

To show that these sentiments are those of the whole Roman Catholic church, and not the mere speculations of learned men in her communion, we shall add a few extracts from the Douay Catechism, with which we shall complete our exposition of this topic. In fact it will be seen that the doctrine of tradition is here presented in a much grosser form than by Moehler or Bossuet.

"Q. How do you prove all obstinate innovators to be heretics?

A. Because they willfully stand out against the definitive sentence of the church of God, and submit not to any tribunal appointed by Christ to decide religious controversies, but follow their own interpretation of the dead letter of the Scriptures.

Q. And is not this the reason also why Protestants and all other sectarians are so divided in religious matters?

A. Yes, it is; for how is it possi-

* Œuvres, Tome Cinquième, p. 402.

ble that people who imagine that there is no person or tribunal, nor even the church of God, infallible, for expounding the Bible; people who expound it each according to his respective fancy; people, who have no control over the erroneous interpretation of each other; how is it possible that such people should have the unity of faith, in the bond of peace; or that they be not tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine?*

Q. Why may not the letter of the Scripture be a decisive judge of controversies?

A. Because it has never been able from its first publication to decide any one dispute, as the whole world knows from experience; all heretics equally pretend to Scripture author-

ity in defense of their errors and heresies.

Q. How then can we ascertain the truth amidst conflicting opinions?

A. By the infallible authority, definition and proposition of the Catholic church." (p. 22.)

From all this it appears that the difference between Romanists and Protestants upon the points now under review, does not in terms relate so much to the authority of the sacred Scriptures, as to the method of interpreting them. The one system makes the church the one authoritative expounder of Holy Writ, and thus gives a paramount importance to tradition; the other system leaves every man to expound the Scriptures for himself, under his responsibility to God, according to the laws of language, the dictates of common sense, and the inward teachings of the Holy Ghost. The Romanist affirms that "it is one thing to say that the Bible is the source of the doctrine of salvation, and another to say that it is the judge to determine what is the doctrine of salvation." He asserts that it can no more be the latter, "than the code of civil law can exercise the functions of the judge; it forms indeed, the rule of judgment, but it doth not itself pronounce judgment." (Moehler, p. 383.) We answer, very well; we admit the distinction between the law and its interpreter. But the question is, Who, or what is to determine the meaning of the Bible? We hold that that meaning is to be ascertained by the known principles of interpretation; that the Bible is its own interpreter, in the same sense in which every book is its own interpreter; except that the Bible, being of divine origin, has in it far more unity and consistency than any mere human production, and therefore sheds more light upon itself. We hold further, that as the Bible is a revelation of moral truth, we may be assisted in the interpretation of it, by reading it with an honest, prayerful

* This language calls to mind the following lugubrious strain in Bishop Brownell's late charge. "In the midst of all this confusion, I need not tell you that there are numerous bodies of intelligent, humble and devoted Christians; but without any sufficient bond of union and stability; the Bible alone, to the exclusion of all church authority,—the Bible alone, 'without note or comment,' the only standard of faith; and the utmost liberty of private interpretation allowed and encouraged; it will not be surprising if they shall continue to be encroached upon, divided, weakened, and perhaps overrun, by the boldness of error, and the fanatical spirit of ignorance." Had the Bishop been reading the Douay Catechism when he got so many "wayward fancies" into his head, about the "incongruous sects" around him? Or is there so much identity between his views and those of Roman Catholics, that they naturally find expression in the same terms? Will not the Douay Catechism hereafter be that required "to be learned by every person before he be brought to be confirmed by the bishop?" Perhaps, however, we can alleviate the horror both of the Bishop and the Catechism at the diversities among Protestants, by the following suggestion of Dr. Malan: "If your *unity* be that of error, and our *differences* be on the side of truth, our condition is far preferable to yours; for you are in the unity of darkness, while we differ only in the degrees or tints of light. Is not the rainbow, though it be *variegated*, a far more beautiful phenomenon than the *uniform blackness* of midnight?"—*Inquiry*, &c. p. 20.

and docile mind, and in the spirit of obedience. (John vii, 17.) This is our method of ascertaining the meaning of the word of God.

But the Romanist, discarding the principles by which he interprets all other books, renouncing his own private judgment, claims to have an infallible expounder of the word of God, in the traditions of the church; i. e. in the private judgment of other individuals, who lived in a less enlightened age; who had fewer facilities for interpreting the Scriptures; and who were corrupted with "vain philosophy," in proportion to their nearness to the apostolic age, when raw converts from heathenism, (such for example as the members of the Corinthian church,) became teachers of Christianity. "I also admit the Holy Scriptures, according to the sense in which our holy mother, the church, has held and does hold; to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." (Creed of Pius IV.)

The doctrine of tradition has always appeared to us to be one of the weakest points of the Romish faith, though regarded by the Roman Catholics as the strongest. If, as Bishop Bossuet maintains, oral teaching is of the first authority, because it preceded the written instructions of the Apostles, why did they think it necessary to write at all? Or if they resorted to written expositions of Christian doctrine as precaution against error, did they leave anything unwritten, which it is important for us to know? As to the authority of the Fathers, in such circumstances, is that which an uninspired man tells us that somebody told him that somebody told him that an apostle said or did, to be put upon the same level in point of truth and authority with what inspired men have written? Why did the Apostles put any thing in writing,

if they did not write every thing which they meant to be authoritative? If we have "an unbroken chain" of human traditions, how can we hook that chain to the inspired volume? Here is the grand difficulty. Yet there is not even such a chain. But without further discussing the topic, we would refer the reader to the article on "the Protestant principle," in our January number.

It would be interesting to exhibit at length the diversity of sentiment which existed in the council upon the relative importance of Scripture and tradition; but this our limits will not allow. Suffice it to say that the famous decree which enacted that Scripture and tradition should be regarded "with equal piety and veneration,"* after eliciting a very warm discussion, and calling forth the strong opposition of Bertani, Chiozza, and others, was finally adopted by we believe a mere majority of a session comprising the Pope's legates, 2 cardinals, 9 archbishops, 41 bishops, 1 orator, 1 procurator, 3 abbots, and 7 generals of monastic orders, in all 67! An ecumenical council truly? (Harduin.)

In this connection it is important to observe what it is which the church of Rome receives as the text of Scripture. We introduce therefore a brief notice of the

ROMAN CATHOLIC VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The decree of the council of Trent concerning the canonical Scriptures was followed by a decree concerning the edition and use of the sacred

* "Sacrosancta Eucumenica, et generalis Tridentina Synodus . . . omnes libros tam veteris, quam novi testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus à Christo, vel à Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu, ac reverentia suscipit, et veneratur." Sessio IV. Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis.

books. By this decree, the Vulgate Latin edition was declared to be authentic, and made the authoritative standard. It was gravely argued, that "as Divine Providence had given to the Jews a Hebrew, and to the Greeks a Greek original, it was reasonable to suppose that the Latin church enjoyed a similar favor, and that the Spirit of God who had dictated the sacred volume to the heavenly penman, had in the same supernatural manner presided over the translation." The Vulgate was therefore voted to be inspired; just as the English Prayer-book was voted by the Parliament of 1548, to have been composed by the aid of the Holy Ghost. It was felt that "unless the Vulgate was declared to be divine and authentic in every part, immense advantage would be yielded to the Lutherans, and innumerable heresies would arise and trouble the church." Hence it was enacted, "ut hæc ipsa vetus, et vulgata editio, pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illum rejicere quovis pretextu audeat, vel præsumat." And it was further decreed, *for the sake of curbing petulant spirits*, that "in matters of faith and morals, and whatever relates to the maintenance of Christian doctrine, no one, confiding in his own judgment, shall dare to wrest the sacred Scripture to his own sense of them, contrary to that which hath been held and still is held by holy mother church, whose right it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of sacred writ; or contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers; even though such interpretations should never be published." Then follows the prohibition to print the Scriptures with any other than the authorized notes and expositions. Neither is it allowable to issue an edition without such notes; and the principle of the Bible Society, that of distributing the word of God without note or comment, has been denounced by the present Pope as an

invention of the devil. The indiscriminate reading of the word of God in the vulgar tongue, is prohibited by the rules of the "Congregation of the Index," (a permanent committee appointed by the council as censors of the press,) though "*where Roman Catholics live among heretics, greater indulgence is allowed.*" (Dens, II, 103.) A new edition of the Vulgate was issued in Rome under the direction of Pope Sixtus V, in 1590; but notwithstanding the Papal infallibility, it was found to be so full of errors, that two years after, his successor, Clement VIII, suppressed it, and issued another edition under the sanction of his own bull. It is said that there are two thousand variations between these two editions; many of them amounting to important contradictions. The latter is still the sacred text of the Romish church.

The English translation of the Vulgate allowed among Roman Catholics is the Douay and Rhemish.* A new edition of this has been published in Dublin within a few years, abounding in notes of a most denunciatory character towards Protestants or heretics, declaring even that they may be exterminated by fire and the sword. We regret that we have not a copy of this edition at hand. We give some specimens, however, both of the text and annotations of the Rhemish version, from the London edition of 1832, which lies before us:

"Matt. iii: 2. Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Note.—*Do penance. Pœnitentiam agite*, *μετάνοιαν*. Which word, according to the use of the Scriptures and the holy fathers, does not only signify repentance and amendment of life, but also punishing past sins by fasting and such like penitential exercises.

Matt. vi: 2. Give us this day our supersubstantial bread. Note.—*Supersubstantial bread*. In St. Luke the same

* The Old Testament was first published by the English College at Douay, A. D. 1609; the New Testament was first published by the English College at Rheims, A. D. 1582.

word is rendered *daily bread*. It is understood of the bread of life which we receive in the blessed sacrament.

Matt. xii : 36. Note.—*Every idle word*. This shows there must be a place of temporal punishment hereafter, where these slighter faults shall be punished.

Matt. xvi : 18, 19. *Upon this rock, &c.* Peter is here declared to be the rock upon which the church was to be built; next to Christ himself, the chief foundation stone, in quality of chief pastor, ruler and governor. *The gates of hell, &c.* By this promise we are fully assured that neither idolatry, heresy, nor any pernicious error whatsoever shall at any time prevail over the church of Christ. [i. e. of Rome.] *Loose on earth*. The loosing the bands of temporal punishment due to sins, is called an indulgence, the power of which is here granted.

Matt. xxviii : 18. *All power*. See here the warrant and commission of the Apostles and their successors, the bishops and pastors of Christ's church. How then could the Catholic church ever go astray, having always with her pastors, as is here promised, Christ himself, who is "the way, the truth, and the life."

2 Thess. ii : 14. *Traditions*. See here that the unwritten traditions of the Apostles are no less to be received than their epistles.

1 Tim. iii : 15. *The pillar and ground of the truth*. Therefore the 'church of the living God' can never uphold error, nor bring in corruptions, superstition and idolatry.

2 Tim. iii : 16. *All Scripture, &c.* Every part of divine Scripture is certainly profitable for all these ends. But if we would have the whole rule of Christian faith and practice, we must not be content with those Scriptures which Timothy knew from his infancy, that is, with the Old Testament alone; nor yet with the New Testament without taking along with it the traditions of the Apostles, and the interpretation of the church to which the Apostles delivered both the book and the true meaning of it."

Such is the Bible which the Romish church allows her members as a special privilege to read. Verily she has "made the word of God of none effect" by her "traditions."

Another topic of primary importance in the system we are attempting to represent is

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The sacraments of the Roman Catholic church are seven in num-

ber, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony. (Council of Trent, Sess. 7, Can. 1.) It is held that the sacraments have a saving efficacy, and that the due observance of them is one of the chief grounds of justification. On this point the Council of Trent is explicit. It declares, "if any one shall say that these sacraments have been instituted merely for the sake of nourishing faith, let him be accursed." And again, "If any one shall say that the sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify, or that they do not confer the grace itself on those who put no obstacle in the way, (as if they were only the external signs of grace or righteousness received by faith, and certain marks of Christian profession by which believers are distinguished from infidels,) let him be accursed." (Sess. 7, Can. V and VI.)

To prove the gracious efficacy of sacraments, Dens gives us the following characteristic argument. "If sacraments could not confer grace by their due administration, but could only excite faith in the divine promises (as sectarians profess) it would follow :—1. That baptism conferred on a child would be of no efficacy; 2. That a sacrament conferred in the Latin or Greek language would effect nothing for him who does not understand those languages; and 3. That a sacrament sometimes may afford grace to the spectators in whom it might excite faith, and not to the receiver himself, in whom perhaps faith might not be excited." (De Sacramentis, No. 18.)

To avoid such consequences the doctrine of the saving virtue of sacraments is maintained. It is assumed that grace is conferred by a sacrament though administered in an unknown tongue; and then it is argued that sacraments do truly confer grace because otherwise they

would be useless when administered in an unknown tongue! This is much like an argument for the divine benevolence drawn by an illiterate preacher, from the fact that all the principal rivers in the world run by the side of cities and large towns where their waters are needed for the purpose of commerce. Our Romish theologian builds cities first, and marks out the course of rivers afterwards.

The benefit of a sacrament is entirely independent of the *moral* character of him who administers it, though intimately allied with his official character. Hence "neither the probity, nor the faith of the minister is necessary to the validity or effect of the sacrament;" a most consolatory reflection to the recipient!

BAPTISM is defined to be "a sacrament instituted by Christ the Lord, in which through the external ablution of the body, with the invocation of the most Holy Trinity, a person is spiritually regenerated."* Regeneration then, is actually conveyed in baptism; and that too, not that nondescript regeneration which consists in "a change of outward state," but real, *bona fide*, *spiritual* regeneration. Baptism "makes us the children of God and remits both original and actual sin if he that is baptized be guilty of it. It infuseth justifying grace into the soul, with habits of faith, hope and charity, and all supernatural gifts and virtues." (Douay Catechism, p. 80.)

The reception of this sacrament is held to be indispensable to salvation.† Hence provision is made for conferring it upon new born infants, upon infants yet *unborn*, and even—but we will not dishonor our pages by additional specifications.‡ In these unmentionable cases, however,

the *hypothetical* method of baptism, made so conspicuous of late in certain quarters, is resorted to; the ceremony being prefaced by the conditional phrases, "if thou art alive," "if thou art capable," "if thou art a human being," &c., &c.

tizetur in capite; nec postea, si vivus evaserit, erit iterum baptizandus. At si aliud membrum emiserit, quod vitalem indicat motum, in illo, si periculum impendeat, baptizetur; et tum si natus supervixerit, erit sub conditione baptizandus . . . si verò ita baptizatus deinde mortuus prodierit, ex utero, debet in loco sacro sepeliri." (Dens, Tractatus de Baptismo. No. 6.)

"An licet occidere matrem prægnantem, ut fœtus extrahatur vivus et baptizetur?

Negative; . . . Si autem mulier prægnans certò mortua sit, statim secari debet, ut inde extrahatur fœtus, juxta præscriptum Ritualis Rom. instructiones S. Caroli Borr. &c., qui si vivus fuerit mox baptizetur: si verò certò mortuus deprehendatur, neque baptizari, neque in loco sacro sepeliri potest; nisi nondum extractus esset ex utero, quo casu potest ibi relinqui, et cum matre tanquam pars ejus sepeliri.

Consultitur, ut mortuâ matre ori tubus immitatur, similique modo patula uteri vagina servetur, utque calor in utero interineatur, quoad usque sectio inchoetur. Convenientissimè autem dicta sectio (quæ communiter Cæsarea dicitur) fit per Chirurgum, aut alium in hac re peritum, in quorum defectu incumbit Parocho eandem operationem facere: quapropter Pastores pagorum, in quibus deest copia Chirurgorum, &c., acire debent modum aperendi uterum matris mortuæ sinè læsione fœtus." (Ibid. No. 24.)

Such are the topics discoursed of by a theological professor to young candidates for priesthood who are vowed to *celibacy*! We have hesitated to transcribe these passages, even in the original Latin. Yet they are by no means the most exceptionable in the writings of Dens. What would our readers think if we should give them an elaborate treatise on "sacred embryology;" or if we should acquaint them with the questions to be asked of those who come to the confessional?—questions framed, it would seem, for the very purpose of exciting libidinous thoughts and desires. They may judge of the character of this standard theological work from the fact that a well meaning though zealous man, was arrested in Pottsville, Penn., in November last, on the charge of having sold and distributed a *grossly immoral book*, called "Extracts from Dens' Theology."

* Dens, de Baptismo. No. 2.

† Si quis dixerit, Baptismum liberum esse, hoc est, non necessarium ad salutem; anathema sit. (De Baptismo, Can. V.)

‡ "Si infans caput ex utero matris emiserit, et periculum mortis immineat, bap-

The sacrament next in order is CONFIRMATION. "For the special benefit and edification of heretics," Dens defines this to be "a sacrament instituted by Christ the Lord, by which the Holy Spirit is given to baptized persons, in order that they may steadfastly and boldly profess the faith of Christ." We are truly grateful for the condescension of Dens, in thus explaining a rite which has given us much perplexity; and we feel particularly "edified" by the information that "*the apostles were confirmed on Whitsunday, in an extraordinary manner, the Holy Ghost descending upon them in tongues of fire.*" The manner of their confirmation was indeed "extraordinary," when we consider that for "tongues of fire," we now have nothing but the "holy chrism" and the fingers of a bishop!

It is a mortal sin not to receive this sacrament when it may be conveniently obtained, "because by so doing we expose ourselves to great danger of denying our faith, against which danger it was peculiarly ordained by Christ our Lord." And we are gravely informed that "a little blow is given on the cheek to him that is confirmed, to signify that he is thereby made the soldier of Christ, and must be ready to suffer stripes and buffets for his sake."—*Douay Catechism*, p. 85.

What intelligent reader of the New Testament can find any apology for such mummary as this, in the simple statement that the Apostles went every where confirming the churches which they had established; i. e. strengthened them by indoctrinating them more thoroughly in the faith of the Gospel? The old woman who went every year to be confirmed, because she found it so good for the "*rheumatiz*," had a view of the subject not a whit more unwarranted or superstitious than that which the Romish church sets forth by her standards and doctrines, and in her authorized formularies.

The principal sacrament is that of the EUCHARIST, the Roman Catholic substitute for the Lord's Supper. It is called "most holy and adorable." It is defined to be "a sacrament instituted by Christ the Lord, which, under the consecrated forms of bread and wine, contains the body and blood of Christ, for the spiritual refreshment of man." It is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church that Christ is *literally* received into the soul *through the mediation of this sacrament*, and not spiritually, by means of faith. "This sacrament produces in the soul of a worthy partaker, a union of the person to Christ, because Christ is contained entire under the forms both of the bread and of the wine."* The authorized note on Matt. xxvi, 26, is as follows: "*This is my body.* He does not say, *this is the figure of my body*, but, *this is my body.* (2 Council of Nice, Act vi.) Neither does he say, *in this or with this* is my body; but absolutely, *this is my body*; which plainly implies transubstantiation."

The doctrine of transubstantiation is distinctly taught by the Council of Trent. "Whoever shall deny that in the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist are contained, truly, really, and in substance, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore the entire Christ; *but shall say that he is in it only as a sign, figure or virtue*, let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall say that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, the substance of bread and wine remains together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, only the forms of bread and wine remaining; (which conversion the Catholic church most aptly

* Decree of the Council of Florence, for the instruction of Armenians.

calls transubstantiation,) let him be accursed."—Sess. 13, cap. 8, Can. I and II.

This sacrament is to be received by "every one of Christ's faithful of both sexes, when they have attained to years of discretion, at least once in every year, at Easter." Roman Catholics every where comply with this requirement. The more devout among them receive this sacrament weekly, or as often as they have opportunity; but all feel under an obligation to receive it at Easter; though in Rome, (where a certificate of having taken it is required at the confessional,) it is often taken by *proxy*.

The qualifications for the due reception of the eucharist, as stated by Dens, are baptismal regeneration; a state of grace; a desire to receive this sacrament; sufficient instruction and discernment; acts of faith, hope, charity, humiliation and contrition, and the confession of all mortal sin. Its effect is hindered by want of baptism, want of right intention, and mortal sin. Moreover, the communicant must come "fasting, and with decent and clean apparel."

His holiness Benedict XIV. thinks further that "as it is very indecent that any one should approach the sacred table with his mouth or nostrils smeared with *tobacco*, and redolent with its stench; therefore it is proper to abstain from its use, and indeed entirely from smoking and chewing." In this opinion we heartily concur.

The cup, as every one knows, is denied to the laity, partly because of the danger of spilling the precious blood of Christ in passing it from lip to lip, but chiefly, we presume, to enable the successors of the apostles to fulfill to the letter the injunction, "drink ye *all* of it." (See note on Matt. xxvi, 27.)

The doctrine of transubstantiation, though avowed by the second Council of Nice, is of modern date as a general doctrine of the Roman Catholic church. It was first made

an article of faith by the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, under Innocent III, and afterwards confirmed by the Council of Trent. It is carried by Roman Catholic writers to a revolting extreme. It is said that "the sacrament confers its effects not only in eating and swallowing, but also *so long as the presence of Christ continues in the stomach*;" and that "if a sick man vomits up the sacred host entire, it must be reverently gathered up and afterwards taken, or laid aside in some sacred place for future use"! Such is the shocking and disgusting grossness to which the religion of justification by the *opus operatum* naturally and legitimately descends.

The consideration of what is taught in respect to the other sacraments, and of the doctrines of sin, repentance, justification, &c. would extend this article to an unreasonable length. Another opportunity will be found, of completing the summary which we have now commenced.

We submit to this interruption the more readily, because it affords us an opportunity to say a few words on a point which has been, of late, the subject of repeated though perhaps ignorant misrepresentation in certain quarters.

Dr. Brownell, in his late charge to the Episcopalian clergy of Connecticut, saw fit to represent Calvin, the Westminster Confession, the standards of "the dissenters," and the early fathers of New England, as holding, substantially at least, the high church doctrine respecting the church and its ministry, and respecting the sacraments, particularly baptism. He also represented the Congregational ministers and churches of New England at the present day as having generally adopted, on these subjects, views utterly removed from those set forth by their predecessors. Dr. Brownell's proxy and apologist, in the pamphlet entitled "New Englandism not the religion

of the Bible," repeated and expanded the same representations. The same kind of thing is found elsewhere. It has become of late one of the *loci communes* of Episcopal theology. He that would see it in its best estate, must look into Palmer on the Church, that wellspring of theological erudition,

"Whither, as to a fountain, other stars
Repair, and in their urns draw golden light."

In reply to all this, it might be enough to say, that the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of the United States are not at all conscious of any material dissent on their part from those theological views of the church and the sacraments, which are contained in Calvin's Institutes, and in the confessions and platforms that were formed two centuries ago. In reading those documents, they may find here and there an expression less guarded in some respects than they might choose; they may find some important facts and principles less distinctly developed than in the works of some more modern writers; they may find, in particular, too confident a reliance on this or that particular form of organization, as exclusively prescribed in the New Testament; but they find no "other gospel" on these points, than that which they themselves hold, and which they find in the Scriptures. They do not find that the relation of the church and sacraments to the salvation of the individual believer is represented in these authorities otherwise than it is represented in the preaching which they hear in their assemblies, in the prayers and "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" which they offer to God continually, and in all their current religious literature. Different parties among those who are commonly called Calvinists, charge each other with deviating in various modes and degrees from the doctrines of the Reformation, or the doctrines taught by Calvin and the Westminster divines; there have been, and are still,

great inquiries and discussions, and, as some think, much progress towards a more exact understanding of the truth, on the doctrines of depravity, election, and regeneration; but in regard to the question whether men are saved by faith alone or by the church and the sacraments, there has been no controversy among the various bodies commonly called Calvinistic, no consciousness of any deviation from the doctrines of Calvin and the Puritans, nor has any one sect or party been charged by its adversaries with such deviation.

But if the representations in question should be so far effectual as to waken a suspicion that the authority of Calvin and the Puritans is really on the side of those who believe in being saved by the church and the *opus operatum* of sacraments, we say, let Calvin's Institutes be referred to. Not that Calvin is an authority with us, or with any who are called Calvinists; even the Presbyterian Board of Publication* very properly refuse to call him master, or to be responsible for his doctrines, any farther than they are incorporated in the Presbyterian Confession; but to those, if any there are, who are troubled with the quotations which Oxfordizing Episcopalians make from Calvin, we say, look into the Institutes, and learn Calvin's opinion on these points directly from himself. An isolated sentence, separated from its connection, may easily seem to mean what its author did not intend to say, and what the entire texture of his argument directly contradicts.

Calvin's great work is a system of theology arranged after the method of the apostles' creed. Accordingly, the subject of the fourth book is the "holy catholic church and the communion of saints." Looking now at

* See the advertisement prefixed to the valuable and beautiful edition of the Institutes in Allen's Translation, published by the Presbyterian Board.

the author's own analysis of his "argument," we find that under this portion of the creed he introduces three leading topics—the church, the sacraments, and civil government—and these constitute the three natural divisions of the book. "The first division, extending to the end of the thirteenth chapter, contains many particulars, which however may all be referred to four principal heads," and these are, first, "the marks of the church, or the criteria by which it may be distinguished, since we must cultivate union with it;" second, "the government of the church;" third, "the power of the church;" and fourth, "the discipline of the church." Our particular concern then is with the first head, in which he assumes the necessity of union with the church. The first chapter is entitled (we translate from the original) "Concerning the true church, with which we must maintain union, inasmuch as she is the mother of all the pious." In the first six sections of this chapter, the author explains the article of the creed concerning "the holy catholic church and the communion of the saints," and shows by what titles the church is commended to us in the Scriptures. Next he treats distinctly concerning the marks of the church, in three sections. Then, in twenty sections, to the end of the chapter, he argues against all sectarian separation from the holy catholic church, and bestows abundant refutation upon the errors of the Novatians, Anabaptists and other schismatics, ancient and modern.

Plainly, then, if Calvin holds that the church is "the mother of all the pious;" if he teaches, in words which have become a common-place quotation in certain quarters where Calvin has heretofore had little honor, that "there is no other way of entrance into life, unless we are conceived by her, born of her, nourished at her breast, and continually preserved under her care and gov-

ernment," and that "out of her bosom there can be no hope of remission of sins," it is all important to the right interpretation of such language that we ascertain what he would have us understand by "the church." Turn then to those sections in which he treats of the marks or characteristics of that church in which God's children are conceived and born, and by which they are nurtured. Is the church, in his view, any one exclusive organization? Does "organized unity" enter into the idea of it at all? In treating of the "notes of the church," does he show any disposition to follow that method which Palmer and his American copyists have adopted? Does his representation of the matter differ in any material respect from that which has been exhibited in our pages, and against which we have heard no protest or objection from Calvinists of any description? Let him speak for himself.

"Wherever we find the word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to the institutions of Christ, there, it is not to be doubted, is a church of God; for his promise can never deceive—'where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' But that we may have a clear understanding of the whole of this subject, let us proceed by the following steps: That the universal church is the whole multitude, collected from all nations, who though dispersed in countries widely distant from each other, nevertheless consent to the same truth of Divine doctrine, and are united by the bond of the same religion; that in this universal church are comprehended particular churches, distributed according to human necessity in various towns and villages; and that each of these respectively is justly distinguished by the name and authority of a church; and that individuals, who, on a profession of piety, are enrolled among churches of this description, [ecclesias ejusmodi,] though they are really strangers to any particular church, do nevertheless in some respect belong to it till they are expelled from it by a public decision. There is some difference, however, in the mode of judging respecting private persons and churches. For it may happen in the case of persons whom we think altogether unworthy of the society of the pious, that on account of the com-

mon consent of the church, by which they are tolerated in the body of Christ, we may be obliged to treat them as brethren, and to class them in the number of believers. In our private opinion, we approve not of such persons as members of the church, but we leave them the station they hold among the people of God, till it be taken away from them by legitimate authority. But respecting the congregation itself, [the community—*de ipsa multitudine*,] we must form a different judgment. If they possess and honor the ministry of the word and the administration of the sacraments, they are, without any doubt, entitled to be considered as a church; because it is certain that the word and sacraments cannot be unattended with some good effects. In this manner, we preserve the unity of the universal church, which diabolical spirits have been endeavoring to destroy; and at the same time we do not interfere with the authority of those legitimate assemblies which local convenience has distributed in different places."—*Calv. Inst. b. iv, c. i, sec. 9.*

May we not say, then, unhesitatingly, that when Calvin says the church "is the mother of all the pious"—when he tells us, there is no other way of entrance into life, unless we are conceived by her, born of her, nourished at her breast," &c. and that "out of her bosom there can be no hope of remission of sins"—he asserts simply what all evangelical Christians unite in maintaining, that there are means of regeneration and sanctification without which there is no reason to expect that the Holy Spirit will lead any man to repentance and faith and newness of life, and without which there is therefore no salvation; and that any community which keeps and employs these means of salvation—any community, however imperfect or corrupt in other respects, which holds forth the truth of Christ in a living ministry and in the symbolic institutions of the Gospel—is a portion of Christ's universal visible church.

What Calvin held respecting the ministry of the Gospel, we need not stop to show by quotations. Suffice it to say, that the attempts which have been made to represent him as

teaching some doctrine analogous to the Romish and Oxford doctrine of apostolical succession, are so in the face of the entire argument of the chapters in which he formally discusses this subject, or in which he incidentally touches upon it,—that it is extremely difficult to explain the misrepresentation by any charitable hypothesis. The difficulty, however, is somewhat diminished when we find the same men telling us in the same breath, that Calvin was probably never ordained at all; for surely the men who are weak enough to believe, or to expect their readers to believe, that John Calvin maintained the necessity of an uninterrupted personal and tactual succession from the apostles, in order to the existence of the Christian ministry, when at the same time he was exercising every function of that ministry without the least pretension to such a succession in his own person, may be considered capable of misunderstanding almost any thing.

We proceed then to Calvin's doctrine of the sacraments, and particularly of baptism. Did he teach any thing analogous to the *opus operatum*, the efficacy, the "validity" which the "Catholicity" system ascribes to sacraments rightly administered? The fourteenth chapter treats of the sacraments in general. In the fifteenth and sixteenth, baptism is discussed; in the seventeenth and eighteenth, the Lord's supper; in the nineteenth, the five other ceremonies falsely called sacraments. Let these chapters be thoroughly studied, and then let it be said whether Calvin's doctrine of the sacraments differs in any important particular from the doctrine now taught by the evangelical ministry in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches. The sacraments, as he describes them, are symbolical institutions. Their value, like that of other symbols, consists in their signification. Their efficacy, when they are efficacious, is nothing else

than the efficacy with which the Holy Spirit conveys into the heart those truths and gracious promises of which they are the symbols. The very first words of the chapter in which Calvin enters on the discussion of this subject, show us what theory he held. "Allied to the preaching of the Gospel, there is another *help to our faith* in the sacraments." His definitions show the same thing. A sacrament, he tells us, "is an outward symbol by which the Lord seals to our consciences the promises of his good will towards us, in order to support the weakness of our faith; and by which we in our turn testify our piety towards him, in his presence and that of angels, as well as before men." How beautifully does he express the identical doctrine of all our evangelical churches! He repeats the definition in a more compendious form, by calling it "a testimony of the grace of God towards us, confirmed by an outward sign, with a scriptural attestation of our piety towards him." Referring to the definition of Augustine, which makes a sacrament "a visible sign of a sacred thing," or "a visible form of invisible grace," he says that his own definitions differ from that not in sense, but only in being clearer and more accurate. "For," says he, evidently referring to the idea that some invisible grace is conveyed under the visible form, "since in that brevity [of Augustine's] there is some obscurity by which many of the more ignorant are misled, I have endeavored to make the sense clearer by more words, lest any doubt should remain."^{*}

The whole course of his reasoning is in exact accordance with this definition. "A sacrament," he says, "consists of the word and the outward sign." The sign, as he explains the matter, is nothing without the word; and the word which gives

efficacy to the sign is not a muttered formula, like an incantation, supposed to consecrate the elements, but is simply the gospel itself, the divine doctrine and promise, preached to us and thus making us know the meaning of the symbol.* "Sacraments, therefore, are exercises which increase and strengthen our faith in the word of God, and because we are corporeal they are exhibited under corporeal symbols, to instruct us according to our dull capabilities, and to lead us by the hand as so many young children. For this reason Augustin calls a sacrament, 'a visible word,' because it represents the promises of God portrayed as in a picture, and places before our eyes an image of them in which every lineament is strikingly expressed."[†] He not only vindicates his doctrine against those who think lightly of the sacraments, but also opposes it to those who, he says, "attribute to the sacraments, I know not what latent virtues, which are nowhere represented as communicated to them by the word of God." The position of the schoolmen, that the sacraments now used in the Christian church justify, and confer grace, provided we do not obstruct their operations by any mortal sin, he denounces as "deadly and pestilent" beyond expression, and "evidently diabolical." "The person is deceived who supposes that the sacraments confer any more upon him than that which is offered by the word of God and received by faith." "Confidence of salvation does not depend upon the participation of the sacraments, as if that constituted our justification, which we know to be laid up in Christ alone, and to be communicated to us no less by the preaching of the gospel than by the sealing of the sacraments, and that it can be completely enjoyed without this participation."[‡] We need not multiply quotations. Let the cu-

* Chap. xiv, sec. 1.

* Sec. 3.

† Sec. 6.

‡ Sec. 14.

rious reader turn to Calvin and read for himself. Certainly it would be very strange if Calvin holding such views of the nature of the sacraments, were to be found so self-contradictory as to teach at the same time, and in the same connection, that identical doctrine of baptismal regeneration which he pronounces "evidently diabolical."

Turn then to the chapter in which he speaks of baptism in particular, as distinguished from the other sacrament. The chapter commences with these words :

"Baptism is a sign of initiation, by which we are admitted into the society of the church, in order that being incorporated into Christ we may be numbered among the children of God. Now it has been given to us by God for these ends which I have shown to be common to all sacraments ; first, to promote our faith towards him, secondly, to testify our confession before men. We shall treat of both these ends of its institution in order. To begin with the first. From baptism our faith derives three advantages which require to be distinctly considered. The first is, that it is proposed to us by the Lord as a symbol and token [*documentum*—lesson or proof] of our purification ; or (to express my meaning more fully,) it resembles a sealed diploma by which he assures us that all our sins are cancelled, effaced and obliterated, so that they will never appear in his sight, or come into his remembrance, or be imputed to us. For he commands all who believe to be baptized for the remission of their sins. Therefore, those who have imagined that baptism is nothing more than a mark or sign by which we profess our religion before men, as soldiers wear the insignia of their sovereign as a mark of their profession, have not considered that which was the principal thing in baptism, which is, that we ought to receive it with this promise, 'he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.'" Chap. xv, sec. 1.

Some passages of this section are not unfrequently quoted to show that Calvin believed in baptismal regeneration, and this in the face of his leading position, that the end of baptism, so far as any effect on us is concerned, is "to promote our faith towards God." With reference to this end, the promotion of our faith, he tells us "it is proposed

to us by the Lord as a symbol and testimonial of our purification." Is baptism a *symbol* of our purification ? Then surely we are not to forget the difference between the symbol and its signification. Is baptism a *testimonial* [document] of our purification ? Then surely we are not to confound the document with the matter to which it testifies ; the testimonial, the token, the document, does not *make* the thing true to which it testifies ; it only commends the truth as truth, to our apprehension. Is baptism "proposed to us by the Lord, as a symbol and testimonial," that it may "promote our faith towards him ?" Then surely it is designed to operate upon us not magically or miraculously, nor by effecting some change of state, but simply as other symbols and testimonials operate, by the appeal which they make to the mind and heart. Does baptism "resemble a sealed diploma by which God assures us that all our sins are cancelled ?" and is it accordingly "proposed to us by the Lord" for the promotion of our faith ? Then baptism is not itself that forgiveness of which it testifies ; nor the cause of that forgiveness. Again, what is that truth of which baptism is the symbol, the document, the sealed diploma ? Is it anything else than that which the written gospel teaches, and which the preached gospel proclaims—the doctrine of forgiveness, cleansing and renovation through the mediation of Christ, and by the work of the Holy Spirit ? Does baptism considered as a symbol or a document teach anything farther or more specific, than what is taught in the Scriptures or by the preaching of the gospel ? If John Stiles can not find in the testimony of the gospel, and in what the Spirit of God has wrought by the word in his heart and in his life, the evidence that God has forgiven him, and purified his heart, will he find such evidence in the record of his baptism ? Does the fact that John Stiles has

been baptized, prove that John Stiles has received forgiveness and experienced the cleansing which the gospel offers to the penitent and believing soul? We know there are those who will tell him so, but the question is, does Calvin tell him so? Those who tell John Stiles to take the record of his baptism as testimony of his personal union with Christ, tell him so not because baptism is an affecting symbol of forgiveness and spiritual regeneration, but because it is in their view something else, even the channel or vehicle by which forgiveness and the grace that regenerates are actually conveyed and communicated; and that is the very teaching which Calvin pronounces "plainly diabolical."

In the next section to that which we have just placed under the eye of the reader, Calvin quotes from Paul, (Eph. v, 26, and Titus iii, 5,) and from Peter, (1 Pet. iii, 21,) and says:

"It was not the intention of Paul to signify that our ablution and salvation are effected by the water, or that the water contains in itself the virtue to purify, regenerate and renew; nor did Peter mean that it is the cause of salvation, but only that the knowledge and certainty of such gifts is received by this sacrament, which is sufficiently evident from the words they have used. For Paul connects together the 'word of life' and 'the baptism of water;' as if he had said that the news of our ablution and sanctification is brought to us by the Gospel, and by baptism this message is confirmed. And Peter, after having said that 'baptism doth save us,' immediately adds that it is 'not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,' which proceeds from faith. But on the contrary, baptism promises us no other purification than by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, which is emblematically represented by water, on account of its resemblance to washing and cleansing. Who then will say that we are cleansed by that water which clearly certifies the blood of Christ to be our true and only ablution?"

In the seventh section he proceeds to speak of the second advantage which faith derives from this sacrament. "It shows our mortification

[or death to sin] in Christ, and our new life in him." After quoting the passage from Paul, (Rom. vi, 3, 4,) 'So many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death,' &c. he says that Paul, in these words, "does not merely exhort us to an imitation of Christ, as if he had said that we are admonished by baptism that after the example of his death we *should* die to sin, and that after the example of his resurrection we *should* rise to righteousness, but he goes much farther, and teaches that by baptism Christ has made us partakers of his death, that we may be ingrafted into it." Does Calvin mean then to deduce from this passage that very doctrine of the *opus operatum* of this sacrament,—the intrinsic efficacy of the baptismal ceremony, which he has so often and so earnestly denied? By no means. That of which he is speaking, is an advantage which our *faith* derives from baptism. And besides, his language here must be interpreted as he has told us to interpret it in all such cases. Accordingly, in the very next sentence he says, "They who receive baptism *with the faith with which they ought to receive it*, truly experience the efficacy of Christ's death in the mortification of the flesh, and also the energy of his resurrection in the vivification of the spirit." His meaning is, that the gospel promises to the believer not only pardon but a gracious renovation; and that baptism is a symbol or token, and therefore a proof, of that promise, not only as it respects the pardon, but also as it respects the quickening and renewing grace. Accordingly, he says, "Thus we are promised first the gratuitous remission of sins and imputation of righteousness; and secondly, the grace of the Holy Spirit to reform us to newness of life." These two promises are set before us in the word of the gospel; and, for the confirmation of our faith, they are set before us also in the

symbolic teaching of the sacrament of baptism.

In the sixth section, the author, still illustrating the operation of baptism in 'promoting our faith towards God,' proceeds to the last of the three particulars in which this sacrament is designed to strengthen our faith. "It affords us," he says, "a certain testimony not only that we are ingrafted into the life and death of Christ, but that we are *so united* to Christ as to be partakers of *all* his benefits." Baptism in this particular, as in both the preceding, is a *testimony to confirm* our faith in something which the gospel promises. We can not stop here to renew the argument by which this is demonstrated.

After having argued the identity of John's baptism with that instituted by Christ, he deduces from these views "the falsehood of the notion which some have long ago maintained, and which others persist in maintaining, that by baptism we are delivered and exempted from original sin, and from the corruption which has descended from Adam to all his posterity." His doctrine, in opposition to this, is, that "by baptism *believers are certified* that this condemnation [inherited by nature] is removed from them, since, as we said, the Lord promises us by this sign,"* &c.

We find this inquiry occupying more room than we intended. One more quotation, and we have done.

"This analogy or similitude is a most certain rule of sacraments; that in corporeal things we contemplate spiritual things just as if they were placed before our eyes, as it has pleased God to repre-

sent them to us in such figures: *not that such blessings are tied up or enclosed in the sacrament, or that it has the power to impart them to us*; but only because it is a *sign* by which the Lord testifies his will that he is determined to give us all these things: nor does it only feed our eyes with a mere show, but it conducts us to a present reality; and what it represents in a figure, it at the same time efficaciously fulfills." Sec. 14.

How does baptism, in Calvin's view, 'efficaciously fulfill what it represents in a figure?' By promoting our faith. By 'conducting us beyond the mere show to the present reality.' By leading us to 'contemplate those spiritual things' which God represents to us by the symbol. The entire efficacy of baptism, in Calvin's theory, is its efficacy, through the power of the Holy Spirit, in promoting faith,—its legitimate efficacy as a divinely appointed symbol appealing to the mind and heart.

This may suffice as an illustration of the acuteness and wisdom of those who have taken it upon themselves, of late, to assert that Calvin and the reformers of his age, the Westminster Assembly and the Synod at Saybrook, all held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. It was in our minds to carry this investigation further,—to show what Calvin teaches respecting the Lord's supper, and to analyze what is said on these subjects in "the standards of the dissenters," *videlicet* the Westminster Catechisms and Confession, the Savoy Confession, and the Confession of the Reformed Dutch Church. But the doctrine, not to say the language of these documents, is the same with Calvin's. Should we find occasion, we may pursue our readings at some future opportunity. For the present we say, Here endeth the first lesson.

* Book iv, chap. xiv, sec. 10.

THE BISHOP'S ATTORNEY ON THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND.*

BISHOP BROWNELL'S Attorney, as we anticipated, has again appeared in court. We have now a pamphlet entitled, "The state of Religion in England and Germany compared." Among the many unaccountable hallucinations of this laborious but unfortunate writer, is the idea that there is some controversy between him and the New Englander, touching the state of theology and piety in Germany. Under the influence of this hallucination, he makes large quotations from various writers, English and American, to show what evils in the form of infidel opinions and corresponding laxity of practice, have been, and are still, prevalent in that country. None of our readers need be told how entirely the labor which he expends in that effort is thrown away. As for German philosophy, so far as it differs from plain New England common sense, we have almost as little respect for it as we have for the philosophy of Professor Newman, who holds that "the mystery of baptism—that mystery by which a new creature is formed by means of water and fire," is the key to Geology; that a true philosopher with "a spiritualized eye," "would expect to discern in every animal and material nature the figure of a cross;" and that such a philosopher with a spiritualized eye as aforesaid, "would not be surprised to find that all mathematical figures are reducible to this element; or as modern anatomists have suggested, that the whole animal

world is framed upon this type, a central column with lateral processes." And as for German theology, so called—the theology of Rationalism which despises the Scriptures, and knows nothing of the moral government of God or of redemption and forgiveness through Christ, we hold it to be from beginning to end almost as great an outrage on common sense, as the theology of those Anglican doctors who hold that in the Eucharist as administered by their authorized hands, the recipient eats, not figuratively or symbolically, but literally, the identical human flesh that bled upon the cross at Calvary. In matters of philology and of historical investigation, the German scholars, as all men know, are in advance of the world. But in philosophy they can never create a system for a free, shrewd, practical race of men like the people of these States; far less can they do it in theology. In these two departments not less than in politics, the Anglo-American people, and above all others the universal Yankee nation, are likely to do their own thinking.

In respect to the causes which have produced this prevalence of Neology in Germany, there is a difference between us and the learned counsel for the bishop of Connecticut—a difference but not a controversy. He holds, and his client holds, that whatever there is to be lamented in respect to the state of religion in that country, has resulted from the want of what they call Apostolical Succession, and from the want of the Anglican Liturgy, and of Queen Elizabeth's act of uniformity. Our mode of accounting for the phenomenon, as our readers will remember, is altogether different. We ascribe the wide decay of

* The State of Religion in England and Germany compared; being an Examination of a Review of "New Englandism not the religion of the Bible," in the *New Englander*, for April, 1844. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Hartford, Henry S. Parsons, 1844.

the reformation in Germany, first and chiefly, to the fact that there is not and never has been in that country, a visible church organized as Christ's church and not as Cæsar's,—the fact that there has been there no church independent of the state, and acknowledging Christ alone as its head; no church constituted by the voluntary union and mutual recognition of those whose hearts have received the knowledge of Christ. The popular element of Christianity—the right of the people to choose their own pastors—the right of the church to judge of the fitness of its own members—that in Christianity which Puritanism laid hold of and contended for with a force that shook all England and changed the destiny of the English race, has never had scope in Germany. Such is the difference between our theory on this point and the theory of the bishop and his lawyer. We are willing to submit the question without argument. No thinking man who knows anything of the way in which ecclesiastical affairs are managed in Germany, can be at a loss how to explain the fact that the theology of German professors and doctors has become, to so great an extent, mere infidelity.

Nor have we any dispute with this writer as to the fact that the infidelity which has prevailed in the schools of Germany is on the wane, while indications of the revival and spread of evangelical doctrine and piety are multiplying. This the writer distinctly and repeatedly admits, and he attempts to account for it. He may explain the fact as he pleases; or if he should find his explanations unsatisfactory to his patrons, he may deny the fact at his convenience. We have no argument with him, or with his bishop, on this point.

But in regard to the royal and parliamentary church of England, it has been our fortune to differ from him. We hold that the politico-ecclesiastical institution which Eng-

lishmen call 'the church,' is a system of enormous abuses—a moral and social nuisance that ought to be abated by law at all hazards. We hold that whatever there is of true Christianity in England, whether within or without the pale of that establishment, exists there not by virtue of the establishment, but in spite of its legitimate tendencies. We hold that the destruction of that establishment, the application of its immense revenues to some object of public utility, and the putting of Christianity in England upon its own resources and powers, is a consummation most earnestly to be endeavored. This writer, on the other hand, and we have no reason to think that here he differs from his bishop or from his party, speaks most tenderly and reverently of the church of England, meaning thereby, as we understand him, not the truly Christian people and ministers in England, nor those of that description who happen to be connected with the establishment, but the establishment itself, with all the abuses and corruptions which go to make up its being. He admits, indeed, "that the connection of church and state is an evil, and that it would probably be better for religion if it were dissolved in England." By this he means, if we understand him, little more than that the power which Parliament has to legislate on ecclesiastical affairs is an evil, and that it would *probably* be better for religion if the establishment, just as it is,—tithes, prebends, pluralities, patronage and all,—were free from the control of the civil government. For our own part we think that such an arrangement, instead of being "better for religion" than the present state of things, would "probably" be even worse. Having made this admission, the author takes care that it is not carried too far. He does by no means admit "that it is *our* duty to make war upon" the connection of church and state, "or to join in

the hue and cry of infidel, chartist and dissenter, against the establishment." This, if it means anything, must mean that in his judgment the evils in the ecclesiastical establishment of England are so few and inconsiderable, that there is no occasion for Episcopalians in this country to make any protest against them. He is "free to admit also that some of the English clergy receive enormous salaries, and that pluralities, except in case of small parishes, and non-residences, are evils. But neither of these evils," he adds,—that is, neither the evil of pluralities nor the evil of non-residences, "is as great, or as extensive as has been represented." Whether the "enormous salaries" are an evil he does not tell us. He has "no hesitation in granting that there are worldly and bad men in the ministry of the church of England." But that this evil is as great as we have represented, he "utterly denies." And, O most magnanimous Jurisconsult!—he volunteers to prove his denial.

After the specimens which we have heretofore given of this writer's peculiar methods in criticism and in logic, we shall hardly be expected to follow him in his attempt to prove that the church of England is not so bad as we have represented it. The question of more or less, in regard to the abuses which make up the anomalous institution called the church of England, and in regard to the influence of those abuses upon the prosperity and honor of religion, is a question about which there would be little profit in disputing with any writer, and least of all with such a writer as the one now before us. The weakness of his argument in the present instance is so manifest, and his evasions and sophistries are so wanting in ingenuity, that it can hardly be necessary for us to do more than refer the readers of this pamphlet to the article in our last Number which re-

views his former pamphlet, and to which this last performance is a professed reply.

For example. We gave an illustration of the character of the church of England, from a sermon addressed by Archdeacon Paley to the younger clergy of the diocese of Carlisle. This he sets aside entirely by the remark that the sermon was "delivered just sixty-three years ago the 29th day of next July;" and that we ourselves admit that since Paley's time there "has been some improvement." But did we admit—dare he assert—that since Paley's time there has been any improvement of the politico-religious institution called the church of England? Did we not expressly say, "The system is the same, its 'general tendency' the same; and, by the laws of human nature, the results must be essentially the same"? The morals of the English clergy have improved somewhat since Paley's time, because the morality of the English people, and particularly of the nobility and gentry who control the clergy, has improved. The revival of religion in England, which commenced a century ago with the labors of Whitefield and Wesley, has at last so affected the standard of morals there, that even the clergy of the state church are undoubtedly better in respect to morals than they were sixty years ago. But what change has there been in the church itself, or in any of its legitimate tendencies?

We gave another illustration of the character of the church of England, from "a series of articles which the New York Churchman has republished from the London Times." All this, however, is set aside with very little ceremony. Our lawyer admits, indeed, that the extracts from those articles, in our last Number, "look something like proof;" and presuming, in his good nature, that we are 'not familiar with the state of parties in England,' he is

almost ready to pardon us for thinking that they are proof. But he is sure we can not but see that "the apparent pertinency of their evidence vanishes at once," when we are informed by his superior intelligence 'that the London Times is a thorough-going political party paper, characterized by strength and bitterness,' and 'that the articles in question were written for political effect by a member of a new political party which bears the ominous title of *Young England*.' As for the first part of this information, it is almost impossible that any man who reads the American newspapers should be ignorant of it, or ignorant that the party to which the Times belongs is the high-church tory party. As for the other part of it, we hardly need say to any of our readers, that the party which "assumes to itself the ominous name of *Young England*," is nothing else than the ultra-Oxford party acting in the sphere of politics; or that we *therefore* spoke of the articles in question as showing what ideas the men of that party entertain respecting the actual character of the English state clergy. Now if the fact that the Times is a high-church tory paper, is a reason why any testimony which it may happen to give against the immaculate purity of the church of England must be ruled out of court; and if the fact that the writer of the articles in question is a professed and unswerving disciple of the Oxford tracts, must be taken as proof that there is no truth in what he says; then indeed we have made a mistake, and ought to be thankful to this charitable lawyer for suggesting our ignorance as an apology. But the New York Churchman, unhappily, is in the same condemnation with ourselves, and to impute a want of familiarity with the state of parties in England to the editor of that journal, requires a pitch of audacity to which Bishop Brownell's armor-bearer has not attained. So for Dr. Seabury,

whose name appears upon every number of the Churchman as its editor, and for Bishop Onderdonk, who makes it his "official organ," and under whose "general direction and supervision" it is edited, some other apology must be invented. Accordingly our lawyer adds, "For what purpose those articles were published in the Churchman, we know not; probably from inadvertence, as they contain language which no Christian man can approve, and statements which a trifling acquaintance with things in England would show to be erroneous." Inadvertence! Before the first of those articles was republished, the editor announced to his readers the intention of republishing them, as articles "which have excited much sensation in England." The first, when republished, was accompanied with an editorial notice. "Our chief reason," said Dr. Seabury, "for calling attention to the article, is, that it gives, *without being intended to give*, a vivid sketch of the real state of things in the church of England." Does this look like "inadvertence?" And as to our lawyer's assertion, that the articles "contain language which no Christian man can approve," we find that the editor was not inadvertent even in that respect. "The 'spirit' of the article," he says, "has been condemned by some that approve of it in other respects. But this, we think, as the word is commonly used, is a most capricious charge, having no other standard than the taste or fancy of the person who makes it. For our own part, we object less to the 'spirit' of the piece than the 'spirit' of its censors." Yet our lawyer argues that the articles must have been admitted into the Churchman "from inadvertence," because "they contain language which no Christian man can approve;" though Dr. Seabury, "under the general direction and supervision" of Bishop Onderdonk, does expressly approve the spirit in which they are written. Be-

sides all this, and as if for the very purpose of precluding such an imputation of editorial inadvertence, the editor of the *Churchman*, when publishing the last article of the series, says, "We strongly commend [it] to our readers," and then argues that the very constitution of the church of England, as a state church, can hardly be expected to produce any thing better than that state of things which the writer of the articles in question so earnestly deplores.

In one of the articles here referred to, it was asserted that "Sabellianism is taught in Dublin, and Nestorianism propounded at Cheltenham." 'This,' we said,—'whoever may be the offenders,—indicates something like heresy winked at by the bishops.' The attorney for the bishop, pitying our supposed ignorance, undertakes to "enlighten [us] on these points," by telling us who the offenders are. "The persons referred to," he says, "are Archbishop Whately, whom the reviewer and his associates delight to honor, and Rev. Francis Close, a prominent and influential clergyman of the evangelical party." Indeed! Then it would seem that the writer in the *Times* alluded to what was notorious, not only in England, but on this side of the Atlantic. He merely spoke of Sabellianism taught in Dublin; and *Juris Consultus*, the sworn defender of the church of England against all suspicions, instead of denying the charge, declares that the offender is no less a personage than the Lord Archbishop of Dublin. Nestorianism is hinted at as propounded at Cheltenham; and *Juris Consultus* tells us, gravely, that the heretic is "a prominent and influential clergyman of the evangelical party." As if we were to be refuted by being told that one of the four highest dignitaries in the united church of England and Ireland is a Sabellian; and that a certain "prominent and influential clergyman of the evangelical party" in the church

of England, denies the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ.

The actual state of things, however, as to the character of the clergy in the English establishment is too well known to be disposed of by any special pleading, founded on the time that has elapsed since Paley was archdeacon of Carlisle, or on the fact that the *London Times* is a political party paper. English literature is full of illustrations. The newspapers, even on this side of the Atlantic, are continually making the subject plain. Look at a case which has happened to be published extensively in our newspapers within a few weeks past,—the case of Herbert Charles Marsh, rector of Barnack, and the incumbent of a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Peterborough, where his father, the eminent translator of "Michaelis's Introduction," was formerly bishop. This member of the "ravaging wolf-hood," whose portion of the prey was something less than \$6000 *per annum*, employed a curate to perform the service of his parish, and earned his prebendal wages by one month's residence annually at Peterborough. The remainder of his time he resided in such places as London and Paris, spending more than \$5000 annually of church revenues upon his lusts. We do not refer to this case as if it were a fair specimen of the morality of the English clergy. Instances of corruption and baseness, in every kind and degree, must be expected to occur in so large a body of men, under any arrangement. But there are facts which make this case instructive, as to the character of the English establishment. It appears that the actual criminality of Marsh was well known to the lord bishop of Peterborough six months before it was known to the public; that during all this time the bishop did neither depose the offender nor suspend him from the ministry, and indeed did nothing except by an indi-

rect communication, by which the leprous prebendary knew that his guilt had been betrayed; and that when the case, in consequence of a trial in a court of law, had become notorious, and the public sense of decency began to vent itself in the form of indignation against the bishop, his lordship made a speech in the house of lords, showing that "his hands were tied," and that no act of parliament gave him any jurisdiction over offenses committed, as this had been, more than two years ago, or committed, as this had been, out of his diocese. Is that establishment a church of Christ, which has no power, and claims no power, to depose a fornicator from the sacred office, except by the letter of an act of parliament? The Romish hierarchy is respectable by the side of such an establishment as this.*

Touching the revenues distributed among the clergy of the church of England, we intimated, in our

former article, that there is at present no possibility of coming at the exact truth. The author before us had given one side of the story. To show how much it was worth, we gave some of the estimates which have been made on the other side. It may be presumed that the truth is somewhat between the opposite representations; but at the same time there is no certainty that the income of any prelate or dignitary, say of the bishop of London, is not greater than the largest estimate. That the statistics given by this author in his former pamphlet were not *exact* he now confesses. He "has received from England," he tells us, "documents which give the value of every benefice in England and Wales, and the income of every individual connected with the establishment as it stood in 1843;" and by these documents it appears that the bishops are not so rich as he said they were. This shows how little is known about the revenues of the clergy. Every practicable art is used by those who are interested in those revenues, to mystify the subject, and to prevent the public from knowing how much they receive.

When we speak thus freely of the great and corrupt political institution called the church of England—an institution as completely the creature of the state as is the Bank of England, the East India Company, or the Navy—and when we deny that this institution is a church of Christ, we are far from denying that there is a church of Christ in England, or that there is a church of Christ in the ecclesiastical establishment. Christ's "visible church" in England includes all those "congregations of faithful men," whether in the establishment or out of it, "in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." That there are many

* In commenting on this case, the New York Churchman expresses its sympathy with those "who would advise a bishop in such an emergency to throw himself on the inherent powers of his office; to pronounce instant degradation on any and every Herbert Marsh of his diocese, and quietly to take whatever consequences of fine or imprisonment the state may see proper to inflict." Such advice might have some savor of wisdom in it, but for three considerations. *First*, there are no "inherent powers" pertaining to the office of an English bishop. If a sheriff, or a judge of the queen's bench should throw himself upon "the inherent powers of his office," and attempt to exercise a power beyond the law, there would be no more absurdity in the proceeding than in a like proceeding on the part of the Bishop of Peterborough or any other bishop in England. *Secondly*, whatever "degradation," not warranted by the law, his lordship might "pronounce" on Mr. Prebendary Marsh, would be a mere *brutum fulmen*, and would have no more effect on Mr. Marsh's dignities and emoluments in the church of England, than if it were pronounced by the Grand Mufti of Constantinople. *Thirdly*, their lordships the bishops of the church of England, are of all the men in Christendom the most unlikely to put themselves in the way of "fine or imprisonment" for nothing.

such congregations connected with the establishment, we would be the last to question. On the contrary, the progress which evangelical truth has made among the clergy and people of that establishment within the last half century, in the face of the greatest obstacles and in resistance to the corrupting influences inseparable from the establishment itself, is in our view one of the most striking illustrations which history affords of the intrinsic power of the gospel. We certainly have no disposition to deny the progress which that great revival, begun by the labors of Wesley and Whitefield the last century, has made, and is still making in England; the improve-

ment which it has caused in the standard of morals and of decency in society; or the effect which it has already had upon the character not only of the middling classes, but of the aristocracy on the one hand and of the lowest orders on the other, the two portions of society to which corruption most naturally adheres. In all this, however, we see evidence not of the excellence and usefulness of the establishment which Englishmen call the church of England, nor of its permanence as it is now organized, but of vital energies which will not cease to work till England is reformed and the church of England shall be, not Cæsar's church, but Christ's.

DURBIN'S OBSERVATIONS IN EUROPE.*

It is not often that we take up a pleasanter book of travels over a beaten track, than these two neat volumes from the pen of a Methodist minister. The Rev. John P. Durbin was a few years ago one of the chaplains to Congress. About the same time he attracted attention out of the sphere of his own ecclesiastical connections, by some well written articles, addressed to his Methodist brethren, in behalf of institutions for liberal education. Since Dickinson College in Pennsylvania passed into the hands of the Methodists, he has been made the head of that institution, which we believe is doing well under his administration. Two years ago he visited the old world. These volumes record some of his observations in those countries which thousands of Americans are continually visiting, and in which almost every one of our more con-

siderable newspapers has its correspondents, either stated or occasional, or both. And yet the reader finds constant entertainment, as the author leads him along through places with which so many other travelers have already made him so familiar. The liveliness with which Dr. Durbin represents his own impressions, is somewhat like seeing with our own eyes that which we have seen before only in description.

We notice these volumes, not with the purpose of tracing the author's voyages and journeys, or criticising his opinions on matters of taste or politics, but chiefly for the sake of his observations on the religious state and prospects of the countries which he visited. These observations commend themselves to attention not only as proceeding from one accustomed to take intelligent and manly views, but also as marked with much of a candid and catholic spirit towards forms of doctrine and of worship widely differing from those in which he was trained, and which he regards as the best. We find nothing

* *Observations in Europe*, principally in France and Great Britain. By John P. Durbin, D. D., President of Dickinson College. 12mo. 2 vols. New York, 1844.

here of a captious, atrabilious temper. The traveler is evidently in a kind humor, quite disposed to see and to report the best side of every thing. He is easily pleased not only with the wonders of nature and of art, but with manners and with men. So much does this disposition predominate in his mind, that he seems almost ready sometimes to apologize for that system of superstition which, in the name of Christianity, teaches degraded millions to put their trust in priests and pictures, in amulets and dead men's bones and Latin incantations, instead of looking to the Lamb of God, and worshiping God in spirit and in truth.

The first cathedral into which he entered on the other side of the water, was the magnificent old Norman pile at Rouen, commenced in the year 1205, and completed in the sixteenth century.

"Let us enter the gloomy Gothic pile. Our sensations are indescribable. It is not admiration—it is not the religious sentiment, but a strange astonishment, not unmingled with awe, yet certainly not akin to reverence. The long ranges of lofty pillars; the countless sharp Gothic arches; the numerous chapels on either side, adorned with pictures and statuary, frequently with candles burning before the image of the Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, all seen in a flood of light poured into the church through more than a hundred windows, whose glass is stained with every shade of color, from fiery red to the soft tints fading into white, until nave, and choir, and aisles, seem magically illuminated; the silence that reigns in the vast space, broken only by the occasional footfall of a priest in his long black robe, flitting along the nave, or entering one of the numerous confessionals, followed by a penitent; with here and there the form of an aged and decrepit female kneeling in superstitious reverence before some favorite image; all taken together, overpower the eye and the mind of the Protestant traveler, unaccustomed to such scenes, with strange impressions and oppressive feelings, and he retires from his first visit confused and astonished. Such, at least, were my own emotions."—*Vol. I, p. 27.*

At Paris, he makes the following remarks on the worship of the Roman Catholics. Neither John Knox

nor John Wesley would have spoken so liberally and respectfully of that pomp which the church of Rome has introduced in the place of the simple spiritual worship of apostolic Christianity.

"To the true Catholic in France, as in all other Catholic countries, the church is a sacred edifice, and his reverence for the consecrated house is far more profound than is usual among Protestants, especially in America. The rich adornments, the painting, gilding, marbles, sculpture, have not only their natural effect as works of genius, but are invested with an ideal sanctity as parts of the Temple of God. The services of worship, also, seem to be entered into with more depth and seriousness than with us: each good Catholic believes himself assisting in the mass, which he understands to be a real repetition of the sacrifice of Christ for men. And when the priest elevates the Host so as to be seen by all the multitude, they adore it as the real body of Christ—as God. Especially impressive are the occasions when the Host is borne by a prelate at high mass. Three or four youths, dressed in white, and swinging silver censers, which diffuse clouds of incense around, precede the prelate, who is supported by four priests, bearing a splendid crimson canopy over his head, and attended by little boys, who scatter rose-leaves profusely over the floor from their white aprons. A chasm is opened in the mass of worshipers as the Host advances, and crowds bow down in silent adoration as it passes by them. It is difficult for a Protestant, unaccustomed to the pomp and pageantry of the Catholic service in Europe, to conceive of its power over the imagination and feelings of the multitude, nay, even of cultivated minds, educated in the midst of these magical associations. Luther says of himself, that while walking next the Host in a procession, 'the thought that the Lord in person was present suddenly struck his imagination, and so overawed him, that it was with difficulty he went forward: a cold sweat came over him; he staggered, and thought he should die in the agony of his fear.' What, then, must the illiterate multitude feel, whose faith obeys implicitly the impressions made upon their senses? And in cultivated minds, in proportion to the natural feeling of the individual, and the depth of his belief in these representations, will be the intensity of his devotion under their influence. Nay, even for an enlightened Protestant, there is an elevation and majesty in many of these forms, pressing into their service as they do the mighty influence of the higher arts, filling the eye with images of beauty, and the

ear with the richest tones of harmony, that enchain his attention, and captivate his imagination."—Vol. I, pp. 72, 73.

To the general reader, the most entertaining portion of the work is the first volume, containing the author's notes on the places which he visited in France, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium. The second volume, however, which treats of Great Britain and Ireland, is the most valuable. It is but little that an American, merely performing the customary tour in Europe, can learn by his own observation in respect to the state of morals and religion. He is every way a stranger in a strange land. But the moment he stands upon the soil of Britain or Ireland, his relation to things around him is entirely changed. There the language is his own mother tongue. The manners of the people are distinguished by only slight differences from the manners of his own countrymen. Be he Wesleyan or Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist or Episcopalian, he finds himself immediately in communion and intercourse with men holding the same forms of doctrine and of worship with his own. Of course he is liable to an influence from the sectarian, partisan or local prejudices of those with whom his intercourse is most intimate; but his account of what he sees and hears in Scotland, in England or in Ireland, if he takes time to learn, and if he uses a reasonable diligence in collecting and recording facts, is more likely to give correct ideas to American readers, than any account which could be written by those from whom he derives his information.

The two chapters on Wesleyanism in England are in some respects the most valuable part of the book. They give a more full, exact and authentic account of the state and position of the Methodist body in that country than we have seen before. The late revolution, if we may so call it, which has at last completed

the secession of the Methodists from the established church, and compelled them to become a free and independent church of Christ, instead of a despised, irregular and schismatic "connection" within the establishment,—and that in spite of their own intentions, and in spite of the cherished purpose of their great founder,—is the most remarkable event in the ecclesiastical history of England since the commencement of the nineteenth century. The strength of the Dissenters has been more than doubled by this one accession; for though the Wesleyans still hold, in theory, the principle of the lawfulness of church establishments, the theoretic dogma will have as little effect upon their position and influence in the strife of parties as it is likely to have in the case of the late secession from the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland.

"A systematic plan appears to have been formed, and to a great extent carried out, to attack the institutions of Methodism, and to attempt a reduction, if not an annihilation of its power.

"This settled policy of the established church towards Methodists and Dissenters was adopted some eight or ten years since, particularly with respect to the Methodists, after the great struggle of the church against the simultaneous and combined attack of the Dissenters, in which contest the Wesleyans stood manfully by the church, and did her essential service, if, indeed, they did not save her: for the opinion in England is quite general, that if the Wesleyans had joined the Dissenters at that time, the church would have been overthrown, or very materially modified in her constitution and powers. A calm succeeded the struggle, and left the church at leisure to contemplate the dangers through which she had passed, and, at the same time, to become sensible that she owed her safety, in a very great degree, to the aid rendered her by the Wesleyan societies. The conflict and its consequences clearly established these two facts: 1. That the church had a deeper hold on the affections of the English people, and a greater power in the nation, than was expected, at least by her enemies; and it was readily perceived that her influence would be much increased by an improvement in the morals, activity, and piety of her clergy. It ought to be conceded by every generous enemy to

the establishment, that in these respects it has vastly improved within the last ten years, and is still rapidly improving, gaining thereby an increased influence in the British government and with the British public, without a reduction, perhaps with an increase (also) in the interests and influence of Dissenters and Methodists. 2. That there existed in the nation a body of people of such numerical force, and so distributed in the manufacturing and mining districts, as to be of vast political consequence in church matters, and to whom the church was too deeply indebted to be easy under the obligation, which was a clear evidence of her danger; for if that people were very convenient, if not necessary to her safety in the hour of conflict, there could be no doubt but their weight on the side of avowed dissent might procure her fall. The reduction of this people became an object of anxious deliberation; but, as they had ever been friends to the church, the means of reduction must not be violent, or even clear to the common comprehension. It was necessary that the plan should be laid deep in 'divine authority,' and then be followed up by a far-reaching and skillful legislation.

"This resolution, on the part of the master-spirits of the church, necessarily regarded the Wesleyans as Dissenters; and to destroy the foundations of both Methodism and Dissent at a blow, and to dissolve their hold on the religious affections and confidence of their people, the bold plea of the exclusive apostolic succession, and the gracious influence of the sacraments only when administered by the regularly ordained clergy, was revived; and hence the Oxford Tracts, or Puseyism. Although it is well understood that there were long and anxious deliberations in high places, it was not deemed wise that the authority of the dissenting and Wesleyan ministers to preach God's holy word and administer the holy sacraments should be formally denounced by the church; but that the temper of the public mind should be tried by individual authority setting forth the plea, thus leaving the church to act as circumstances should dictate. In this way the shock on the public mind was not so violent; the leaven worked privately and on private responsibility, and was left to gain respectability and permanence by Episcopal charges, Episcopal appointments, and by the action of the government, if it were found that the public mind would bear it.

"In the early part of this movement another event drew attention to the Wesleyans, and increased the desire of the high church party to reduce them. This was the centenary collection, which produced a million of dollars, and showed

that this people, to whom the church had been so much indebted for her safety, was not only numerous, but had the command of more wealth than had been supposed.

"The plan for the reduction of Dissenters and Methodists, founded on the plea that they had no divine authority to preach the gospel or to administer the sacraments, worked slowly; and while it strengthened the church within herself, it did not carry conquest into the dissenting population; nor could it be made sufficiently to bear against the palpable and generally acknowledged good which the great mass of the poor people had received from their ministry and benevolence. It was necessary, therefore, for the church to extend her influence among the manufacturing and laboring classes; and the more so, as the right of suffrage was much extended to them, by which means they could influence Parliament; and hence the great and successful effort to increase the number of churches; partly by grants of money from government, and partly by private subscription. In the single parish of Shoreditch, London, ten churches have recently been built, chiefly by the influence of the Bishop of London. But churches would not recover the people; and they had been so long under the influence of the dissenting and Wesleyan ministers, that it was not likely they could be extensively withdrawn by the abstract, and to them, strange plea of the invalidity of the blessings they had so long enjoyed. It was necessary to make it their interest and their duty to come under the teachings and influence of the church; and to accomplish this, the agency of the legislature was essential, in addition to the influence which rich proprietors could exert over their tenants, and, through these, over the laboring people in their employ. This was the state of matters in 1842, when I wrote the following paragraphs from the conference room in London:

"It is now beyond a doubt that the established clergy are intent on practically enforcing their divine and legal claim over every body within their respective parishes. They are beginning, aided by the wardens, to insist on all the parochial funds passing through their hands; they are visiting the proprietors of lands and masters of houses, and saying, 'We do not see your tenants or workmen at church.' They call on the tenants and say, 'We do not see your servants at church.' This is well understood. The power of the church is to bear against these delinquents, and the proprietor signifies his wish to the tenant, and the tenant to the servant; the heads of houses signify their wishes to those in their employ, and the poor are told they can not enjoy the benefit of the parochial funds,

as they do not attend the church. The seminaries, and schools, and all places in the universities, are rigidly shut up from every one not a churchman. And this whole movement is based on the revived pretension of the apostolic succession. It requires no prophetic power to see how this will bear on our young men and on the poor. And the question is, can the Methodists retain their neutral ground, placed between the double fire, of the church on the one hand, and the dissenters on the other? If they do, they will surely give evidence of greater patience and piety than usually fall to the lot of men. Time, and not a very long time either, will solve this question; and I hope our beloved Methodism in England will stand."

"The slowly but steadily developed policy of the church towards the Wesleyans, as well as dissenters, had gradually imbued the minds of most of the private members of the societies with dislike to the church, amounting to a willingness to oppose her; while the effect on the mind of the ministers was slow and painful distrust, together with an unwillingness to change their friendly position to the establishment for one of indifference, if not of opposition. The people were in advance of the ministry, if not clearly to perceive and comprehend their danger, at least to make prompt resistance. They felt the plain, palpable wrongs and ingratitude of the church, and were ready to resist; but their habits of respect for their most excellent ministry kept them in check. The preachers were, as their great father, long suffering under the unjust policy of the church towards them, and began to intimate resistance only when the progress of Puseyism made it a question of conscience, and seemed to require them to break up their alliance with the church, and 'earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.'

"It was easy to perceive that, if they were to make successful resistance to Puseyism in the church—which they regarded as Roman Catholicism in fact—they must lower, if not extinguish, their respect for the establishment, and declare themselves to be what they were in fact, a true church of Christ, fully and richly endowed for the instruction, edification, and salvation of the people. Symptoms of a tendency among the ministry to declare this position appeared at the London Conference of 1842, and found its way into the Pastoral Address. There the matter rested until the meeting of Parliament, and the introduction of Sir James Graham's factory bill, containing a scheme of education for the manufacturing and laboring classes, which placed them, by compulsion, under the exclusive instruction of the clergy of the established

church. The origin and progress of this bill will be an era in the moral legislation of England, and in English Methodism; and from it I date the formal independence of the METHODIST CHURCH IN ENGLAND."—Vol. II, pp. 85—91.

The chapter on the church of England contains of course less that is new to intelligent readers generally. We commend that chapter, however, to the special consideration of those Episcopalian writers in this country, who dishonor their own church, and hold it up to contempt and odium, by trying to identify it with the church of England.

"A single glance at the constitution of the established church of England reveals its political character. The sovereign of the nation, though a queen, is the supreme head of the church on earth. The throne of England would not be an earthly throne if it did not use the body of which it is the head—by virtue of its being head of the State—for political purposes. The main purpose for which a church can be used in such a relation to the State is that of strengthening the State; and for this purpose the church of England is indeed a powerful engine. The prelates are members of the national legislature by virtue of their office; and as they are dependent upon the throne for promotion, it is impossible not to see their liability to sacrifice spiritual interests to political expediency."

"Says the Right Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, 'As long as the right of patronage is unrestricted, the minister of the crown may nominate any adherent to a bishopric—the political nominee of the crown may appoint to the livings in his gift any clergyman who may suit his fancy—the lord-chancellor, for the time being, with any religious opinions, or none, may put whom he will, out of above twelve thousand clergy, into eight hundred crown livings—college livings may be obtained by classical and mathematical learning—sporting and gaming patrons may appoint to the livings in their gift their companions in the chase or at the card table—and unscrupulous parents may enrich unprincipled sons with their family preferment. With this system of patronage, what reason have we to hope that any spiritual improvement of the establishment, which may begin in one generation shall be extended unto the next? At the very foundation of the church there is a permanent source of worldliness, which seems to secure an endless succession of worldly ministers.'"

"This is the voice of one of the first

clergymen in the church for rank, talent, and piety."

"There are more than ten thousand places in the church, in England and Wales, each to be given away by its patron, without any reference whatever to the wishes or welfare of the people to be served. I take the following table of livings, which are at the disposal of their respective patrons, from the *Ecclesiastica*, or church record, for 1844 :

	Livings.
The crown has—to give away—	962
Archbishops and bishops,	1,248
Deans and chapters,	787
Ecclesiastical dignitaries,	1,851
Universities, colleges, and hospitals,	721
Private owners, (of whom 2320 belong to the nobility,)	5,096
Municipal corporations,	53
Not returned,	279
	10,967

"To these are to be added fifteen hundred livings in Ireland to be disposed of in the same way, making the total number of benefices in the gift of the government, directly or indirectly through the nobility, gentry, dignitaries of the church, and corporations, above eleven thousand. The whole of this rich and powerful establishment is independent of the action of the people, and is regarded and used by the aristocracy as a vast domain for the special benefit of their younger sons and favorites. To but a very small extent indeed is it used to reward merit, or to cure the souls of the people."—Vol. II, pp. 262—265.

After having spoken of the distinction of the clergy into the idle and the working, or the non-resident and the resident, he speaks of the traffick in which the right of presentation to a living is sold in open market.

"The case stands thus : A certain parish living is worth £1000 a year (about \$4,500,) and the patron who has the right of giving it away is a private gentleman, or even a young lady. The incumbent is old, and can not be expected to live long. Another person has a son whom he designs for the church, but he has not interest enough at court, or with the nobility or dignitaries of the church, to obtain a good living for him. He therefore calculates the probable time the aged minister will live, and buys for a few thousand pounds, from the private patron, the right to make the next presentation to the living upon the death of the incumbent. Of course, when this event occurs, the purchaser presents his own son, who may be both a blockhead and a sinner. Yet he

becomes the rector ; and as he does not wish to reside, nor to do the work of an evangelist, he bargains with a curate to do the work for fifty or one hundred pounds per annum, and retains the remaining nine hundred pounds, thus making a clear speculation of about \$4,000 a year."—Vol. II, pp. 265, 266.

Dr. Durbin's statements respecting the revenues of the establishment, and the manner in which they are distributed, deserve the particular attention of those readers, if there are any, who have given credit to the representations put forth by Bishop Brownell's counsellor at law. We are sorry to be under the necessity of curtailing our quotations.

"The revenues of the church, and their distribution, are attracting much attention, yet it is remarkable that the truth can not be ascertained with respect to either of these points. Some estimates make the revenue about four millions sterling, others six, others eight, and the Westminster Review nine millions sterling, or about forty millions of dollars."

"The distribution of this vast ecclesiastical revenue is becoming a subject of eager inquiry in England. Three classes of men are in the receipt of it: the prelates of the church, who do some service; the sinecures and non-residents, who do none; and the resident rectors and the curates, who really do the work. With the exception of the curates, it is impossible to ascertain what is the salary of any churchman. The returns to Parliament show the nett proceeds of each living; but then there are tithes, fees, and parsonage houses and grounds, not taken into the account. The amount and nature of the ecclesiastical revenue, and the appropriation of it, are so mystified by those who are interested in them, that the mass of the people can not clearly comprehend the matter. It is agreed that much of it is appropriated to persons who render no service at all, or such service as is of no worth to the people. It is also agreed that the revenue is most unequally distributed; some prelates receiving as much as £25,000 to £30,000 (\$140,000) annually, while the average salaries of the resident clergy would not be more than £400, and the average of the curates' quite under £100. Many of these excellent and laborious men receive not more than £40 to £50 each annually. The clergy list for 1842 sets down the salaries of the principal bishops:

Archbishop of Canterbury,	£17,000	\$75,000
" York,	10,000	44,000
Bishop of London,	11,700	51,948
" Winchester,	10,500	46,680

"The remaining twenty-three bishops do not receive so much each; but graduate downward to his lordship of Sodor and Man, who receives only £2000, and is denied a seat in the House of Lords.

"But although these enormous sums are set down in the clergy list, there is no doubt but that the receipts are very much greater in each case. The dignitaries of the church themselves do not hesitate, in case of family quarrels, to abuse each other in regard to these revenues. The Bishop of London thus discourses in the House of Lords about the sinecures attached to St. Paul's Cathedral: 'I pass the magnificent church which crowns the metropolis, and is consecrated to the noblest of objects, the glory of God, and I ask myself in what degree it answers its object. I see there a dean and three residentiaries, with incomes amounting in the aggregate to between ten and twelve thousand pounds a year; I see, too, connected with the cathedral, twenty-nine clergymen, whose offices are all but sinecures, with an annual income of twelve thousand pounds, and likely to be very much larger after a lapse of a few years. I proceed a mile or two to the east and northeast, and find myself in the midst of an immense population, in the most wretched destitution and neglect; artisans, mechanics, laborers, beggars, thieves, to the number of three hundred thousand.'

"The Rev. Sidney Smith, the wittiest of whigs, happens to be a canon of St. Paul's, and thus turns upon his lordship:

"This stroll in the metropolis is extremely well contrived for your lordship's speech; but suppose, my dear lord, that instead of going east and northeast, you had turned about, crossed London Bridge, and resolving to make your walk as impartial as possible, had proceeded in a southwest direction, you would soon, in that case, have perceived a vast palace, containing not a dean, three residentiaries, and twenty-nine clergymen, but one attenuated prelate, with an income, enjoyed by himself alone, amounting to £30,000 per annum, twice as great as that of all these confiscated clergymen put together; not one penny of it given up by act of Parliament during his life to that spiritual destitution he so deeply deplores, and £15,000 per annum secured to his successor; though all the duties of the office might be most effectually performed for one third of the salary.'

"The same excess in receipts of the prelates will appear from the following passage from the Examiner for June 26, 1840: 'Remarkable it is that, notwithstanding all the charities of the bishops, they die richer than any other class of men. By the probates at Doctors' Commons, it appeared in 1828 that the personal property of twenty-four bishops who

had died within the preceding twenty years amounted to the enormous sum of £1,649,000, an average of nearly £70,000 for each bishop. This was the sworn value of the personal property only, and some of the bishops are known to have had very large possessions in real property. Now we will venture to assert that in no other profession will it be found that so large an average of wealth has been left by the heads; take the twenty-four last generals, the twenty-four last admirals, the twenty-four last judges, nay, the twenty-four last merchants, and their personal property will not equal that of the bishops, nor approach it. So that, after all, the charities of the holy men do not hurt them; and if they live poorer than other men, yet some how or other they die richer.'

"A church with such revenues, so administered, can offer but little security for the morality, not to say the piety of the clergy. Besides, her connection with the government taints her with political vices; while the great inequality of her clergy establishes an aristocracy within the kingdom of Christ; a kingdom in which our Lord said, that he who would be greatest, must be servant of all."—Vol. II, pp. 266—270.

The visits of American clergymen to Europe are desirable or otherwise, according to the views and purposes with which the traveler goes abroad. If he goes, as many go, with no other views or intentions than those of a mere tourist—if he goes simply to indulge himself in the luxury of seeing sights—he will not only do no good, but he will also get no good; he will come home in no way better qualified for the work to which he is devoted. But if he goes as a minister of the gospel, mindful of his character and relations—if he goes resolved to lose no opportunity of doing good—if he goes to hold Christian communion with those in other lands who love the truth as it is in Jesus, and by personal observation to make himself acquainted with the state and prospects of the churches of Christ,—then he will do good to others, his own mind and heart will be enlarged, and he will come home better qualified for usefulness in his native land.

TEXAS.*

WE shall discuss, on the present occasion, but one point of this important subject. We shall inquire into the ground upon which the government has negotiated for the incorporation of Texas with this nation. That ground is the real one. The government has been under the control of Southern statesmen, who have foreseen and have plainly declared that the agricultural and commercial interests of the Southern states will be injured by the annexation. We may be certain, therefore, that the consideration which has outweighed these foreseen evils, is not only the paramount consideration, but is one, in their estimation, of great importance. The interest which the government has sought to promote at such an expense, is the one which is to bring Texas into the Union. We do not ask, then, what ground might be taken, nor what ground individuals have taken, but the ground which the government has taken upon this subject. Nor shall we discuss the less important considerations, but the one which it has placed foremost beyond all others. Nor shall we catch at mere rumors to settle this point. We ask the attention of our readers to the grave state papers which have become a portion of the history of the country.

What, then, is that interest, which the government has set forth in its state papers as the great and leading one to be promoted by the annexation? We answer, *Slavery*. Slavery, in some of its manifold relations, meets us in almost every paragraph of these documents. But we desire a nearer view. What is the *particular interest* of slavery which is to be advanced,—what the *particular aspect* which the government has looked at in this transaction? What is the *precise object* which it has had in view in this movement in behalf of

slavery? The public documents furnish a reply.

It is not, then, to increase the value of slave plantations. It seems to be taken for granted, that it will seriously depreciate it. To show the extent of this anticipated depreciation, we may refer to the declaration of Senator Walker, that so far from having any pecuniary interest in the annexation, his friends have calculated that he will lose fifty thousand dollars by it in the diminution of the value of his estates. It is not, then, to open a new market for the productions of the slave region. Texas, on the contrary, might supply the world with cotton and sugar, and her annexation will raise up, as Mr. Upshur says, (letter of Sept. 22d, 1843, to Mr. Murphy,) "a powerful competitor." If it benefit in a pecuniary respect any part of the country, it is that part only which excites the constant vigilance of Southern politicians for its opposition to slavery. It is not, then, to extend and stimulate the slave-trade of the United States. For, though that may and undoubtedly will be the effect, still that is not the object for which the government has been preparing the way for annexation. Nor is it to facilitate the success of the principles of free trade. For, if it have any effect upon that subject, it will be, as the government argues, to bring a country under the 'Tariff laws, which, as an independent nation, with free trade, would destroy the Tariff. Thus, it will uphold the very system which is regarded as so hostile to slaveholding interests. It is none of these. On the contrary, the slave interest will be injured in these important respects,—respects so important, that for a single one of them, it has been ready to destroy the integrity of the Union. If, then, annexation diminishes the value of slave plantations; if it brings a powerful competitor into the market for all the

* Public Documents.

productions of the southern regions ; if the stimulation of the slave-trade is a motive it scorns to use ; if it is a barrier to prevent the overthrow of the tariff ; if it thus injures so many Southern interests, what is the grand interest of slavery, which the government has undertaken, with such warm affection and energy, to foster and promote ? What is that object, to gain which, the government runs the fearful risk of war, and the still more fearful one of alienating from itself the attachment of a large portion of its citizens ? What is that object which slavery has in view, when she is so ready to sacrifice her other interests ? What is the overwhelming necessity, which has compelled the government to force the subject upon the attention of a foreign nation, which hates slavery, there to be looked at with new abhorrence, and to be commented upon with renewed indignation by the wisest statesmen, the profoundest scholars, the most learned and pious clergy, the lights of the world, who, disagreeing upon many things, are all harmonious here, and above all, to be talked over by a whole people, who have a deep, ever-living feeling towards slavery, and that feeling, hatred against it ? What, we say, is that overwhelming necessity which has compelled the government to thrust this dangerous and excitable subject upon the arena of politics at home, to be discussed at ten thousand public meetings, and by ten thousand inflamed orators, and to be borne by every newspaper that issues from the press, to every inhabitant of the land ? What, we ask again, is that overwhelming necessity which has compelled the government to introduce this solemn and awful subject into the house of God and the meeting of prayer, to be judged by the principles of the Bible, and to be carried in petitions for its abolition to the throne of the Almighty ?

It is the necessity of preventing a few thousand slaves in Texas from being made free. It is to provide with wicked forethought against the

possibility of that region filling up with freemen. There, is a country embracing one hundred and sixty thousand square miles,—we refer only to Texas proper,—big enough to make five states as large as South Carolina, all adapted to the growth of Southern products, and all of the greatest fertility. There, possibly,—a bare possibility, however, hardly more than the delusion of hope,—may be established an independent republic, without slavery, in a climate and upon soils heretofore consecrated to slave labor. But the vision of a republic upon our southwestern border, untarnished by slavery, fills our government with horror and alarm. To prevent the possibility of such a glorious sight, as we must call it, all the resources of diplomatic skill and the whole influence of the government are put in requisition. Rather than have slavery abolished in Texas, every other slave interest is to be damaged, and slavery itself to be searched with indignant scrutiny by the civilized and Christian world.

As a nation, we have endured the burden of slavery upon our conscience, because we have regarded it as a calamity fastened upon us before we became an independent people. We have always supposed that our government has viewed it as a mighty evil, to be endured only because it could not be thrown off. We have always so claimed it among ourselves and before the world. But what are we now doing ? At the prospect of another republic, which has started with the same burden, casting it off, when light, before it has grown so mighty as to overpower every other interest, the government hastens, with alarmed speed, to bind it upon her forever. The free states have always sympathized with southern statesmen when they have groaned under this evil, and professed their willingness to get rid of it, if it could be done ; but now we find these very statesmen, having the control of government in their own hands, when they fear a neighboring republic will overthrow

it, using all the power of this great country to make the curse of slavery there perpetual.

But, our object is to show the ground upon which the government has acted, not to comment upon it, if we can help it. We come then to the documents. The earliest state-paper, and the one which opens the whole subject, is a letter from Mr. Upshur to Mr. Murphy, dated Aug. 8, 1843. We quote the first paragraph.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, Aug. 8, 1843.

Sir: A private letter from a citizen of Maryland, then in London, contains the following passage:

"I learn, from a source entitled to the fullest confidence, that there is now here a Mr. Andrews, deputed by the abolitionists of Texas to negotiate with the British government. That he has seen Lord Aberdeen, and submitted his project for the abolition of slavery in Texas, which is, that there shall be organized a company in England, who shall advance a sum sufficient to pay for the slaves now in Texas, and receive in payment Texas lands; that the sum thus advanced shall be paid over as an indemnity for the abolition of slavery; and I am authorized by the Texan minister to say to you, that Lord Aberdeen has agreed that the British government will guarantee the payment of the interest on this loan, upon condition that the Texan government will abolish slavery."

We pause here a moment. What ought to have been the feelings of an American statesman, acting for enlightened freemen, and in the genuine spirit of American liberty, when he beheld the prospect that a system of labor, which is our shame and may be our ruin, might be eradicated from that young republic before it was fastened forever upon its vitals? What but gratitude to God, that in His unexpected providence He was arresting at the outset this mighty evil? And, if a proper regard for the interests of his own country should lead him to examine with care the re-

lations which the government of Great Britain might sustain towards it, what more could be required of him than to see that England got no other advantage than what must result from the good-will felt towards her for her humanity?

But what were the feelings? Terror and alarm. Says Mr. Upshur, "A movement of this sort can not be contemplated by us in silence. Such an attempt upon any neighboring country would necessarily be viewed by this government with very deep concern." Why not, rather, with earnest hope for the success of this new experiment in humanity? Great Britain has paid hundreds of thousands of pounds to Spain and Portugal, to obtain their coöperation in the grand project of abolishing the slave-trade; and universal humanity has applauded the generous deed, and the whole church has thanked God for the example of Christian benevolence on so broad a scale. But England has found by experience that the slave-trade can only be abolished by the abolition of slavery itself. If now she is willing to look with approbation upon a loan made by her citizens to Texas to pay the masters for consenting to emancipation, ought not this government, as most assuredly all other governments would do, to rejoice in this new instance of humanity in the conduct of nations? If there was to be any rivalry, ought it not to have been in contributing to so desirable a result? If there were to be any feats of diplomacy, ought they not to have been directed rather to the abolition of slavery by the promise of annexation? To have accomplished that, would confer immortal honor on a statesman, and its record, be the proudest page in our country's history. But, Mr. Upshur thought otherwise. "*Such an attempt upon any neighboring country*,"—the Secretary can not even use the proper expression, for an act of intended kindness is not usually called an attempt on any one—"would necessarily be viewed by this government with very deep concern; but

when it is made upon a nation whose territories join the slaveholding states of our Union, it awakens a still more solemn interest. It can not be permitted to succeed without the most strenuous efforts on our part to arrest a calamity so serious to every part of our country."

The government of this nation, speaking for the whole people, as it should do in its intercourse with foreign nations, pronounces the abolition of slavery in Texas *a calamity to every part of our country*. Texas, therefore, is to be annexed to this country to prevent a serious calamity to every part of it. And that calamity is, that Texas may do what the wisest and purest philanthropists of the age labored so long to achieve, and what, now that it is achieved, is regarded by the whole civilized and Christian world as an everlasting monument to the humanity of the nineteenth century. That calamity is, that Texas may do what the free states of this Union, as soon as our own independence was established, hastened to do, as their duty and honor, and what there are no sacrifices, we are persuaded, they would not now make, to aid the other states in doing. That calamity is, that Texas may do what in the extermination of slavery from the world, is looked forward to by the whole church of Christ, as the great triumph of Christianity. That calamity is, that Texas may abolish slavery. We might perhaps prove that it would be no calamity at all. We might perhaps say with truth, there are *some parts of the country* which would not feel it to be a calamity. But that is not to our present purpose. Our government has declared in its own state papers, that the abolition of slavery in Texas must be met by the most strenuous efforts on our part. These strenuous efforts to arrest this serious calamity to every part of our country, have been made. The result is, the treaty of annexation. Annexation, therefore, is placed by our government entirely on the ground that the

abolition of slavery in Texas may be prevented by joining it to our own country, where it is supposed slavery will be perpetual.

Our government has done not a little for the perpetuation of slavery. Feeble as slavery was at the time when its interests were incorporated into the federal constitution and ready to perish, as was hoped by a large portion of the country, under the influence of the sentiments of liberty inspired by the discussion of human rights and the triumph of the Revolution, it has notwithstanding strengthened with our strength and grown with our growth. It has partaken of the impulse which the energy of freemen has given to every thing else. The government, too, has done much to broaden its foundations and to enlarge its superstructure. But all this has been to maintain what was already firmly established. The government now undertakes a new enterprise, an enterprise to excite the abhorrence of the world. It is no less than to establish slavery anew in a country virtually free. We repeat it, that the government has attempted to establish slavery in a country virtually free. For it annexes Texas to prevent its becoming a free country. It acts upon the supposition that it will become so, unless joined to our slavery-protecting Union. Mr. Upshur gives it as his opinion so late as the 16th of last January, (letter to Mr. Murphy, Jan. 16, 1844,) "that if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she can not maintain that institution ten years and probably not half that time." Thus our citizens first introduced slaves into Texas in violation of the laws of Mexico, and, now that again it is likely to become a free country, our government steps in, and fixes slavery upon its soil for ever. This is a new measure. We may not be able to abolish slavery among ourselves, but shall we fasten the curse upon others? We may feel our efforts paralyzed in the alleviation of the evil in our own country, by the great-

ness of the difficulty, but shall we plunge another country into these difficulties? Have we not reproach enough to bear already, and shall we take away the defense we have, that we did not establish slavery in this country, by establishing it ourselves in another?

We thus see that our government has adopted a *principle of action* on this subject. Its fears of abolition in Texas may have been unfounded or otherwise. The opinion of the Secretary just quoted may be extravagant. That is not the point. The government supposed slavery might be abolished there; it acted on the supposition that it would be, and laid down a principle of action applicable in all such cases. It declares that slavery shall not be abolished in Texas.

But it may be said, that the government has not objected to the abolition of slavery in Texas, but to its being done through the influence of Great Britain; that is to say, rather than let Great Britain be the instrument in abolishing slavery in Texas, we will interfere and make it perpetual. But it may be said that it is not against her being the mere instrument, but because she will gain an influence adverse to our interests; but have we no way of preventing this but by fastening slavery upon Texas? But it may be said even that is not the reason, but it is because she will get a position there by which she may exert an influence for the promotion of the abolition of slavery in this country. Very well. That only makes the case worse. For according to this, Texas is to be annexed to this country, not only to prevent the abolitionism of slavery there, but to counteract the remote probability of an influence tending to its abolition among ourselves.

And this is the ground which the government actually takes. Texas is to be annexed to the Union to prevent the abolition of slavery. But we are not to suppose that the government is actuated by pure malice

towards the African race. It does not seek to perpetuate slavery for the mere gratification of inflicting suffering. It has objects of interest in doing it. These are two, as set forth in the public documents; it would prevent the abolition of slavery in Texas, *first*, because its abolition would be the first step in the abolition of slavery on the American continent and islands; and *secondly*, because, if it should not have that effect, a free republic on our southwestern border would be fatal to the peace and tranquillity of the slaveholding States.

We proceed to the proof. We still quote from Mr. Upshur's letter to Mr. Murphy:

"If such an attempt were confined to the 'abolitionists of Texas,' it would scarcely merit grave consideration. Their numbers, it is believed, are very small; and the state of public opinion is by no means favorable to the success of their enterprise. But if it be a fact that it has engaged the attention of Lord Aberdeen, and that he has pledged the coöperation of the English government to a certain extent, it possesses an importance which demands our serious attention. It can not be supposed that England means to limit her designs to the emancipation of a few thousand slaves. She would have ulterior objects far more important to her and far more interesting to us.

"We might probably consider this as part of a general plan by which England would seek to abolish domestic slavery throughout the entire continent and islands of America, in order to find or create new markets for the products of her home industry, and at the same time to destroy all competition with the industry of her colonies. In the great staples of sugar and cotton, her colonies of the East and West Indies are unable to compete with the slave labor of the United States, Texas and Brazil. Experience has shown that those articles can not be produced to any considerable extent on the continent of America by the labor of white men; and of course, if slavery can be abolished on that continent, the great rivals of her colonial industry will be removed. This fact affords an explanation, for which we should seek elsewhere in vain, of many of her most important measures. No other adequate motive can be found for her determined and persevering course in regard to domestic slavery in other countries. This view of the case should never be lost sight of in form-

ing our opinions of the object and probable tendency of all her movements upon this point."

This paragraph contains two points, *a charge* against Great Britain of a general plan to abolish slavery throughout the entire continent and islands of America, and an *explanation of the motives* for this vast project. The disclosure on the part of the government of the general policy of England against slavery, will not strike our readers as any novelty. We will, therefore, waive this part of the subject for the present, the more especially because Mr. Upshur has in another letter furnished the proof of the existence of this plot to abolish that institution. We acknowledge that every instance of extraordinary benevolence in the conduct of nations, demands the serious attention of the governments of the world. And, we regard the settled policy of England in respect to the slave trade and slavery as the most extraordinary instance of an apparently disinterested and humane policy the world has ever beheld, and most persons, we presume to say, have found it very difficult to account for it on the ground of the "usual course of policy among great nations." Our government, it is manifest, has been not a little perplexed by the question. "It is impossible," says Mr. Upshur, (letter to Mr. Everett, Sept. 28, 1843,) "to suppose that England is actuated in this matter by a mere feeling of philanthropy. We are forced to believe she is acting upon motives more in the usual course of policy among great nations, yet equally worthy of her as a wise and powerful country." The paragraph above quoted explains the policy of England towards slavery "according to the usual course of policy among great nations." It is this. Free labor in her colonies in the East and West Indies can not make as much cotton and sugar as slave labor in the United States, Texas and Brazil. Wherefore, England has formed the comprehensive design of turning all the productive

slave labor of this continent into unproductive free labor. To state it in other words, England has freed 800,000 slaves in the West Indies and a large number in the East Indies. But she finds that she has thereby diminished the productiveness of her colonies, and she can no longer compete with the great rivals of her colonial industry, the United States, Texas and Brazil. But instead of retracing her steps and reducing all these freemen to slavery again, she seeks the same end in a round about way by converting the two millions and a half of slaves in this country, and the unnumbered thousands of South America, from industrious bondsmen into idle freemen. "No other adequate motive can be found for her determined and persevering course in regard to domestic slavery in other countries." And "*this is equally worthy of her as a wise and powerful country,*" as if she was actuated by the motives of mere philanthropy.

It is not within our design to argue against this explanation, but we will take the liberty to draw from it a single inference. For, however absurd it is—so absurd as only to be equalled by the explanation of some French writer, that England abolished slavery in her colonies only because free labor was more productive than slave labor—the making of such an explanation shows either that our government can not comprehend and feel the claims of justice and humanity in the abolition of slavery, or that, comprehending and feeling them, it holds that they are outweighed by the claims of dollars and cents. It is not strange, in this view, that our government should seek to prevent the first step being taken in this gigantic scheme of abolition, that is, of converting millions of industrious slave laborers into unproductive drones for the purpose of diminishing the productive industry of the world. The only way it can devise of doing this is to annex Texas to this country.

But as the abolition of slavery in Texas would not, it is probable, be followed for a long time, by abolition on the other parts of the continent, the government has been forced to examine its immediate effects upon our slave system; and these it finds to be so disastrous as to make it sound policy to annex Texas and perpetuate slavery there. To show this we quote again from Mr. Upshur's letter to Mr. Murphy:

"But there is another view of this subject still more important to us, and scarcely less important to Texas herself. The establishment, in the very midst of our slaveholding States, of an independent government, forbidding the existence of slavery, and by a people born, for the most part, among us, reared up in our habits, and speaking our language, could not fail to produce the most unhappy effects upon both parties. If Texas were in that condition, her territory would afford a ready refuge for the fugitive slaves of Louisiana and Arkansas, and would hold out to them an encouragement to run away, which no municipal regulation of those States could possibly counteract."

The Secretary then proceeds to trace out the consequences of this. The argument is, that the existence of Texas as a free state, having abolished slavery, would be a lure to our slaves to leave their bondage and to become freemen. This self-emancipation would produce a state of things which would lead either to a war on the part of the government, or to a dissolution of the Union in the attempt of the slave States to avenge themselves. We reply, that the emancipation of slaves in Texas would either make them good laborers and useful citizens, and therefore place them in a better situation than in slavery, or it would not do it. If it should not do it—if freedom should increase insanity and idiocy among them to the fearful degree asserted by Mr. Senator Walker and the present honorable Secretary of State, or if it should diminish the products of industry as asserted by Mr. Upshur, so that Texas could not compete with us—or if the free negro is

the idle, worthless creature southern politicians say he is, then the government of Texas would be as ready to prevent the immigration of slaves as the slaveholders themselves. But if freedom should be a blessing to them—if they should under the free government of Texas prove what has always been claimed, that negro freemen can cultivate a southern soil and become good and useful citizens, then we say that to go to war to prevent these slaves from enjoying this blessing would be an abomination in the sight of heaven and earth; and to join Texas to our country on the ground of preventing such a result would be only an aggravation of the enormous wickedness.

But we will not examine this part of the correspondence further. The Secretary ends as he began. "Few calamities could befall this country more to be deplored than the establishment of a predominant British influence and the abolition of domestic slavery in Texas." We will only say, that the improbability of a predominant British influence and the absurdity of the supposition that Texas would abolish slavery, do not affect the *principle of action* which the government advanced on the occasion. If the supposition had been a reality, it would have advanced the same. And that principle is to *prevent the abolition of slavery in any neighboring country*, and in the present case by annexing it to our own. It may be that the plan of annexation was not matured as early as the 8th of August, when the letter was written. But the subject of annexation had been too much agitated not to be present to the mind of the writer, and, besides, the same arguments were employed after the plan was settled.

This letter was forwarded to Galveston, where it produced a "whirlwind of emotion," as he says, "in the bosom" of W. S. Murphy, Esq., our Secretary of Legation. We are not particularly acquainted with Texan whirlwinds. We suppose they are

very much like other whirlwinds, overthrowing, uprooting and devastating. The present one seems to have spent its fury pretty nearly in the place of its origin and not to have done much damage even there. At any rate, it left the Secretary of Legation with sufficient strength to attend to his duties. He reports that one Andrews had set on foot in London the plan to abolish slavery in Texas. But we may infer there was no great prospect of its success, for it is added, that on his return to Texas, "the citizens drove him by force from the state, denying him the privilege of return." But no sooner does the government escape from one danger than it falls into another. The danger now is, the negotiations between Mexico and Texas, through the mediation of Great Britain; for, "the surrender of sovereignty by Texas to Mexico at once liberates all the slaves in Texas." "Can the United States longer doubt what to do?" Of course not, join on Texas and perpetuate her slavery. "Pardon me I am warm on this subject." But his warmth does not consume his cunning. He advises the Secretary of State "to say nothing of abolition"—nothing "which can offend even our fanatical brethren at the north." But Mr. Murphy may be dismissed.

We will now turn our attention to the correspondence with Mr. Everett in London. The most important part of it consists in two communications forwarded at the same time, the one a public despatch and the other a more confidential letter. Our present purpose it will be remembered, is not so much to argue against the ground taken by the government, as to show what it is. We will prove, then, that in the great question of the peaceable abolition of slavery, which is now before the nations of the earth, our government has placed this nation on the side of perpetual slavery. We have seen thus far that it has striven to prevent the abolition of slavery in Texas, as hostile to the

peace of the slaveholding States, and as the first step in the universal emancipation of the slaves of the western hemisphere. We shall find in this correspondence the government, more especially defining its position, as the antagonist power to England in her efforts for the abolition of slavery. England as the nation the most distinguished for wisdom, active benevolence and freedom of any in Europe, is at the head of the moral movement of nations against slavery; the United States, as the most powerful nation on this continent and the most interested in slavery, is placed by the government, as the leading power to resist this movement.

We will now proceed to the proof. The correspondence is dated Sept. 28, 1843. The public despatch sets out with an attempt to show "that there are many and strong reasons for believing that the abolition of domestic slavery throughout the continent and islands of America, is a leading object in the present policy of England." It has generally been regarded as a great feat of reasoning to prove by argument what every body admits to be true. The Secretary has shown himself skillful in these achievements. Lord Brougham's remarks in the House of Lords on the 18th of August, on the subject of Texas and Texan slavery, says Mr. Upshur, "have attracted the President's attention." Lord Brougham, it seems, had said that Texas was a country of the greatest capabilities—that she had a population not exceeding 100,000, free and slaves, white and colored, but that he was grieved to learn that not less than one-fourth of the whole population or 25,000, were in a state of slavery—that she could obtain her slaves only from the American market—that he was "irresistibly anxious for the abolition of slavery in Texas, because, if it were abolished, not only would that country be cultivated by free and white labor, but it would put a stop to the habit of breeding

slaves for the Texan market,* the consequence would be, that they would solve this great question in the history of the United States, for it must ultimately end in the abolition of slavery in America. He, therefore, looked forward most anxiously to the abolition of slavery in Texas, as he was convinced that it would ultimately end in the abolition of slavery throughout the whole of America. He knew that the Texans would do much, as regarded the abolition of slavery, if Mexico could be induced to recognize their independence. If, therefore, by our good offices, we could get the Mexican government to acknowledge the independence of Texas, he would suggest a hope that it might terminate in the abolition of slavery in Texas, and ultimately the whole of the southern States of America."

The object of Lord B. was to inquire of Lord Aberdeen into the state of the negotiations on that point. Lord Aberdeen in reply stated that there was great difficulty in persuading Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas; that an armistice had been established between the two powers, and he hoped that this would lead to the absolute acknowledgement of the independence of Texas by Mexico. "The armistice

was an important step to obtain; and he hardly need say that every effort on the part of her Majesty's government would lead to that result which was contemplated by his noble friend." Lord Brougham expressed his satisfaction. But here's the rub—with what did he express his satisfaction? Did "the result," Lord Aberdeen spoke of, refer to the abolition in Texas, or did he anticipate the breaking up of our slave market thereby, and the consequent abolition of slavery here—and was this what Lord Brougham was satisfied with? We will not pursue the Secretary through the subtleties of argumentation, but will only state his conclusion. "It does no violence to the rules of fair construction to understand his language as an avowal of designs, which, whether so intended or not, threaten very serious consequences to the United States."

The Secretary adds, "The President would be very reluctant to believe"—Mr. Tyler, it is notorious, is slow in believing some things—"that any design unfriendly to this country, or aiming at the institutions* of any of the states of our Union, enters into the policy of England. He can not, however, look with indifference upon such declarations as these, made by her leading statesmen, and with the full authority of her government. He attaches the more importance to these declarations, because they are perfectly consistent with information received from other sources, all tending to the conclusion that the policy of England, in regard to the abolition of negro slavery, is not limited to Texas alone."

But the Secretary does not appear quite satisfied with the accuracy of his own conclusion. He therefore tells Mr. Everett—

"The object of this government is to discover whether it is or is not the design

* The object of Lord B. is to destroy the trade of slave-breeding in the upper northern States, and thus to overthrow slavery in them. Several of our statesmen at the north have looked at the same subject but from a different point of view. Lord B. proposes to destroy the market, and thus prevent the supply, but our statesmen to stimulate the market and thus exhaust the supply! (See resolutions introduced into the Connecticut legislature.) It is astonishing that any one can put forth such an argument. Can we wish for a more active slave market to drain off slaves from the upper slave states than what has existed for so long a time in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana? And what is the result? While there has been a reduction in Maryland and Delaware since 1790, of about 30,000, from 111,953 to 92,372—in Virginia there has been an increase of over 150,000, from 293,000 to 448,987.

* Institutions. Why the plural? Has the President ever charged her with aiming at more than one institution? Was it worthy of the President to have recourse to this petty sophistry, the "*Fallacia Accidentis*" of the Logicians?"

of England to procure the abolition of negro slavery in Texas; whether it is or is not contemplated in her policy to destroy or affect that institution as it exists in some of the states of our Union; what measures she has pursued and is pursuing for the accomplishment of those objects, or either of them. I can not, of course, point out to you the channels through which this information may be best acquired. It is probable that much may be learned by free communication with the Texan charge d'affaires in London. As that country and the United States have a common interest in the questions involved, there is every reason why their governments should understand each other. Much information may doubtless be obtained from private individuals and from the published proceedings of abolition societies."

It is to be regretted that the Secretary could not have pointed out the best channels of information, for discovering the policy of Great Britain on the subject of slavery. We have some reason to suspect that Mr. Everett has missed them; at any rate, we are just where we were before the scrutiny commenced. But as if to anticipate the failure of the private sources, the Secretary, after directing our minister to interrogate individuals, closet himself with the Texan ambassador, and wade through the sea of anti-slavery documents in search of "confirmations strong as proof of Holy Writ," orders him to forsake the "secondary channels," and go to the fountain head, Lord Aberdeen himself. There are many extraordinary things in these documents, but we give the palm to the above quoted paragraph. We intended to italicize a few expressions, but found we should be obliged to mark the whole, and gave it up. We do not now know whether to regard it as a rich specimen of honest simplicity, or a mock-heroic prelude to our entrance as a nation upon the field of combat in defense of slavery. We incline to think our government was honestly frightened, and thought Great Britain had some designs against the well being of slavery. But whether it be the one or the other, it is as easy to see the position of our government, as if it had come

out boldly and said, We are opposed to the policy of England, by argument to persuade the slaveholding nations to abolish slavery; and we are determined to use the same means, the moral influence of our government, to persuade them not to abolish slavery, and, to prevent even the possibility of it in the case of Texas, will join it on to ourselves.

We may be as fretful and uneasy as we please about it, but the providence of God is most manifestly making the abolition of slavery throughout the Christian world, the grand question of this age. It is the next, or one of the next great steps which the world is to take in civilization—the abolition of slavery and the elevation of the negro race. The question has already passed from the control of individuals and societies and parties, to influence the action of nations. God in his wise providence has brought the nations of the world to the choice, of acting for the abolition of slavery or against it; and our government has chosen to support the cause of slavery.

We have entered the field of argument and influence. England undertakes to persuade Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas, with the design of procuring the abolition of slavery there. We enter the field of negotiation against her, and defeat her designs by a treaty to join Texas to ourselves. England tries to persuade Texas it would be best for her to abolish slavery; we argue against it. England proclaims her policy to use all peaceful means for the abolition of slavery. We make our proclamation for the perpetuity of slavery. Now, this is fair on both sides. We have a right, as Mr. Upshur contends, to counteract her influence both in Mexico and Texas. Our government has a right to use all its influence to arrest in its first beginnings any movement towards the abolition of slavery. We do not deny that; what we say is, that our government has actually exercised this right—she has actually taken her position in favor of perpetual slavery

on this continent—she has chosen her place of defense in this great moral attack of the age upon slavery. We are called upon, therefore, to annex Texas to our country, not as so much territory, but to prevent the abolition of slavery in it—and not merely to prevent it there, but to prevent it every where else—to take our stand at the head of the host, if we do not rather constitute the whole body, and do moral battle for slavery.

We said above that our government had entered the field of argument in favor of slavery. Accordingly, along with the public despatch, Mr. Upshur sends an argument in the form of a semi-official letter to Mr. Everett, upon the evils which must result from the abolition of slavery in Texas, and, as a result of that, in the United States. We will give the substance of it. He endeavors to show, *first*, that the negroes would be obliged to flee from the present slave states into the free, because their present owners could not be expected to endure their presence as freemen; that these exiles would become either paupers or laborers,—if paupers, they would be a great burden to the free states,—if laborers, they would excite the ill will of the white laborers, or if they were permitted a fair share of labor, it would degrade labor as unworthy of the white man, and it is not the policy of these states or of England thus to degrade labor. Besides, they would soon demand social and political privileges, and this would lead to discord and angry contests destructive of the tranquillity and prosperity of the country. Their condition, therefore, would be sufficiently hard if they should migrate to the free states. But it is still worse to remain at home; for “the only alternative would be the extermination of the race.” Whence, says Mr. Upshur, “So far then as the slaves themselves are concerned, their condition would be infinitely worse than it now is, while their influence as freemen upon our manners and social condition would not fail to be in the highest degree unfavorable.” He then proceeds to

other evils. *The second* is, that all the liberated blacks being withdrawn or exterminated, the whole productive industry of the south would be destroyed—fields untilled—houses decayed—lands worthless—creditors unpaid—credit gone. This conclusion is so dreadful, we can not but suspect there is some mistake in the premises. Perhaps a wise legislation might contrive some method of keeping the liberated blacks as hired laborers. But we are not arguing that point; we only wish to show the argument of our government—and we see if it proves any thing, it proves the perpetuity of slavery. *The third evil* is this. As the southern states would not be able to raise cotton, three-fourths of the exports would be cut off. This contraction of the exports would curtail three-fourths of the imports. The diminution of the imports would to that extent diminish the revenue. This state of the revenue would make direct taxation necessary. But, direct taxes could not be very well adjusted, and besides the people would not be rich enough to pay them. Hence, the destruction of government. These are alarming conclusions, and perhaps they could not be avoided *if* the original supposition is correct—if all the blacks must leave or be exterminated, and no other laborers should take their place. We are not now upon that question; it is enough that our government proclaims the perpetuity of slavery as necessary to our existence. *The fourth evil* is, as there would be no cotton grown, our manufactures would suffer, and along with them, canals, railroads, and all similar improvements. Such are the evils of the abolition of slavery in the United States—and such, in part, the first exploit of our government on the field of argument in the cause of slavery.

But this is not the whole of it. The Secretary proceeds to consider what would be the effects upon the United States of abolition in Texas. He pursues the same train of thought as in his letter to Mr. Murphy, which we have already examined. Free-

dom there would harass slavery here by draining off all the slaves—and that would lead to war. *Besides*, England having persuaded Texas to abolish slavery, would demand and obtain privileges for introducing her manufactures at a lower duty than our own, and thus not only drive ours from that market, but through the Texan frontier would flood our whole southwestern region with her goods, to the destruction of our tariff. *Besides all this*, with slavery abolished in the United States and Texas, it could not be maintained in Cuba,—and England, the destroying angel, going about to increase her power by deeds of benevolence, would get that island.

Thus our government argues in its support of slavery, that its abolition would be a curse to the blacks, and therefore we will have Texas to prevent the first step in it—and a curse to ourselves, and therefore we will enjoy the blessing forever. In addition, we charge the British government with foreseeing all these evils, and laboring to bring about the abolition of slavery just to produce them, in order to promote her own commercial and manufacturing interests. "It is impossible to suppose that England is actuated in this matter by a mere feeling of philanthropy."

We have thus examined the despatches which were forwarded to Texas and England, on the reception of the secret information from the gentleman of Maryland. That information was, that a plan had been formed in London and favored by the British government, to abolish slavery in Texas. We have seen that the secret was communicated in full to Mr. Murphy. It is a little remarkable that not a word is said of it in the despatch or confidential letter to Mr. Everett, but his attention is called to the remarks of Lord Brougham and Lord Aberdeen in the House of Lords. There were perhaps reasons of state. Possibly Lord Brougham and Lord Aberdeen were suspected of being in the plot.

We have seen what disastrous effects were produced on Mr. Murphy

by the communication from our government. The correspondence with England does not appear to have raised those aerial commotions in London which had been experienced in Galveston. Whether Mr. Everett made any use of the argument in defense of the perpetuity of slavery furnished by our government, we are not informed. Indeed, we are in doubt whether it was intended for the edification of our minister or of the British government. But Mr. E. proceeds immediately to obtain from Lord Aberdeen the categorical answers asked by our government to the questions it had proposed—"Whether it is or is not the design of England," &c. Mr. Everett maintains his gravity on the occasion with admirable effect. Lord Aberdeen is equally grave. Mr. Everett asks for the most precise information. Lord Aberdeen is equally ready to grant it, and uses some of our own nicely culled phrases on this "delicate" subject. President Van Buren, in his letter on annexation, remarks that in its intercourse with the Spanish government, our government had always made allowance for a certain pomposity of phrase on her part. It has occurred to us several times that Lord Aberdeen has accommodated himself in the same way to a certain delicacy of phraseology which we have adopted in speaking of slavery. But we give his reply.

"Lord Aberdeen said he was glad I had mentioned this subject, for it was one on which he intended himself to make some observations. His attention had been called to some suggestions in the American papers in favor of the annexation of Texas to the Union, by way of counteracting the designs imputed to England; and he would say, that if this measure were undertaken on any such grounds, it would be wholly without provocation. England had acknowledged the independence of Texas, and had treated and would continue to treat her as an independent power. That England had long been pledged to encourage the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, as far as her influence extended, and in every proper way, but had no wish to interfere in the internal concerns of foreign governments. She gave her advice where she thought it

would be acceptable, in favor of the abolition of slavery, but nothing more. In reference to Texas, the suggestion that England had made or intended to make the abolition of slavery the condition of any treaty arrangement with her, was wholly without foundation."

No language can be plainer. An explanation would only confuse the clearness of our conceptions. Our government has found that the information of the gentleman of Maryland amounted to nothing but what every body knew before, and that England stood in no other relation to Mexico and Texas, or to slavery, than what she had for a long time maintained.

Our government is now distinctly informed where the government of Great Britain and the people of England stand on the question of the universal abolition of slavery. It is on the side of emancipation, with the fixed determination to use all the influence of its advice and persuasion to this end, and nothing but such influence. Our government as deliberately takes its position on the side of the perpetuity of slavery. It determines to meet England on the field of argument. Accordingly, Mr. Upshur in his next letter to Mr. Murphy, which must have been written after hearing from Mr. Everett, (his despatches being dated Nov. 3d and 16th, and this Jan. 16th, 1844,) dwells at length and with much eloquence "upon the absolute necessity of annexation to the interests, and possibly the safety of both countries." He also sends him his argument against the abolition of slavery in Texas, which he had before sent to England. The object is, to guard against the influence of England in Texas, and among other things he says—

"But this is not all. If Texas should refuse to come into our Union, measures will instantly be taken to fill her territory with emigrants from Europe. Extensive arrangements for this are already made, and they will be carried into effect as soon as the decision of Texas shall be known. These emigrants will bring with them European feelings and European opinions. Emigration from the United States will cease; at all events, the people of the

southern states will not run the hazard of subjecting their slave property to the control of a population who are anxious to abolish slavery. Texas will soon cease to be an American state. Her population, her politics, and her manners, will stamp her as European. This fact alone will destroy the sympathy which now exists between that country and this.

"But the first measure of the new emigrants, as soon as they shall have sufficient strength, will be to destroy that great domestic institution upon which so much of the prosperity of our southern country depends. To this England will stimulate them, and she will also furnish the means of accomplishing it. I have commented upon this topic in the despatch to Mr. Everett. I will only add, that if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she can not maintain that institution ten years, and probably not half that time.

Here it is. Texas must be joined to us because, left to herself, she can not maintain slavery ten years. He then depicts in a strain of powerful writing, the horrors which would result from that occurrence. It is to be observed that this was written after all pretense of any special design on the part of England to abolish slavery in Texas was abandoned. Our government had nothing to fear from England but her moral influence as a government hostile to the existence of slavery. But she still continues to urge, and in this letter with earnest entreaty, the annexation on the ground of preventing the influence of Great Britain from abolishing slavery there. Our government, therefore, brings its influence into the field against the influence of Great Britain on the question of the perpetuation of slavery.*

* As we here part with Mr. Upshur, we think it proper to say that his part of the correspondence is extremely well written, and, if we admit the correctness of his opinions respecting slavery, well reasoned. He has undoubtedly seen the real danger which threatens the slave system—the moral influence of the civilized and Christian world actively directed against it,—and has labored to arrest it. He has failed only because no power can resist that influence. Alas, how much talent, how much honorable fame has been sacrificed on the altar of slavery!

But we will make this still plainer. Lord Aberdeen, to prevent the possibility of mistake as to the views of the British government in relation to slavery, sends a despatch to Mr. Packenham for our government, which, for accuracy of expression and precision of statement, can not be surpassed. We have determined to present it to our readers and we ask for it an attentive perusal.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, Dec. 26, 1843.

"Sir:—As much agitation appears to have prevailed of late in the United States relative to the designs which Great Britain is supposed to entertain with regard to the Republic of Texas, Her Majesty's government deem it expedient to take measures for stopping at once the misrepresentations which have been circulated, and the errors into which the government of the United States seems to have fallen on the subject of the policy of Great Britain with respect to Texas. That policy is clear and simple, and may be stated in a few words.

"Great Britain has recognized the independence of Texas, and, having done so, she is desirous of seeing that independence finally and formally established, and generally recognized, especially by Mexico. But this desire does not arise from any motive of ambition or of self-interest, at least, which attaches to the general extension of our commercial dealings with other countries.

"We are convinced that the recognition of Texas by Mexico must conduce to the benefit of both these countries, and, as we take an interest in the well being of both, and in their steady advance in power and wealth, we have put ourselves forward in pressing the government of Mexico to acknowledge Texas as independent. But in thus acting we have no occult design, either with reference to any peculiar interest which we might seek to establish in Mexico or in Texas, or even with reference to the slavery which now exists, and which we desire to see abolished in Texas.

"With regard to the latter point, it must be and is well known both to the United States and to the whole world, that Great Britain desires, and is constantly exerting herself to procure, the general abolition of slavery throughout the world. But the means which she has adopted, and will continue to adopt, for this humane and virtuous purpose, are open and undisguised. She will do nothing secretly or underhand. She desires that her motives may be generally understood, and her acts seen by all.

"With regard to Texas, we avow

that we wish to see slavery abolished there, as elsewhere, and we should rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican government should be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas to abolish slavery eventually, and under proper conditions, throughout the Republic. But although we earnestly desire and feel it to be our duty to promote such a consummation, we shall not interfere unduly, or with an improper assumption of authority, with either party, in order to ensure the adoption of such a course. We shall counsel, but we shall not seek to compel, or unduly control, either party. So far as Great Britain is concerned, provided other states act with equal forbearance, those governments will be fully at liberty to make their own unfettered arrangements with each other, both in regard to the abolition of slavery and to all other points.

"Great Britain, moreover, does not desire to establish in Texas, whether partially dependent on Mexico or entirely independent, (which latter alternative we consider in every respect preferable) any dominant influence. She only desires to share her influence equally with all other nations. Her objects are purely commercial, and she has no thought or intention of seeking to act, directly or indirectly, in a political sense, on the United States through Texas.

"The British government, as the United States well know, have never sought in any way to stir up disaffection or excitement of any kind in the slaveholding States of the American Union. Much as we should wish to see those States placed on the firm and solid footing which we conscientiously believe is to be attained by general freedom alone, we have never in our treatment of them made any difference between the slaveholding and free States of the Union. All are, in our eyes, entitled, as component members of the Union, to equal political respect, favor, and forbearance, on our part. To that wise and just policy we shall continue to adhere; and the governments of the slaveholding States may be assured that, although we shall not desist from those open and honest efforts which we have constantly made for procuring the abolition of slavery throughout the world, we shall neither openly nor secretly resort to any measures which can tend to disturb their internal tranquillity, or thereby to affect the prosperity of the American Union.

"You will communicate this dispatch to the United States Secretary of State, and if he should desire it, you will leave a copy of it with him.

I am, &c., ABERDEEN.
Right Hon. RICHARD PACKENHAM, &c."

If our government still continues to place the annexation on the ground of counteracting the designs of Great Britain to abolish slavery in Texas, it is to counteract "the desires"—"the counsels" of Great Britain and nothing more. There is no secret plot—there is no management with Mexico to get her to acknowledge the independence of Texas on the condition of abolishing slavery—there is nothing but desires, advice, persuasion, argument. Our government is under no necessity to place the annexation on the ground of slavery at all. Texas is a fine country and the people wish to live under our government, and that might be a sufficient ground, if we should accede to it. But it does not do this. It takes the ground of counteracting the moral influence of Great Britain. Great Britain "desires and is constantly exerting herself to procure the general abolition of slavery throughout the world." Our government desires the perpetual existence of slavery and is exerting itself to annex Texas to this country to accomplish it. Great Britain wishes to see slavery abolished in Texas. Our government wishes to see it perpetuated there. Great Britain counsels Texas to do away with slavery; we urge her to keep it. Great Britain brings her mighty moral power to bear in all proper and peaceful ways against slavery. Our government uses the irresistible energy of this people to maintain it.

Mr. Calhoun in reply to Lord Aberdeen, says, that the President "regards with deep concern the avowal, for the first time made to this government, 'that Great Britain desires and is constantly exerting herself to procure the general abolition of slavery throughout the world.'" But there is not a philanthropist out of the regions of slavery, that does not rejoice at it. All civilized governments but our own, rejoice at it. The whole church rejoices at it. And, we believe, that the Sovereign of the Universe, who holds the nations in

the hollow of his hands, looks down upon it from his throne of justice, and mercy and love, with approbation.

We quote another paragraph :

"It is with still deeper concern the President regards the avowal of Lord Aberdeen, of the desire of Great Britain to see slavery abolished in Texas; and, as he infers, is endeavoring, through her diplomacy, to accomplish it, by making the abolition of slavery one of the conditions on which Mexico should acknowledge her independence. It has confirmed his previous impressions as to the policy of Great Britain in reference to Texas, and made it his duty to examine with much care and solicitude what would be its effects on the prosperity and safety of the United States, should she succeed in her endeavors."

The result of that careful examination was, that Texas might yield to the counsels of Great Britain, and abolish slavery, and that that "would place in the power of Great Britain the most efficient means of affecting in the neighboring States of this Union what she avows to be her desire to do in all countries where slavery exists." That is to say, Great Britain might thereby be better able to argue the question of slavery with the neighboring States and persuade them by her advice to abolish slavery. For counsel, advice and argument, is all she avows a desire to use. And how does the government answer the arguments and persuasions of England? We dare not use our own language lest we should not be believed. We quote again :

"To hazard consequences which would be so dangerous to the prosperity and safety of the Union, [that is, the danger of slaveholders being persuaded by the advice and arguments of Great Britain to abolish slavery,] without resorting to the most effective measures to prevent them, would be, on the part of the Federal Government, an abandonment of the most solemn obligation imposed by the guarantee which the States, in adopting the Constitution, entered into to protect each other against whatever might endanger their safety, whether from without or within. Acting in obedience to this obligation, on which our federal system of

government rests, the President directs me to inform you that a treaty has been concluded between the United States and Texas, for the annexation of the latter to the former as a part of its territory."

Thus, not only has the government adopted it as a measure of policy, to counteract the influence of England against slavery, but it regards it as a constitutional obligation.

We are bound by the Constitution to annex Texas and every other neighboring country, where there is any danger that the arguments of England may avail to the overthrow of slavery. This, by their allegiance to the Constitution the people owe to the slaveholding States; and there will be nullification, we suppose, if it is not done, and the dissolution of the Union from those who say that the government has nothing to do with slavery—*nothing to do with it but to make it perpetual here and everywhere else.*

Can there be anything beyond this? We know not that our readers will agree with us, but we think Mr. Calhoun has even exceeded himself. He was not satisfied to counteract the "counsels" of Great Britain by the treaty, but he must meet argument with argument. And such an argument! According to which emancipation has not only made negroes deaf, dumb, blind, insane, idiotic and vicious, but it has made four insane negroes in a town of Maine out of one, and in some towns several out of none at all! and converted the one hundred and thirty-three lunatics and idiots supported at the public expense in the State Hospital at Worcester, into so many colored ones!*

But we must come to a close. We think we have shown beyond room for cavil that our government in the documents of this transaction, has placed this nation in the front rank of the supporters of perpetual slavery—that it has pledged us to

maintain the cause of servitude against the whole civilized and Christian world, and that in the case of Texas, we are to annex it to this country, not as so much territory, but to anticipate and to provide against the danger that Texas might yield to the counsel of Great Britain and abolish slavery.

It may be thought that the rejection of the treaty is a rejection of the principles upon which it was negotiated; and that the question now before the people is to be placed on different grounds. We can not so regard it. The matter of fact is, that the government was under the control of southern statesmen, who, in these documents, doubtless express the wishes, and sentiments, and principles of *the great body* of the southern people. These are just the same now as they were before the treaty was rejected, and if Texas comes into the Union, it will be brought in by that portion of the people who hold them. We go farther. If the slaveholding States are fully determined that slavery shall be perpetuated forever—if they are fixed upon this point that they and their descendants through all generations must have slaves or be ruined, then we say that Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. McDuffie, and other leading statesmen of the south, have adopted the only policy adapted to secure that end. The abolition of slavery is, as we have before said, the great moral question of the age. It is the grand question in civilization which is now before the world. It has, therefore, concentrated upon itself, more talents, more piety, and hope, and benevolence, more energy and zeal than, taking the world through, all other questions, and it is yearly becoming more and more engrossing. It would be idle for southern statesmen to blind their eyes to the fact, that the excitement among the people against slavery is not the sudden ebullition of enthusiasm, but the permanent feeling of wise and sober minded men—that the movement against it is not the movement of a

* See Jarvis on Insanity among the colored population. Am. Jour. Med. Science, January, 1844, Philadelphia.

few, soon to stop, but of the great body of all free and civilized communities—that, instead of diminishing, conscientious hostility to slavery is becoming fixed deeper and deeper in the hearts of Christians throughout the church—that the current of the literature of the world is setting stronger and stronger against it, and that the governments of the earth have been found to take their stand against it. They are not blind to this fact, and they know where the danger lies. They know that the danger is not that slavery will be overthrown by violence—not that it will be abolished by legislative enactments in Congress—not that it will be undermined by foreign intrigue, but it is, that the consciences of slaveholders themselves may be reached and conquered; it is, that they themselves can not always resist the earnest appeals of the Christian church and the convictions of the best portions of mankind formed after long deliberation, of the wrongfulness of slavery, and the public opinion of the world, manifested in literature, and in social and public life.

Hence, with broad forecast the leading statesmen and scholars of the south have for some time past striven to unite the southern people in the common sentiment that slavery is a real blessing, or at any rate can never be abolished; and, when of late the opportunity was most unexpectedly placed within their reach, they eagerly seized upon it to bring the example and the whole authority of this nation on the side of the perpetuity of slavery, in order to meet and counteract the influence of other nations and the public opinion of the world. This is what Texas is wanted for. Mr. Tyler may be influenced by a ridiculous ambition; others may have still less worthy motives, but the really great statesmen of the south have taken a far wider view. They desire Texas for no personal motives—they do not desire it as so

much territory—they desire it, to destroy the possibility of abolishing slavery there—they desire it, above all, because they want the example and authority of the government on the side of perpetual slavery. It was no hasty and inconsiderate declaration of Mr. Calhoun, that the people of the United States are bound by the Constitution, not merely not to interfere with slavery for its overthrow, but to do for it what each State as an independent sovereignty would have done for its safety against damage from *without* or *within*. He would have the broad shield of the Constitution and of the nation cast around the system of slavery as a perpetual institution against the public opinion of the world.

The question, then, is not changed by the rejection of the treaty. The ground exists now as before, and the same men are engaged in it. Indeed, we are not sure but that the rejection will be an advantage to them. For, having with wonderful skill and sagacity joined the question of the perpetuity of slavery with the ascendancy of democratic principles, if they succeed, they will have committed not merely the government but the nation to the cause of perpetual slavery. This question, and this particular aspect of it, has been forced upon the country. The subject which both the great parties have agreed in keeping apart from the contests of politics, is now brought to the ballot-box. Let it be remembered, then, that the true question is, not whether Texas shall be united to us in spite of its slavery, but whether it shall be united to us on purpose to perpetuate slavery there and everywhere else. Let it be remembered that the true question is, whether the people of this nation shall by a direct vote proclaim themselves the supporters of perpetual slavery against the civilized and Christian world?

THE PHILADELPHIA RIOTS.

THE city and county of Philadelphia have gained an unenviable distinction of late years, as the theatre of popular tumults. In fact it would seem that if any great ecclesiastical strife, like that of the Presbyterians, or the Friends, is to agitate the community, or any moral or political question, like that of Abolition, or Naturalization, is to excite rancorous discussions and lead to violence and bloodshed, the city of "brotherly love" is chosen as the scene of action, as a burlesque upon the name. Though almost every city of the Union has been disgraced by riots, though even the sober capital of New England has in its environs the blackened ruins of a convent as a monument of the fury of a mob, Philadelphia is most conspicuous for scenes of disorder and outrage. Who has not heard of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall?—of the destruction of the dwellings and even the lives of the blacks, and the driving of many of their wives and children to the opposite Jersey shore, to remain for days in terror without food or shelter, to punish them for receiving the attention of certain white ladies and gentlemen whose tastes led them that way, or to teach them to discriminate between the inside and outside of the walk? Who has not heard of the railroad riots, in which the track of the Philadelphia and Trenton railroad was torn up by the inhabitants of the Kensington district, (through some misunderstanding with the company,) and the men employed to re-lay it were driven from their work with clubs and stones and even with fire arms? Who has not heard of the "strikes" among the weavers and other classes of laboring men, and of their riotous proceedings against the property and persons of their employers, or of those of their

own class who refused to unite with them? Who has not heard of the weekly desecration of the Sabbath by the collisions of rival fire companies, resulting often in bloodshed and death? Who has not heard—but we will not continue the painful enumeration.

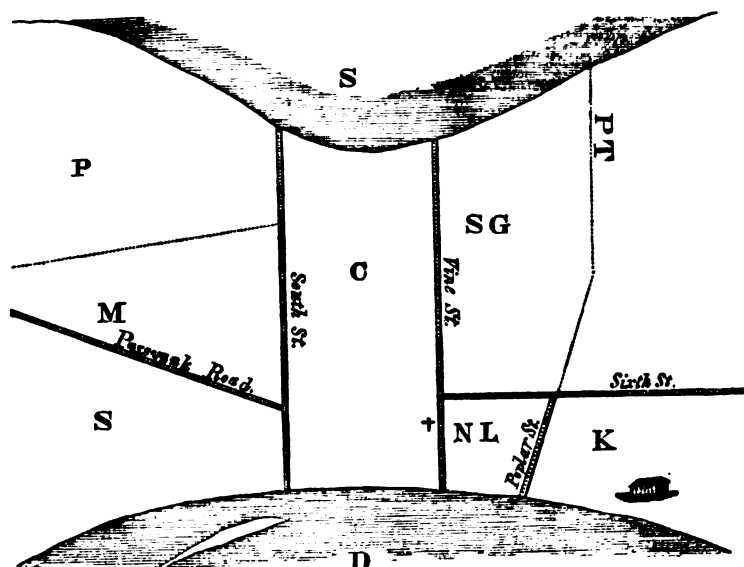
Of late, however, Philadelphia has outdone herself in scenes of popular violence; and the 6th, 7th, and 8th of May, will hereafter be remembered as her *trois jours*, though of a different stamp from those of Paris.

In offering a few reflections upon the events of those days it will be necessary for us to exhibit the more important of them in the form of a consecutive narrative. We shall first attempt to give our readers a definite idea of the locality of these riots. It is difficult for one not familiar with the manner in which Philadelphia is districted, to understand how a mob can so easily gain the ascendancy there; and much gratuitous reproach is heaped upon the authorities of the city for not regulating that which in reality lies beyond their control.

Philadelphia lies between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, a few miles above their junction. These rivers, two miles apart, constitute its eastern and western boundaries. The streets parallel with the river, (i. e. running north and south,) are regularly numbered from each river to a street near the centre of the city called Broad street. These streets are intersected at right angles by others running east and west from river to river. That which is commonly called Philadelphia extends in its greatest length about four miles from north to south; but the city proper extends only one mile in that direction. Adjacent to the city, and separated from it and from each

other only by imaginary lines, are several districts, most of which are incorporated and have their own mu-

nicipal authorities and regulations. This division will be made more intelligible by the following plan :



The city proper covers only the space lying between Vine and South streets, and the two rivers ; (about two square miles,) indicated by the letter C. It is inferior both in population and territorial extent to the districts which surround it. Directly north of the city, and separated from it only by the imaginary boundary represented by the dotted line in the centre of Vine street, is the district of Northern Liberties, (N. L.) extending from Vine to Poplar streets, and from Sixth street to the Delaware. This district is compactly built and is under the jurisdiction of its own Mayor and Aldermen. Adjacent to this district is that of Spring Garden, (S. G.) extending from Vine to Poplar streets, and from Sixth street to the Schuylkill. The importance of this district and its entire independence, may be inferred from the fact that permission has been granted to its inhabitants by the legislature of the State, to construct a new dam across the Schuylkill and supply them-

selves with water, because the city councils have refused to furnish it to them at the same rate at which it is furnished to the residents of the city proper. Further north are the districts of Kensington, (K.) and Penn Township, (P. T.) ; south of the city are those of Southwark, Moyamensing and Passyunk, (S. M. and P.)

The recent riots originated in the district of Kensington ; more than a mile north of the city limits. The Mayor of the city, therefore, had no authority whatever to suppress them. He becomes a private citizen of Philadelphia County the moment he crosses Vine street. Nor could the Mayor of the Northern Liberties exert his official power to quell the disturbance, for that power is limited by Poplar street. The Sheriff of the County, whose authority extends alike over the city and districts, and the Aldermen of Kensington, were alone empowered to disperse the mob.

We believe that the plan of gov-

erning a compact community essentially one, by sections or districts, with no common centre or head, is peculiar to Philadelphia.* Though designed to facilitate the administration of government, it has proved to be a most unfortunate arrangement. No one district could conveniently maintain at all times a sufficient number of police officers to preserve the peace, when the disorderly of all the adjacent districts should concentrate within its limits; and in some of the smaller districts the turbulent portion of the populace may hold the balance of political power, and intimidate the officers of justice by threatening to deprive them of their honors if they impose any restraints upon the "sovereign people." Of course, the authorities of one district can not interfere in the concerns of another, unless called upon by the Sheriff as a part of the *posse comitatus*.

A worthy justice of the peace in the Massachusetts colony, stopping one night at a tavern in Rhode Island, was so much annoyed by the frolics of some drunken sailors in the house, that he went in among them and commanded the King's peace. Finding himself ridiculed and insulted, he was about to enforce the law, when "mine host" took him aside and told him that

however much of a dignitary he might be in Massachusetts, he was nothing but a common subject in Rhode Island. Returning home with his head somewhat addled by this new discovery, he was called upon soon after to perform the marriage ceremony. Determined now to keep within his own jurisdiction, he pronounced the couple to be man and wife as long as they should remain within his district, but told them to look out for themselves if ever they should remove beyond it. We imagine that public officers in Philadelphia must often sympathise with the colonial justice in his perplexity.

Yet this arrangement has been so long in existence that it is likely to be permanent. It opens too many avenues to office in the several districts to be voluntarily relinquished by them. We think, however, that experience has shown the necessity of a more consolidated government. Most of the disgraceful conflicts among the firemen of Philadelphia are chargeable upon a few rival fire companies in the districts, and not upon those of the city proper, though they have sometimes chosen the city as their battle ground. They generally come into collision in some quarter where the police force is not strong enough to overpower them, or if in danger of being apprehended in one section they take refuge in another. A disturber of the peace has only to run beyond a certain street to put himself out of the reach of his pursuers; for though the constable or watchman beyond his own district might exercise the right belonging to every citizen to arrest an offender and detain him till the arrival of the proper officer, yet the process becomes in this way too inconvenient and complicated to be always attempted. Even the canine race seem to be aware of this distinction; and the hunted victim of city "dog laws" will make his way, as if by instinct, to some district in which his rights are more

* Something of this sort exists in London, where it has been a fruitful source of corruption, and in New Orleans. New Orleans is divided into three municipalities; but there is a natural ground for such a division in the distinctive characteristics and languages of different classes of its citizens. There are no natural boundaries to separate one part of Philadelphia from another; to the eye it is all one city; its inhabitants have the same interests and pursuits, they are one body and ought to have one head. The representative of their interests in the State legislature or in Congress, ought not to be the representative of a ward or district, but of one great community, all whose representatives feel the pulsations of one heart.

respected; though his escape brings down a fearful retaliation upon the head of the first luckless mastiff that enters the city limits.

The recent riots, as we have said, began in Kensington, though they afterwards extended to the city proper. Concerning their origin, there can be but one opinion, especially since the grand jury, to whom the whole matter was referred, have made their presentment after an elaborate and impartial investigation. We have taken much pains to collect those Philadelphia newspapers which are the organs of all parties and of none; we have carefully compared the statements made on all sides, both during the exciting scenes of the riots, and in the cooler moments of reflection; we have availed ourselves of the testimony of eye witnesses of the doings of the mob, and are prepared, we trust, to make a candid and accurate statement of the whole case.

The boldness and the degree of success with which Bishop Hughes and his coadjutors urged the expulsion of the Bible from the public schools in New York, encouraged the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia to make a similar attempt in that city. This led at first to a concession on the part of the Controllers of the Schools, to the effect that Roman Catholic children should not be required to be present during the reading of the Scriptures, or should be allowed to read the version of their own church. But this arrangement did not put the question at rest. It was still agitated in various public assemblies, and, as in New York, was carried to the polls. A 'Native American' party was organized, which, though in its infancy, carried several wards of the city and county in the spring elections of the present year. The efforts to eject the Bible from the public schools, proved abortive even in Kensington, where the Roman Catholics exhibited their greatest strength. Their

bishop perceiving that the agitation of the subject was premature, attempted to allay popular excitement by publishing the following card:

To the Controllers of the Public Schools for the City and County of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN:—In the month of November, 1842, I had the honor to address you in regard to Catholics frequenting the public schools, whose consciences were aggrieved by being compelled to read the Protestant version of the Bible, and to join in religious exercises. Your board was pleased to adopt some resolutions directed to remedy their grievances, for which the Catholic community, as well as myself, feel justly grateful. I have, however, been assured that these resolutions have not been put in execution by several of the teachers, who have continued to require the reading of the Protestant version by Catholic children, who have otherwise interfered with their religious convictions. I venture then to respectfully request, that your board will be pleased to see that the resolutions be respected by the teachers and directors in all the schools; at the same time I think proper to state, that *I do not object to the use of the Bible, provided Catholic children be allowed to use their own version.* I have thought this statement necessary at the present crisis, to remove all misconception. The Catholic community, whose sentiments I express, desire only that the conscientious convictions of the children and their parents be respected. Confiding in the justice of your board, I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
FRANCIS PATRICK,
Bishop of Philadelphia.
Philadelphia, March 12, 1844.

The discussion of the 'school question,' however, as it is familiarly termed, was every where leading to the discussion of the more absorbing question respecting the naturalization of foreigners. The wonderful success of the Native American party in New York, which came like a thunderbolt on the political world, inspired the infant party in Philadelphia with fresh confidence in their cause. A large and enthusiastic meeting was held in that city, on the 15th of April, to rejoice over the result of the New York city election. The writer happened to be there at the time, and found the new party fast growing in popular

favor. Frequent meetings were held during the month of April in various parts of the city and districts, for the purpose of unfolding the principles and increasing the strength of this party. At length it was resolved to hold such a meeting in Kensington. The third ward of this district is a strong quarter of the Irish catholic population, though they do not constitute by any means a majority of the whole district. Kensington has long been infamous as the scene or the source of those outrages which have disgraced the country of Philadelphia.

The assembling of the Native American party in such a district, has been condemned by some as a measure designed to exasperate the Irish. But there is no proof of such a design. Although the Irish are numerous in the vicinity of the place selected for the meeting, they are neither the sole occupants of the district nor a majority of its inhabitants. And what if they were? Is any thing more common than for a political party to hold its meetings in the very heart of a district known to be opposed to it? And is not such a fact one of the finest exemplifications of the spirit of our institutions? Why should the Native American party avoid a district inhabited by Irishmen as if it was infected with the plague? Do Irishmen confine their repeal meetings, which are suspected by many of having some sinister political design, and which are far from commending themselves even to many who most earnestly desire the independence of Ireland,—are they particular to confine these meetings to such districts or neighborhoods as are known to sanction them? It is true that a meeting convened for a lawful object may be convened at such a time and in such circumstances as to lead to a breach of the peace, and thus become itself an unlawful assembly. Judge Parsons in his charge to the grand jury, as-

serts that “if Protestants should convene their meeting in front of a Catholic church when the congregation were assembled for worship according to their belief, and indulge in a denunciation of Catholicism, they would be guilty of a riot, although the discussion at another time and place would be innocent. The occasion they embrace under such circumstances, interferes with the rights of others, and their acts are calculated to lead to a breach of the peace.”

We admit that such a step might be a mere provocation, and therefore unjustifiable. Yet the principle involved in the illustration would have made Paul a rioter at Athens, Lystra and Philippi. But the Native American party, in the case before us, offered no such gratuitous insult to the Irish Catholics. They assembled neither in front of their churches nor of their dwellings, but upon a vacant lot adjoining one of the public schools; they assembled peacefully, for the purpose of expounding their principles and of encouraging each other to sustain them. They were exercising one of the most common rights of American citizens,—a right as dear to naturalized as to native born citizens,—a right which they could not have supposed would be seriously questioned, and which, if questioned, they were bound to maintain. Yet in the exercise of this simple right they were molested, and even violently assailed. We can not find terms too strong to denounce such an outrage. The grand jury felt justly that it demanded severe animadversion from them. They say in view of it—

“The disturbance of public meetings for political, moral or social purposes, as well as those of a religious character, can not be too severely condemned. The right of all mankind to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and that of peaceably assembling for the expression of their opinions upon public affairs, is of the highest importance and should be fully protected. It is a fact worthy of particular notice, that the most destructive riots at various periods for

some years past, have originated in an unjust and grossly unreasonable disposition to suppress these rights, justly deemed of the greatest magnitude by the founders of our liberties."

But let us look at particulars. The meeting referred to was held according to notice on a vacant lot at the corner of Second and Master sts., on the afternoon of Friday, May 3, 1844. This meeting, as far as we can ascertain, was conducted with as much order and decorum as is usual in political meetings held in the open air. But it was soon interrupted by an assault from a large concourse of Irish men and *women*, rushing simultaneously toward the platform, which they speedily demolished, compelling the officers of the meeting, and in fact the whole body of native Americans, who were comparatively few, to flee under a shower of missiles, accompanied with shouts, oaths, hisses and groans. It is asserted that the assault was preconcerted by the Irish, and that they had openly threatened it. This is altogether probable, but we have no means of ascertaining that such was the fact. That the assault was made by the Irish, and that too without any other provocation than the discussion of the principles of the Native American party in their neighborhood, is admitted by the Roman Catholics themselves. One of their leading organs makes the following statement:

"The third ward, Kensington, where the disturbances commenced, is a strong Irish quarter of the city. Knowing this, the 'Natives' called a meeting there on Friday, the 3d inst. As might be expected, and as the originators of the meeting no doubt desired, there was a great excitement among the Irish population, and before the close of the proceeding, there was a trifling collision, and it was said the platform was broken."

This outrage upon a peaceable assembly of American citizens of course produced much excitement, not only among the Native American party, but among all native Americans throughout the city and county.

The excitement was increased, as is usual at such times, by the inflammatory tone of the newspapers, which, in commenting on the occurrence, expatiated largely upon the peculiar grossness of the outrage, as committed against native Americans by foreigners or naturalized citizens. Accordingly, on the Monday following, i. e., the 6th of May, the Native American party assembled in the same place in great numbers, for the avowed purpose of testing their right to meet even in the midst of the Irish without molestation. A principle was now at stake, which they could not sacrifice without a struggle. There is no evidence that they carried weapons with them to the place of concourse; they were without arms when they needed them. The meeting was organized, as before, upon an open lot adjoining the public school-house. The American flag was raised over the platform, and welcomed by three hearty cheers. The proceedings of the former meeting were read, and two or three addresses delivered, without interruption. A sudden shower then dispersed the multitude, most of whom took refuge in the market-house in an adjoining street. Here the meeting was re-organized; but scarcely had a speaker taken the stand, when a commotion occurred, from some unknown cause, in the outskirts of the assembly, followed by a scuffle among a few individuals, who were probably disconnected with the party. In this *melée*, clubs and stones were used, and a pistol was fired, at the report of which, the majority of the assembly dispersed precipitately.*

* The position of this market-house is represented in the plan. It is said that the disturbance in the market-house originated between a Protestant Irishman and a Catholic; and that the Protestant Irish, or Orangemen, were active participants in the riots. This is altogether probable, as there have heretofore been violent collisions between the Protestant and Catholic Irishmen of Philadelphia.

But the Irish from the neighboring houses now rushed out to join in the fray. Many of them had firearms, which they discharged upon the assembly, wounding several of the Native Americans, some of them mortally, and driving the whole party from the ground. The fugitives soon rallied, however, around the remnants of their flag, which the Irish had torn in shreds, and after a severe contest of an hour's duration, drove their antagonists from the street into their houses, many of which they assailed with stones and other missiles, demolishing the doors, windows and furniture. At this juncture (about 7 P. M.) the sheriff appeared on the ground, and order was in some degree restored. Later in the evening the rioting was renewed, by an attempt to destroy a Roman Catholic seminary in the vicinity, but the crowd was dispersed by a volley of musketry from the Irish. The well-loaded guns made fearful havoc; among others, an unoffending by-stander was instantly killed. The utmost confusion prevailed in the district through the night, though all demonstrations of violence ceased at 12 o'clock. During the night, and early the next day, several of the most conspicuous rioters, especially those Irishmen who were seen with fire-arms, were arrested and put under heavy bonds, or committed in default of

bail. A reward of \$1000 was offered by the Native Americans for the detection of the murderers.

On the next day, Tuesday, at 3 P. M., an immense meeting of Native Americans was held in Independence Square, in the city proper, a mile and a half from the scene of the outrages. Though the convoking of so large an assembly in the state of excitement which then pervaded the city and county may have been imprudent, the object of the meeting was proper and laudable. Resolutions were passed, insisting on the right of American citizens to assemble for the peaceable discussion of their common interests, condemning the recent outrageous interference with such a lawful assembly, and yet deprecating in the strongest terms any attempt to retaliate upon the aggressors. Addresses were made of a peaceable character, exhorting the assembly to forbearance and to a due respect for the laws; but the bare thought of the events of the preceding day, and especially the attempt of one of the speakers to picture their horrors, stimulated the passions of the multitude beyond the control of reason. Accordingly, at the close of the meeting, a large proportion of those assembled, instead of dispersing quietly to their homes, resolved, in spite of the remonstrances of several prominent members of the party, to go in procession to Kensington. They marched through the streets bearing aloft the tattered flag, and, by the side of it, a banner, with the inscription, in black letters, **THIS IS THE FLAG WHICH WAS TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT BY THE IRISH PAPISTS.** Nothing could exasperate the inflammable portion of American citizens more than the sight of their dishonored flag.

A few who were in the procession, anticipating a renewal of the conflicts of the preceding day, had provided themselves with pistols and other weapons; but the majority

The editor of the Daily Sun, having been accused of stirring up the passions of the mob on this occasion, has published the following vindication: "As *great stress* has been laid upon the 'violent and inflammatory speech' delivered by the editor of this paper at the meeting in Kensington, we have concluded, at the earnest entreaty of many of our friends, to publish it entire; and we feel assured that no individual can read it without acknowledging its truth. Our speech was as follows: 'Fellow citizens,—We have reached an important crisis!' We had proceeded thus far, and no farther, when the firing commenced." The sheriff had been requested to be present at this meeting with a force sufficient to protect it, and had refused.

were unarmed. On reaching the battle-ground, (for such it may well be termed,) an attempt was made to organize a meeting; but before this could be done, a shot was fired from a house opposite the market, and a young man in the assembly was instantly killed. This served as a signal for continued volleys from most of the surrounding buildings; for the Irish, having laid in stores of ammunition, were resolved to fight under cover of brick walls, without venturing again into the open street. This wholesale murder of their companions, without the least provocation, raised the excitement of the Native Americans to the highest pitch. They were exposed to the cowardly, assassin-like fire of the Irish, with no means of defense. Several hastened from the scene of action to procure muskets, and at length some forty or fifty presented themselves in front of the market, thus armed. They fought with desperation for nearly an hour, till their ranks were thinned, by the maiming or death of several of their number. But how unequal was the contest! The Irish were firing upon a compact company fully exposed in the street below them; the Americans were firing at individuals who were skulking behind chimneys and window-frames, or shooting through loop-holes in the walls of their houses. At length the Native Americans succeeded in setting fire to one of the buildings from which shot had poured forth upon them. The flames spread with great rapidity. In a short time between twenty and thirty dwellings were on fire, together with the market-house, which took fire by accident. The design was to burn those houses only from which guns had been fired by the Irish; but probably the innocent suffered with the guilty in the conflagration. Between 8 and 9 o'clock, a detachment of military arrived upon the ground, under the command of Brigadier General Cadwallader, who act-

ed with great promptness and decision during these trying scenes. Field-pieces, loaded with grape and canister, were planted so as to sweep two of the most turbulent streets, and the mob were at once intimidated. The General, however, had not yet been ordered by the sheriff to use the *dernier resort*. Under the protection of the military, the firemen, who had hitherto been restrained by the mob, succeeded in extinguishing the flames; but it was not till midnight that the fire was wholly subdued, and the mob dispersed. The Roman Catholic churches, and the dwellings of the Catholic Irish in the vicinity, were guarded by the military during the night, and no further disturbance occurred. Thus ended the second scene in this bloody drama. Probably some of the Irish were consumed in their dwellings; others were shot down in attempting to escape. Families were driven from their flaming houses, they knew not whither, exposed to the insults of a mob, whose fury had already made them mourners for a husband, a father, a brother, a son. The Native Americans felt that they had done enough. Revenge herself stood appalled and sickened at her own dreadful work.

Here the doings of the Native Americans as a party ended. They utterly disclaim any participation in the events that followed. They had resisted outrage at the expense of life, and made themselves possessors of the ground from which the Irish had thrice attempted to drive them.

But the spirit of the mob had been let loose, and its thirst for destruction was not yet appeased. Accordingly quite early on the following day a gang of lawless desperadoes, (such as are found in every community,) ripe for tumult and plunder, renewed the attacks of the preceding evening. They searched the houses of the Irish; and wherever arms were found secreted, as was frequently the case, they either

demolished the building or set it on fire. The Irish offered little resistance; completely overawed, they fled in terror to save themselves and families. Signals were hung out from many houses indicating the allegiance of the owners or occupants to the Native American party. The church of St. Michael with the priest's residence adjoining it, and the Seminary called the nunnery, which had been attacked on Monday evening, both in the vicinity of the first outbreak, were fired in open day, and entirely consumed. A detachment of militia were upon the ground, but either were not sufficiently alert to arrest the movements of the mob, or had no power to restrain them. Not having yet received orders to fire upon the rioters, they felt their own weakness, and were exposed to the contempt of a few worthless men and boys by whom all this mischief was perpetrated under their eyes. One while the mob cheered them, perhaps in derision; again, as some of the soldiers testify, they threw dung into their faces and challenged them to fire; in one instance they boldly faced them in the street and opposed their progress.

Late in the afternoon of this day the mob began to move towards the city proper. Anticipating this the Mayor of the city had issued a proclamation requiring "all good citizens to prepare themselves to patrol the streets, to resist all invasions of property, and to preserve the public peace." It was soon apparent that the fury of the mob would be first directed against St. Augustine's church, situated in Fourth below Vine street, just within the city limits.* This building was particularly exposed to an assault. It stood upon Fourth street directly opposite one of the smaller streets (New-st.) which intersects it at right angles. There was a large space, therefore,

for a mob to occupy in front of the building; on the northern side of it was a grave yard; in the rear was another small street, (Crown, running parallel with Fourth,) facing which were the priest's house and the schoolhouse connected with the church. The building was, therefore, exposed on three sides, and required a very large force to protect it. The Mayor made several ineffectual attempts to disperse the mob; ineffectual because he dealt in harangues instead of bayonets and ball cartridges. He was himself injured by a stone thrown by some one in the crowd; and the police officers were driven from their station. Two or three boys were then lifted over the railing in front of the church, who broke the windows, applied a match to the drapery, cut open the gas pipes, and in a moment the building was in flames. The firemen were prevented from making any effort to extinguish it, and it was consumed to the bare walls.* We have been assured by an eye witness, and have seen the same statement repeatedly made, that fifty resolute men could have prevented this outrage and dispersed the mob. The great majority of those assembled were drawn together by mere curiosity; only a small proportion participated in the riot. The other Catholic churches were guarded through the night.

Every one now felt that a *crisis* had come demanding the most energetic efforts for the suppression of the spirit of disorder. Accordingly on the following morning, Thurs-

* The statement in the newspapers that the bell in the tower of St Augustine's was the same which was formerly in the statehouse steeple, and which announced the Declaration of Independence is untrue. That bell is still preserved in the steeple of the statehouse, and rings out its merry peals every 4th of July. It has upon it in raised letters the following words from Lev. xxv: 10—"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

* Its locality is marked by a cross in the plan.

day, an immense number of citizens both of the city and county assembled in Independence Square to devise measures for the restoration of the public peace. They recommended a general organization of the citizens as a patrol, and resolved to sustain the constituted authorities in the most vigorous measures to restore order. Then, and *not till then*, did the Sheriff and Mayor, after a dallying correspondence with the Attorney General respecting their right to employ force of arms, issue the following proclamation :

“PROCLAMATION.—The Sheriff and Mayor under the authority of the laws, and the recommendations of the citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia, in town meeting assembled, DECLARE and PROCLAIM, that all persons whomsoever, are forbidden to be or appear in any streets or places in the city or county, which are or may be in the occupation of the city authorities, or of the militia, for the preservation of the lives and property of the citizens. And the officers of the militia are hereby authorized to declare what streets and places are are thus occupied, and to employ such FORCE OF ARMS as may be necessary to compel obedience to this order. Fire engines and hose carriages are required not to enter such streets or places, without the permission of the civil or military authorities.

MORTON McMICHAEL, Sheriff,
J. M. SCOTT, Mayor of Philadelphia.
May 9th, 1844.”

This proclamation had the desired effect. A mob, assembled in front of the principal Cathedral in the city, was instantly dispersed by the announcement of Gen. Cadwallader that he would comply with the *letter* of the proclamation. On the afternoon of the same day the Governor arrived in the city in the capacity of commander in chief, attended by several military companies from different parts of the State. The Girard bank was made the head quarters of the military, the city put under martial law, and all persons not employed in the preservation of order, required to be in their houses by 9 o'clock, P. M. Twenty thou-

sand dollars were put at the disposal of the committee of police, and one thousand dollars offered for the apprehension of the incendiaries who had set fire to the church. Several arrests were made of persons concerned in the riots. A renewal of violence was apprehended on the Sabbath, but the Romish Bishop suspended public worship in all the churches under his care, notwithstanding the assurance of Major General Patterson, that he had sufficient force at command to protect all religious denominations in their rights. Order was soon restored throughout the county. In a few days the Native American party held a meeting in Kensington without molestation.

We have now presented an outline of the facts connected with the Philadelphia riots with as much accuracy as it is possible for us to attain to, and with as much candor as we can exercise. We submit a few reflections upon this narrative.

We have seen that the Irish Catholics were the aggressors. Defeated in their scheme for excluding the Bible from the public schools, (whether justly or not we do not here say,) and alarmed by the organization and success of a party opposed to the early naturalization of foreigners, they resolved to accomplish by brute force as *Irishmen* and as *Roman Catholics*, that which they could not accomplish peacefully as American citizens. They assaulted their fellow citizens while in the peaceful exercise of one of their most important rights; they assailed them on a second and a third occasion with murderous weapons, without the least provocation. They and they alone are responsible for the beginning of these outrages. And they exhibited in a most fatal light that spirit of intolerance which has ever characterized their religion, and the cherishing of which is enjoined as a sacred duty upon all who profess that faith. Whatever

judgment we may pass upon these painful scenes, let us not forget for a moment to whom the origin of them is to be ascribed. The Grand Jury charge it directly upon the Catholics.

"The jury have been instructed by the court to inquire into the origin and cause which led to the recent gross violation of law, and to present the first and last aggressors, if possible. Upon this branch of inquiry, and from all the facts which came under their notice, they have come to the following conclusions:

"First.—That the origin of these riots may be attributed to the very imperfect manner in which the laws have been executed by the constituted authorities of the city and county of Philadelphia for several years past, and more especially in the district of Kensington, crime having met with little rebuke and scarcely any punishment. Emboldened by this impunity the abandoned and vicious have been encouraged to hold the law in contempt.

"Second.—To the efforts of a portion of the community to exclude the Bible from our public schools. The jury are of opinion that these efforts in some measure gave rise to the formation of a new party, which called and held public meetings in the district of Kensington, in the peaceful exercise of the sacred rights and privileges guaranteed to every citizen by the constitution and laws of our State and country. These meetings were rudely disturbed and fired upon by a band of lawless irresponsible men, some of whom had resided in our country only for a short period. This outrage, causing the death of a number of our unoffending citizens, led to immediate retaliation, and was followed up by subsequent acts of aggression in violation and open defiance of all law."

It can not have escaped the notice of the reader that the Sheriff of the county was grossly remiss in his duty. We have seen that when he was requested to protect a lawful assembly which had been threatened with violence, he *refused*. This neglect of duty is formally laid to to his charge by responsible men. We have seen, also, that he did not appear upon the ground till long after the rioting had begun, and that he did not even then use any prompt and vigorous measures to suppress it. We have seen still further, that he took no pains to acquaint himself with his duty, but remained in will-

ful ignorance of it, till an indignant community demanded that his authority should be exerted to the utmost for the restoration of peace, and compelled him to adopt a course which was at once effectual, and which, if adopted at the first, would have saved a vast amount of blood and treasure. We would not hastily credit rumors prejudicial to the character of a public officer, but there is reason to believe that the Sheriff sympathized too deeply with one of the parties to act independently. His name, Morton McMichael, bespeaks an Irish origin, though we believe that he was born in this country. His family are said to be Protestants, but he is said to hold a pew in a Roman Catholic church. His conduct demands the most careful scrutiny. We would not affirm that he has made himself liable to impeachment, though we think that the effect of that step, if called for, would be highly salutary. The necessity of impeachment is distinctly avowed by the Grand Jury.

"The jury were also instructed to enquire whether the officers in the city and county, entrusted with the execution of the law, have faithfully performed their duties during the recent riots. In pursuance of the duty thus devolved, much testimony has been taken, and upon an attentive consideration of the evidence introduced before them, the jury are compelled to the conclusion, that if the police magistrates of the district of Kensington, and the Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia, had been more energetic and efficient, many lives might have been spared and much valuable property saved from destruction. It may be that these officers will be able hereafter to show that they have done all that it was possible for them under the circumstances, to perform; but judging as the jury necessarily must, from the ex-parte proof before them, they are of opinion that the conduct of these officers should receive a full, fair and legal investigation by the appropriate tribunals of the country."

Such were the proximate causes of these alarming and protracted scenes of violence. But there were other causes, which though more remote, were hardly less efficient in

producing the result. Some of them deserve a passing notice. We have already seen that the manner in which Philadelphia is districted, affords great facilities for those who are disposed to trample on the laws to do so with impunity. But this is not a sufficient explanation of the frequency with which the spirit of the mob there develops itself.

The population of Philadelphia is heterogeneous. So indeed is that of New York. But New York was originally settled by a homogeneous population, and the heterogeneous elements which are now brought together there, are consolidated under one efficient government. Philadelphia, and in fact the state of Pennsylvania, though planted by a particular religious sect, was early occupied by mixed and incongruous races, who were subjected to no centralizing, harmonizing influences. To this day the Germans exist in Pennsylvania as a distinct people. They are recognized as such by the legislature of the state in the appropriations which are made by that body to publish its transactions in the German as well as the English language. The state has never been Americanized. In Philadelphia too, the northern and southern elements of our national system are brought into contact; and as is apt to be the case, the high toned moral sentiment of the north there yields to the laxer discipline of the south, and degenerates into a like casuistry of lawlessness. With such elements of discord it is not surprising that Philadelphia should be the very *seat* of anarchy.

Moreover, the predominating influence in the early constitution of society there was not the influence of law. We all know that the Quakers are opposed to coercive measures in the administration of government. They would rule men by moral suasion, and by the principles of honesty, love and peace inherent in human nature. But their scheme,

however pleasing in theory, is not framed with reference to the known depravity of man. It has proved abortive. The prevalence of their principles has weakened the arm of law and given license to iniquity. They are now aiming as a body to lessen the restraints upon human passions by the abolition of capital punishment; and would probably be more horror-stricken at the thought of a murderer's suffering the just penalty of his crime, than at the sight of their fellow citizens butchered in the streets in open day.

The impunity with which rioters have hitherto escaped in Philadelphia, undoubtedly emboldened many to perpetrate the recent outrages. For some cause, perhaps for several causes, justice has been very imperfectly administered in Philadelphia for many years past. Whether the evil is to be ascribed to the proverbial ingenuity of Philadelphia lawyers, to the imperfection of the laws themselves, to the low state of public sentiment in regard to law, or to the inefficiency and faithlessness of the officers of law,—whether it is owing to any combination of these causes, we do not take it upon us to determine. But there is a lamentable defect somewhere. It is almost impossible in Philadelphia to bring a criminal to his deserts. The grand jury allude to this corrupted state of things in the following words:

"In the course of their investigations, the jury have noticed the names of many persons connected with the late riots, who had been implicated in similar scenes in the days of a late sheriff; and it is a question difficult to answer on satisfactory grounds, how these men have contrived so long to set at defiance our courts of justice, whose strong arm should be safely relied on promptly to rebuke and punish crimes which have disgraced us as a civilized community."

A prominent reason why crime has such impunity in Philadelphia, is the facility with which convicted criminals obtain pardon from the Governor of the state. Never has the pardoning power, which is vest-

ed in the executive to meet extreme cases in the administration of justice, been so grossly abused as in Pennsylvania for the last few years. Old offenders, criminals sentenced to the penitentiary for a long term of years or for life, thieves, adulterers, assassins, murderers, have been recklessly let loose upon the community, and may be seen at the polls at every election, guarding the interest of that distinguished friend of the "largest liberty," David R. Porter. Never has the gubernatorial chair been more deeply disgraced in any state, than in Pennsylvania under his administration. We know not whether he has ever read the scriptures; but we should think that he made the unjust steward his model, and that in the bestowment of favor upon the inmates of the penitentiary, he has been bespeaking favor for himself whenever he should receive his dues. In some instances his pardon of a criminal has even anticipated the sentence of the court. It may be that his "Excellency" is one of those high-minded philanthropists who regard all legal penalties as an insult to human nature; but it is sometimes true that "*a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind.*" To call upon Governor Porter to quell a riot in which the ringleaders were perhaps the very men whom he had let loose from the penitentiary, and whom he would pardon again three days after their conviction, appears to us somewhat farcical. We rejoice, and we presume that the friends of order and good government every where will rejoice, that the constitutional limit of his administration is just at hand. Will not the people of Pennsylvania be careful hereafter to select rulers who have at least some slight pretensions to respectability and moral principle?

But after all, the radical defect in the administration of law in Philadelphia is in the people themselves. Had not public sentiment sanctioned deeds of violence in that communi-

ty again and again, they would not have become so frequent. Public officers are seldom found in advance of public opinion. But if there was a strong public sentiment against every species of outrage, no officer would flinch from his duty. The burning of Pennsylvania Hall might have been prevented by fifty resolute men; but while thousands stood ready to applaud the deed, the police officers did not venture to interfere. Even for some time after that event, no editor could comment upon it with an honest independence without exposing himself to the fury of the mob. The public sentiment of Philadelphia sanctioned the burning of an edifice consecrated to the cause of human freedom. Behold the just retribution! The mob once let loose suffers no restraint. The torch which fired an odious abolition hall, may fire a church or a private dwelling. What a lesson has been taught the people of Philadelphia on the folly and guilt of conniving at crime! Let them learn that their only security against the repetition of such appalling scenes, is in preserving the sanctity of the law. We may talk of suppressing a riot by the force of arms, (and doubtless the recent riots might have been quelled by an early demonstration of military power;)—we may commend the decision of Napoleon in pouring grape shot into the heart of a mob, and imagine that the like decision would repress the most turbulent of our own populace; but we must not forget that our soldiers are not the hirelings of a military despot,—that they have not been trained to the profession of arms and taught to look on men as "food for powder." They are our fellow citizens, sympathizing with us in every great popular movement;—they can not easily be induced to fire upon a mixed assembly at the risk of shooting down their own friends and neighbors. Our reliance for the support of law, must be up-

on the strength of law in the hearts of the people. They must be taught to love the law—to reverence it as the bulwark of freedom—to stand in dread of anarchy as their most deadly foe. This, and this only, can make ours a strong government. And this *has* made it strong. Even the bloody events of the ‘three days’ in Philadelphia have proved its strength. For when anarchy has triumphed over the law and its ministers, and is rioting in the ruin it has made, the people rising in their own sovereignty, and frowning on the foul usurper, drive him from the midst of them, and set the law again upon its throne. The strength of freedom is in the strength of law; and the strength of law is not in standing armies, but in the hearts of the people.

Our limits will not suffer us to enter at length upon the principles and policy of the Native American party, the organization and movements of which were an occasional cause of the Philadelphia riots. That the flagrant abuses in the municipal government of New York, warranted the strong rebuke which was given to both of the great political parties at the late election, we fully believe. The votes of Roman Catholics will not soon be courted again by the promise of political power. But, while we rejoice in the temporary benefits of the new organization, we are not prepared to approve of it as a permanent political party. Its tendency will be to organize in one compact and hostile body, the emigrants who are yearly thronging to our shores, and who might otherwise be swallowed up in the mass of our native population, and become identified with them in interests and pursuits. It will keep alive a *foreign* feeling; it will keep the refugees from civil and ecclesiastical oppression in the old world, forever strangers to the spirit of our institutions. An Irishman cannot even blunder himself into a *native* American; and

if shut out from fellowship with our native-born citizens, he will never become an American at all. Romanism will become a political organization in the midst of us, and the Jesuit will appear as the advocate of equal rights.

The true method of dealing with Roman Catholic Irishmen, (for it is against this class particularly that the Native American party is organized,) is little understood in our country. It deserves to be studied attentively by every patriot and Christian. The subject was discussed so much at length in our last number, that we simply refer to it here to say, that the only hope of success in our attempts to make them American and Protestant in their feelings, is in treating them *kindly*. They are dependent upon Protestants in this country for employment. Let them see that Protestants have human hearts; and that Protestants in America have no sympathy with that Church establishment which robbed them and ground them to the dust in the old world. Give them time to become enlightened. Give them time to understand our institutions. Let them breathe the air of freedom and of love, and their hearts will swell and burst the chains of spiritual despotism. Their children, if not themselves, will be thorough Americans; they cannot be long the staunch adherents of Romanism on our soil—*unless we make them such*.

One of the fundamental principles of the Native American party, that this is a *Protestant* country, is altogether wrong. This is a *Christian* country, for our national government recognizes, in various ways, the institutions of Christianity, and our laws are based upon its principles. But it is not a *Protestant* country. Though the great majority of its inhabitants are Protestants, Protestantism is not recognized in any form as the established religion of the land.

In making these remarks, we would not be understood to object to any wholesome changes which may be proposed in our naturalization laws.

We will only add, that the events which we have contemplated are a warning to Roman Catholics. Led by their Priests and Bishops, they have attempted to make the civil government subservient to their hierarchy, to carry their schemes by stratagem at the polls, and when defeated there, to gain their ends by force. They have aroused the indignation of the American people. They have kindled a fire which, if they fan it again, may utterly consume them. All the proclamations

and manifestoes of their Bishops to allay excitement cannot save them. These only exhibit more strikingly the danger of suffering them to gain the ascendancy. For, if the word of a Bishop can stay the fury of a mob, the same word can arouse it. The Roman Catholic system is now seen to be utterly repugnant to our civil institutions. Let it not, then, obtrude itself upon public notice. In modest and quiet retirement, let it conform itself, if it can, to the genius of a free country. Let not the Court of Rome attempt to dictate here. Let Pope and Prelate remember the three days in Philadelphia, and beware!

JAMES H. LINSLEY.

THE REV. JAMES H. LINSLEY, with whose likeness the proprietor of the New Englander has chosen to decorate the present number, was born at Northford, Conn., May 5, 1787, and died December 26, 1843.

Till his mature age nothing remarkable appeared in his character. Though born and nurtured in a religious family—his parents being members of a Baptist church—he passed through the period of childhood and youth without any experience of the power of the gospel. But in 1810, when he was nearly 23 years of age, his character underwent a great transformation. He was made to know himself a sinner, and Him whom to know is life eternal. Moved by a desire to communicate to others that which in his own experience was the wisdom of God and the power of God to salvation, he determined on educating himself for the Christian ministry. Religious considerations had wakened within him an earnest thirst for knowledge. In the face of many difficulties, he fitted himself for ad-

mission to college, went through the course of studies at Yale, and received his first degree in arts with the class of 1817.

His constitution was already impaired. Pulmonary disease compelled him to forego his cherished expectation of laboring in the Christian ministry. With New England versatility, he entered upon the business of teaching, first as the principal of an academy at New Canaan; afterwards at Stratford, as the instructor of a few pupils whom he received into his own family.

In 1831, having recovered so much health that he was encouraged to attempt public speaking, he was ordained to the work of the ministry according to the usages of the Baptist churches. For a short time he served as pastor of a church in the vicinity of his residence. But in 1836, he was compelled finally to give up the work which he most loved.

From this time forward, his life was little else than a protracted struggle with disease. For the sake

of the exercise in the open air, which was constantly necessary, he devoted a great portion of his time to Natural History. A series of papers from his pen, on the Natural History of Connecticut, published in the American Journal of Science, attests the extent of his researches, and has won for him an honorable reputation among men of science. These labors he pursued, continually enriching his valuable collections

of specimens gathered and preserved by himself, till all his labors were broken off by death.

Religion, the quickening power of the gospel upon his intellectual powers and his moral sensibilities, made him a scholar; and then disease, forbidding the pursuits which his heart in its yearnings after the highest usefulness had chosen, made him a Naturalist.

LITERARY NOTICES.

A Discourse delivered in Boston, before the Pastoral Association of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, May 28, 1844. By EDWARDS A. PARK, Bartlett Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover, Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1844.

THIS discourse, which has just come to our hands, we hail as indeed "a Tract for the Times." We rejoice at it, especially as coming from Massachusetts. We rejoice at it more especially as having been prepared at Andover. We rejoice at it most especially as having been preached at Boston. We have looked with an eager eye to that part of New England, to see the Puritan spirit awake against the pretensions of Episcopacy, and we rejoice that we see tokens so decisive, that "the Pilgrim spirit is not dead."

The sermon is founded upon Matt. v, 13—16 as its text, and its subject is "some of the peculiar duties which are incumbent on the New England clergy." This subject is ably handled under several appropriate heads. The discourse is written in the well-known vein of its accomplished author, and as delivered by himself, in connection with the somewhat peculiar circumstances of some of his audience, occasioned

no little sensation among several classes of his hearers. Indeed, we suppose that the preacher himself hardly anticipated the measure of the appropriateness of his discourse, or the sensitiveness with which it was in fact received. Hence, we suppose, the allusions in his preface to the objections which had been made against it.

We can see no ground for any objection to the sermon, in the particulars hinted at, or in others which rumor has sent abroad. We think it worthy of the highest praise, for the theme which it proposed, for its courteous and Christian temper, and its manly argument. It is indeed a defense of New England institutions. This may be a ground of objection with those who are avowedly hostile to these institutions, and to those who, bearing our name, have too little sympathy with their principles or spirit, but with none others. It has ever been the New England way, to contend for the truth, and to do it in a manly and open spirit.

It is also a defense with a distinct and avowed reference both to the objections which have been made against our system, and to the sectarian pleas which have been urged to our disadvantage. But what if it is? Which is the nobler, to urge such attacks in a secret and whispering

way, or to expose and meet them? Who made the first onset? Who cast the first stone? Is argument of this kind to be all on one side? If we can show that we have the advantage, upon the very grounds on which objections are made, shall we not do it, at least so long as our ears are stunned with the din of ceaseless repetition? *Ought* we not to do it? Are we not sacredly bound to do it? Should we not be traitors to the memory of our fathers, did we not do it? Should we not be faithless to the trust for which they suffered the loss of all things that they might bequeath it to us, did we not show its value?

We have heard it said, that such efforts do no good,—that they irritate but do not convince. We think the contrary. We believe they do *much* good. We know of no better way to deal with all sorts of inflated things, than to prick them, even if the painted bubble suffer a collapse, or vanish into air.

We have heard that it has been said, that there is no reasoning in the sermon. There is, we confess, but little of the Episcopalian variety of this article, but a very considerable measure of the more substantial sort. Let those who think there is but little reasoning, set themselves to answer the little that there is, and perhaps they may discover that there is at least the *quant. suff.* for an ordinary or extraordinary Episcopalian sermon.

Last of all, we have heard it said, that the discourse was ungentelemanly, nay, that it was excessively vulgar. On this point the tastes of men differ. Those Episcopalians whose estimate of things as genteel or otherwise is expressed in the maxim, that "Episcopacy is the only religion fit for a gentleman," will be likely to think a little freedom of remark at the expense of a thing so genteel to be "decidedly vulgar." Certain Congregationalists may be of the same opinion.

There are those who see no violation of gentlemanly or Christian courtesy in coolly marching their Christian brethren out of the pale of the church, provided only it be done in bland and silvery phrase, accompanied by the responses and chantings in the metropolitan church at Boston, amid a score of clergy in rustling robes, and at the consecration of an *evangelical* bishop. There are those who can thus be *marched out*, and yet be so bewildered by the imposing scene, that they do not know it, or think it very gentlemanly to submit meekly, nay, who will even praise the gentlemanly preacher who does it, but whose taste is greatly offended if a Congregationalist is so clownish as to hint, that there may possibly be as much vanity as holiness in the love of the gown and surplice, the lawn sleeves and the miter.

But, seriously, we believe, and have long believed, that the movements of Episcopalianism in Massachusetts demand a grave attention, and we are glad that they begin to receive that attention. Its attitude is peculiar, its language is guarded, its pretensions are seemingly moderate, its spirit is professedly and we hope honestly evangelical. But if those who have to do with it will not resent, as impertinent and officious, the advice of those who know something of it in other ways than by report, we would take leave to say, that at this day the prelatical or hierarchical element is everywhere the same, and though it requires time fully to act itself out, it will show itself sooner or later. It may be resisted, and often it is resisted effectually, by the sanative energies of a healthy constitution. For a time it may wear a mild and harmless type. But it is an evil disease still. Facts also in the history of Episcopacy in Massachusetts for the last ten years, show conclusively, that as it has increased in strength, so has it advanced in openness of pro-

elytism and in bigotry and exclusiveness of pretension.

In the name then of the clergy of Massachusetts and of New England, we thank Prof. P. for his able sermon.* We know that we may thank him in the name of John Cotton, and Thomas Hooker, and John Davenport, and the other honored dead. In his own words,

"We do believe that the ecclesiastical system, which our fathers have left us, imparts an activity, and an energy, and a perseverance, and a deep-seated love of truth, which proves the system to be "apostolical," and yet we hear it often said, that the system is worn out; that it worked well enough in the rude times of the Pilgrims, but is too unwieldy for a densely-peopled state, too clumsy for the refinements of modern days; that it has been abandoned already by all young men of taste, and is acknowledged by our older men to be inefficient, and ill-fitted for this polite generation. I know that we have, by our past indifference, given some reason for this charge. and have allowed the fascinations of ceremony to steal in upon the plainness of truth; but if we will only wake up from our lethargy, I can have no fear that the well-balanced mind of New-England will prefer a showy worship to a thoughtful one, an outward beauty to inward strength. I know too well the hidden power of a Puritan faith. By night have I dreamed of an old ship of war returning from an important cruise, and lying becalmed near the main land, her sails flapping lazily against her shrouds, her sailor-boys playing at the mast-head, and her mates sleeping quietly in their berths; and the painted canoes of her enemy came around her, and flourished their gilded oars, and robbed her of her treasures, one after another; but when she had parted with more than she could afford to lose, and spared her good things to her own hurt,—and when the

breeze came and the winds blew,—then she remembered her name and her destiny, she spread out her canvas to the gales, and her pennons streamed in the air, and her young men hastened to their posts, and her old men lifted up their voices louder than the sound of the waves, and the cannon *spake* from her sides, and she moved onward, clearing her way through the small craft that had come out against her, and riding forward conquering and to conquer. * * * Our duty is plain. It is to rise up and work; to make the truth known, and to hold it fast; not to think too much of the minor evils which attend our church polity, nor too little of the preponderating good which comes from it. While we choose to unite with all men who love union in a good cause, we must disdain to purchase the favor of sectarians at the sacrifice of those principles with which 'came the germ of our republic,' and on which the prevalence of a spiritual Christianity will ever greatly rely. We are bound to make our spiritual heritage an ornament to our beloved land, and we have no license to leave it as a common waste ground for the depredations of any who may have more zeal for forms than for equal rights. * * * Let us wrap ourselves round about with truth as with a garment, and let our faces shine with the light thereof. Let us emulate the piety of our ancestors, and be men mighty with God and prevailing at the throne of his grace. Remembering the fires of Smithfield, and the ashes of our fathers and our mothers who sleep in Bunhill Fields, let us draw near to the font-stool of mercy, and offer the prayer which was so often repeated by our Puritan ancestors, 'Give ear, oh Shepherd of Israel! thou that leadest Joseph like a flock: thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth.—Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. Let not then her hedges be broken down; so that all they which pass by the way shall pluck her. Let not the bear out of the wood waste it, nor the wild beast of the field devour it. Return, we beseech thee, oh God of hosts, look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine, and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted, and the branch that thou madest strong for thyself.—So will we not go back from thee; quicken us, and we will call upon thy name. Turn us again, O Lord of hosts; cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved.'"

* Our readers will not be offended if we place before them here, a passage in which the generous author extends to us the right hand of fellowship. "Let us give an adequate and a generous patronage to some one religious journal, that shall commend itself to all parties and schools of the Puritans, and shall command the attention of every hamlet in New England. Let not a single parish be unvisited by our Quarterly periodical which comes forth from New Haven, and which, from its published list of contributors, seems destined to be "the chariot and the horsemen of our Israel."

The Goths in New England : a Discourse delivered at Middlebury College, Aug. 13th, 1843 ; by
GEO. P. MARSH.

THE title of this oration is intended to convey no reproach, but rather the highest honor,—as might be argued from the consideration that the author, an ardent and thorough Scandinavian scholar, could hardly fail of having a high respect for the kindred Gothic race. Mr. Marsh is far from being one of those, who from the narrow prejudices of a sect, lay bare with unnatural joy the failings of their own ancestors, while they are blind to the exalted virtues which formed the crown of the New England character ; who declaim for the hundredth time on the witch delusion, and make the discovery that commerce and not religion led our forefathers to this wilderness. He is a genuine son of New England, one who honors his mother by paying her the meed of thanks for the good principles and examples she has preserved until the present generation, and who wishes that the puritan character stamped on the institutions of New England may be handed down as the true conservative principle of our political welfare.

In order that this may be effected, it is important, as Mr. Marsh justly observes, not to forget or feel an indifference, to the events of our national infancy. If the cry is “onward” only, we shall give ourselves up to circumstances, and be moulded into excellence neither by recollections of the past, nor by that consciousness of a high destiny which grows out of them. Much less can we in such a case be that truly devout people which beholds the hand of God in all its history. But it is equally important to feel that our history does not begin at the revolution—that it is developed, under the guidance of providence, out of the character and principles of those who first came over. The rock of

Plymouth, the old oak tree in George street, these are our historical starting points, the birth places of states. National institutions grow out of national character ; and as this is a fluent which may be acted on and changed by a multitude of causes, we cannot retain what is good in our past being as a nation, without efforts analogous to those which an individual uses to preserve his own character and habits from whatever can tempt and injure.

But to what causes must the puritan character be referred ? Their intellectual character, answers Mr. Marsh, was derived from their remote Gothic ancestry, and took its free shape from the removal of the tyranny of Rome ; their moral traits were the temper and spirituality of Christianity in the Gothic soul ; and the difference between the mind of New England and that of the mother country, is due partly to the political and religious circumstances of the colonies at first, but chiefly to the fact that they emigrated at a time when the mind of England was in a healthy state, striving to get rid of the Roman element which had influenced it for evil. This struggle was not altogether successful ; a reaction took place, and the mind of England received back again the unhealthy ingredient. But the scions taken from it in that healthiest period of its history, and transplanted beyond the reach of the causes which carried society backwards in the old country, had free room to develop the good qualities which the parent stock then possessed.

After some remarks upon the age when the puritans arose, Mr. Marsh proceeds to give what he considers to be the traits of the Gothic mind, as contrasted with the Roman. The former is characterized by reason and imagination,—the latter by understanding and fancy. While the Roman mind looks at the formal and outward, the Gothic turns to the living spiritual essence. To the Roman

mind truth lies in the formula and the creed,—to the Gothic, in those central truths from which the formula may be evolved. In literature and art, the Roman mind seeks to attract by material and sensuous beauty; the Gothic “pursues the development of a principle, the realization of an idea.” In government the fiction of a divine indefeasible right, and the tendency to support arbitrary power, belong to the Roman mind; while the Gothic, essentially free in the domain of thought, aims also at outward freedom. In religion the Roman, sinking Christianity into an outward system, ascribes its efficacy to its ceremonies and symbols, and loves it for its splendid but dead rites, while the Gothic mind feels it to be “a living spiritual influence, and believes that all its outward rites are symbolical of that internal work by which the intellect is elevated and the heart purified.” The former holds religious truths as matters of opinion,—the other as articles of belief “to be embraced because the witness from within, coinciding with the evidence from without, assures him with the certainty of demonstration that God’s word is very truth. As the Roman mind tends towards the form, it must of course place the unity of religion in oneness of forms, in worshiping with the same rites; and on the other hand, the Gothic mind, tending towards the free and the spiritual, will of course see the spirit of Christianity under different outward manifestations, and will not seek to fetter the soul by rites, laws of uniformity, and doctrines of exclusion.”

These traits are found with greater or less prominence, observes Mr. Marsh, in all the nations of Europe. In the German states, the spirit and principles of the governments derived from the holy Roman empire of the middle ages, are altogether opposite to those of the people. In England these traits have by turns preponderated, but have never been

harmoniously combined. “It is to the present general ascendancy of the Roman element, that most of the defects of the English character of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are to be ascribed; and the sensuous philosophy of Locke, and its wretched corollary the selfish morality of Paley, are rather the exponents than the causes of the leading tendencies of the English mind.”

After mentioning some defects of the puritans themselves, which stained them for a while but were gradually wiped off, Mr. Marsh proceeds to enumerate some of those which he thinks still to adhere to the English nation. He mentions the want of the historic sense in the English people, arising from their looking at things only in their outward and imposing forms; their general inferiority in the arts of design; their propensity to pay reverence to the aristocracy, and to prop it up by enactments against nature; and the artificial state of society in England beyond what is known elsewhere in Europe. These are heavy charges, but the strongest partizan of England must admit that they are true to some extent. The present age will determine whether they are to remain true, or whether a revolution in society, sudden or gradual, is to give free room to the better ingredients of the English character. For ourselves we hope that England may gain moral strength by every change; and nothing which could happen to any nation abroad would distress us so much, as to see our mother country humbled and sitting in the dust.

But there are some vices existing or thought to exist among ourselves, which Mr. Marsh finds it proper to mention. These are the love of gain and a want of reverence for old institutions. In regard to the first, he defends the national character by observing that we make money the means, not the end. Covetousness may exist amongst us, but avarice is rare. And good use

is made of money, for the instances of public spirit are far more common than in Europe. The mode of getting property, however, is a faulty one. There is a "disposition to accumulate, not by increase, but by exchange,—to transfer wealth, not to produce it." In regard again to the want of reverence for antiquity, Mr. Marsh ingeniously observes that in part it is to be ascribed to our impulse to overlook the outward form and rest upon the indwelling principle. "The notion of antiquity," says he, "can not attach to principle, for truth being eternal is ever young. Again, antiquity is but a comprehensive name for associations and traditions connected with localities, monuments, ruins, or other ancient material objects. In this sense, therefore, it necessarily partakes of a local character; and an emigrating people leaves behind it with the localities, the associations and the traditions upon which that reverence is founded." Antiquity again is relative. In our existence of two centuries we have lived longer than the Chinese monarchy, and our puritan fathers are at a farther remove in one sense from our widely sweeping political institutions than one of the earliest Pharaohs is from Mahomet Ali's Egyptians. If we reverence our ancestors, the beginners of our era, that will be true and deserved reverence for antiquity.

Mr. Marsh now notices another evil, the influence of large commercial towns; they have, he thinks, far more than their due weight in the councils of the nation in teaching theories of trade; they breed a race of narrow minded cities whose sphere of vision never goes beyond the lamp district; and they are the inlet for mischievous foreign notions and manners. There is much that is true in this; but is it more than part of the truth? We think of one, when we read it, who represents an inland state in Congress, and who as he looks on the beautiful lake where

he lives and on the noble mountains to the west of it, rejoices that it is not the boundless ocean. Mr. Marsh closes with an appeal to young men to acquaint themselves with the history of their ancestors,—an appeal in which, as becomes its name, the New Englander heartily joins.

There is much in this discourse which indicates the power of wide historic generalization,—much to awaken trains of thought and inquiry. How far our New England character is developed in regard to some of the points which the author mentions, may be a doubt to some, while others may suspect that he is severe and partial in his account of the traits which the Romans left as their legacy to the nations of Europe.

The Prelatical Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession examined: with a Delineation of the High-Church System. By H. A. BOARDMAN, Pastor of the tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: published by Wm. S. Martin; New York, Robert Carter; Boston, Crocker and Brewster; Pittsburg, Thomas Carter. 348 pp. 12mo.

THIS is avowedly a "book for the people;" and its substance was first brought before the author's own congregation in a course of Lectures. Its style is neat and chaste, and its arguments level with the comprehension of the community at large. The general views of the author coincide with those of Dr. Miller, Dr. Mason, Dr. Smyth of South Carolina, and other standard writers of the Presbyterian Church. The recent efforts of the High-Church party in the Episcopal Church to bring the Christian community fully into their views, Mr. Boardman regards as a hostile assault upon all other denominations of Christians. Of this movement, he says, "We regard it as a systematic and violent attack upon the faith once delivered to the

saints—as a daring attempt to seize upon the crown rights of the Redeemer. We look upon it as an organized scheme for establishing an exclusive and lordly hierarchy in the country. We believe the whole tendency of the system is to substitute a mere ritual religion for true Christianity. We feel called upon, therefore, by every consideration of patriotism, of fealty to the Great Head of the Church, and of fidelity to the spiritual interests of those around us, to bring the pretensions of this party to the test of Scripture and History.” He then proceeds, first, to confute the pretensions and dogmas of High-Church Episcopalians, and, afterwards, to expose the evil tendencies of the prelatic system. In summing up the contents of the volume, he says, “I have given, in chapter i., my reasons for entering on this investigation, by exhibiting, from their own writings, the exclusive and arrogant pretensions of the High-Church party. In chapter ii. to vi. inclusive, I have brought the dogma of an unbroken prelatical succession to the test of Scripture, of History, and of admitted facts—exposed the fallacy of its principles, and contrasted it with the true doctrine of succession. In the second part of the work, on the characteristics and tendencies of the system, I have endeavored to show that it proposes an unauthorized and delusive rule of faith—that it puts the Church in Christ’s place—that it is at variance with the whole scope and tenor of the New Testament—that it tends to aggrandize the prelatical clergy, and to substitute a mere ritual religion for true Christianity—and that, in its practical working, it is adapted to harass and delude those who are honestly inquiring for the way of salvation.”

A Grammar of the Greek Language. Part first. A practical Grammar of the Attic and common dialects, with the Elements of General

Grammar. By ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor of the Greek language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston : James Monroe & Co., 1844.

THE number of Greek Grammars, both of foreign and domestic origin, which have been published in our country within a few years, shows, on the one hand, a considerable demand for such guides to students, and, on the other, a feeling that perfection has not been obtained. And this feeling is not a wrong one. As it regards the forms of the language, indeed, there can be little improvement upon the basis of Buttman’s system, which will probably never be much amended, except in the theory of composition and derivation; although, no doubt, some light has been thrown upon important parts of grammar since Buttman’s death, and some will yet be obtained from a comparison of kindred tongues. But, in syntax, neither Buttman nor Mathiæ was eminently successful; and yet this, the soul and spirit of grammar, which connects it with the mind and life of a nation, is what needs most to be brought into the right shape. It is here that most elementary grammars, published in this country, have failed. They crowd the memory with rules, without letting the student know why the rule is as it is, and not otherwise. Of what use is it to be able to say that this and that class of verbs govern the genitive, without having the idea of the genitive in the mind, from which all such rules may be deduced, and to which they may be referred. Mr. Crosby’s grammar is a favorable exception to the remarks we have made above. In the etymological part, it has not, as we know, any advantages in plan or execution over the best of our native elementary guides to the study of Greek. But, in syntax, this ingenious and thorough scholar has attempted something higher than any

of his predecessors. His object is to open the door to the *principles* of syntax. Under his touch, the dead rules of others assume a living and organized form, and the student finds himself in the midst of an intellectual system devised thousands of centuries ago by the human mind. We are persuaded, that if students of Greek will have the patience to understand Mr. Crosby's system, and, especially, to master the many new terms which he has introduced into his work, they will find a discipline of mind derived from their labor, which they never dreamed, perhaps, that grammar could afford. Nor is this work calculated to benefit students alone—students, we mean, of tolerably mature minds, for, perhaps, a younger class could only learn the general rules, without entering into the reasons of things; but masters, also, will seldom need to go further than this grammar to find solutions of all the difficulties, and explanations of all the phenomena of syntax. In fact, we anticipate from its use, and from that of Kühner's, which has since appeared, a new and more enlightened study of the Greek language, attended with such increased improvement to the student as will make him feel much more respect for grammar than he now does. Grammar, henceforth, will be regarded as a beautiful growth of the human mind, rather than a set of rules to be hammered into aching heads.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Cluentio Avito ad Judices. Edited by E. A. JOHNSON, Prof. of Latin in the University of the City of N. York. Published by Geo. & H. Miller, 647 Broadway, 1844.

THIS edition of Cicero's Oration for Cluentius can not fail to be acceptable to the student of the Latin language, and the lover of Roman eloquence. The editor has judged, and we think correctly, that the

reading of the speeches of the great Roman orator should not be limited to the preparatory course of study; and accordingly he has published this oration to be read by the more mature scholar.

Perhaps no oration of Cicero has more in it than this for Cluentius, to interest the reader. The variety which it exhibits of both matter and style, is very great. From the circumstances of the defense, the orator was led to employ an unusual amount of narrative, which is remarkable for affording the finest examples of the union of conciseness and perspicuity in the statement of facts, so essential in this department of forensic speaking. The argument also throughout, deserves particular notice, for its ingenuity, both when the orator endeavors to prove directly the innocence of his client, and where he meets the objections of his opponents. There are likewise numerous passages of highly impassioned eloquence. The whole discourse throws much light on the morals of the Romans, as well as on the course of legal proceedings, at the time when it was pronounced. Cicero, in one of his rhetorical works, refers to this oration in a manner which shows the estimation in which he held it; and Quintilian has drawn from this source various examples to illustrate his oratorical precepts. Some account of this oration is given also by Dr. Blair in his twenty eighth lecture.

To the oration is prefixed a full analysis of its contents, which, with the judicious notes of the editor, will remove such difficulties as the student may meet with in the text. The typographical execution of this work is very neat and correct.

Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: with extracts from the exegetical works of the Fathers and Reformers. Translated from the original German of Dr. FRED. AUG. GOTTFRED THOLUCK,

Professor of Theology in the Royal University of Halle, and corresponding member of the Asiatic Society of London. By the REV. ROBERT MENZIES. First American, from the second revised and corrected Edinburgh edition. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, 1844. pp. 432: large 8vo. Sold by Tappan & Dennet, Boston.

The modest author of this very learned and judicious commentary, who, for twenty years, has been the most powerful advocate of orthodox theology in Germany, requested the following notice to be prefixed to this translation: "I wish especially to remark, that the work is to be regarded as the production of an earlier period of my life, and as having been intended for a particular purpose. I composed it in my twenty-fifth year, [A. D. 1824,] with the special view of commending to the hearts of my countrymen the doctrine of justification by faith, which, at the time, I perceived to be greatly misunderstood. Other points are hence labored with less care; and at this time, I believe, that upon the 9th chapter I should be able to give some more profound views. Accordingly, it by no means presents what I now consider as the beau ideal of a theological commentary."

Notwithstanding the low estimate of his own work by Dr. Tholuck, we know not where to find a more profound and satisfactory exposition of this very difficult epistle. We have not indeed examined it minutely, from the beginning to the end; but we have read carefully and critically a large part of it; and we think we do not over estimate its merits. Its prominent excellencies are, that the commentator seems at once to penetrate into the inmost soul of the inspired author; and, while he shews himself to be master of the whole subject before him, he

appears to have entire command of all the philological and historical knowledge which can elucidate or confirm his expositions. At the same time he, on the one hand, introduces no foreign topics, and makes no needless display of erudition; and on the other, meets every real difficulty, answers every important inquiry, and leaves nothing unsaid which was necessary for a full and clear explanation of the sacred text. He has, moreover, adorned and strengthened his interpretations by numerous extracts and citations from the best exegetical works of the Greek and Latin Fathers and the reformers of the sixteenth century. If Prof. Tholuck can now, at the age of 45, produce a better exposition of this Epistle than he actually produced at the age of 25, we invite him to prove it by publishing (eine neue umgearbeitete Ausgabe) a new and improved edition.

The translator appears to have done his part in a pretty satisfactory manner. We only regret that he did not give us a translation of the Paraphrase, which Tholuck published to be used with the commentary, and that he has not subjoined suitable indices to the work.

Rudiments of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy: designed for younger classes in Academies, and for Common Schools. By DENISON OLMSTED, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, in Yale College. pp. 292, 18mo. New Haven, 1844.

We welcome this unpretending volume with pleasure. An introductory work on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy for our common schools, and for the younger classes in Academies, differing in some important respects from those now before the public, has long been needed. It seems to us that Professor Olmsted's *Rudiments* is a work hap-

pily adapted to supply these wants. The style of it is simple and chaste, the arrangement is appropriate and natural, the selection of topics from the illimitable field of nature is ample and judicious, and in every point of view, the work is eminently calculated both to interest and instruct the young mind.

An acquaintance with Prof. Olmsted's larger treatises on Philosophy and Astronomy, together with the high reputation of the author as a scholar and practical teacher, led us to expect in these *Rudiments* a work of no ordinary merit; but we must be permitted to say that upon a careful perusal of the work we find our expectations more than realized. Olmsted's larger Philosophy and Astronomy are used as text books, we believe, in a great majority of the colleges and universities of our country, and are enjoying an unexampled popularity; but if we are not much mistaken, his *Rudiments* will become a text book for more minds, and exert more influence on the intelligence and progress of the American people, than any of his preceding works.

It can not but be a matter of high gratification to the friends of popular education, to see men whose minds are stored with science, willing to make their attainments and the results of their observation and experience accessible to the humblest as well as the most favored child in the land.

We commend the *Rudiments* to the guardians of education, and all who are engaged in the honorable employment of training the minds of the young.

Sermons, preached upon several occasions. By ROBERT SOUTH, D.D. Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ's Church, Oxford. A new edition, in four volumes,

including the Posthumous Discourses. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, 1844. Sold also by Tappan & Dennet, Boston. 137 sermons—2,300 pages, large 8vo.

Few preachers in the Established Church of England have obtained higher celebrity, by their published discourses, than the acute, the witty, and the sarcastic Dr. South. Born in 1633, educated at Oxford, and admitted to Orders in 1658, he was a popular preacher at Westminster and Oxford for more than half a century, and died in 1716, at the age of 83. Though accused of sy-cophancy to Cromwell, and of taking side with the Presbyterians against the Independents, before the Restoration, he afterwards became the unsparing scourge of all Republicans, and of the Dissenters of every name, till the day of his death. As a theologian, he was soundly orthodox, according to the standard of his church. In his sermons, when he has no aim but simply to inculcate the doctrines or duties of Christianity, he is learned, acute, and ingenious, yet too fond of piquant witticisms. Whenever he assails Dissenters, or Republicans, he is extremely intolerant, abusive, and full of gall. Although he never exhibits much unction, yet he is always interesting by the vividness of his conceptions, and the piquancy of his language. The sermons of Dr. South will find readers so long as vigorous thought, combined with withering sarcasm, shall be appreciated. The work is well printed, and on good paper. Each volume contains full plans, or analyses, of all the sermons in it; and a valuable Index to the whole work is subjoined to the last volume. This is, undoubtedly, the best and the only complete edition of all the published sermons of this celebrated preacher.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

We design hereafter to give some of the following works an extended notice.

Old Christianity against Papal Novelties, including a review of Dr. Milnor's "End of Controversy," by Gideon Ouseley. For sale by Tappan & Dennet, Boston. pp. 406, 12mo.

Lectures on the Nature and End of the Sacred Office, and on the dignity, duty, qualifications and character of the sacred order. By John Smith, D. D., one of the ministers of Campbellton. For sale by Tappan & Dennett. Boston. pp. 284, 12mo.

The Christian Doctrines. By Rev. Hubbard Winslow, of Boston. Published by Crocker & Brewster, Boston. pp. 360, 12mo.

Sequel to the Rolling Ridge, by the author of the latter; assisted by the worthy Mr. Fory. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. pp. 248, 18mo.

The Ciceronian; or the Prussian method of teaching the elements of the Latin Language. Adapted to the use of American Schools. By B. Sears. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 184, 18mo.

Infant Church Membership, or the relation of baptized children to the church. By William A. Stearns, Pastor of the Evangelical Congregational Church, Cambridgeport. Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster, 1844. pp. 165, 12mo.

The importance of good rulers, considered especially with reference to the preservation of national peace: A Sermon preached on the day of the annual fast, April 5, 1844. By Lyman H. Atwater, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Fairfield. Published by request.

The nation in perplexity: A Sermon preached in Goshen, Conn., April 5, 1844. By Lavabette Perrin, Pastor of the First Church in Goshen.

Reply to a Review of the tract on the position of the Evangelical party in the Episcopal church, contained in the Episcopal Recorder of March 16, 23, and 30, 1844. By Albert Barnes.

The following works from the press of John S. Taylor, New York, are for sale at Mr. Stebbins's Sabbath School Depository.

Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and other English Martyrs, by Charlotte Elizabeth. Selected from English Martyrology for the use of Sabbath Schools. pp. 300, 12mo.

Lament on the Cross and in the Garden, by the Rev. H. P. Buddicom, M. A., F. A. S., late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. pp. 224, 12mo.

The Traveller, or the Wonders of Art. pp. 147, 18mo.

The World's Religion, as contrasted with genuine Christianity. By Lady Colclough, daughter of the Hon. Sir John Sinclair. pp. 307, 18mo.

The obligations of the world to the Bible: a series of lectures to young men, by Gordon Spring, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the city of New York. pp. 404, 12mo.

Memoir of Rev. Leigh Richmond, A. M. By Rev. T. S. Grimshawe, A. M. Seventh American, from the last London edition. M. W. Dudd, New York. pp. 362, 12mo.

THE NEW ENGLANDER.

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Subscribers are requested as soon as they receive this No. to make payment for volume 2d to the Agent from whom they receive the work. They will thus save us the expense of employing a Traveling Agent to make collections.

We take the liberty of publishing the following flattering expression of opinion in respect to the merits of the *New Englander*, contained in a letter from one of the most accomplished and distinguished statesmen of New England.

Shrewsbury, January 17th, 1844.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—After the receipt of your kind letter, I entertained a hope that on the appearance of the expected *New Englander*, I should be permitted to prepare and send you a brief communication. But the state of my health for several weeks past has been such as to deny me the use of a pen. It is now assumed, enfeebled as I am, only to assure you of my sincere personal regard, and to express the high gratification afforded me by your number for the present month. No publication could have been more appropriate to the circumstances of the times in which we live. I humbly trust, that by the good Providence of God, the enterprise in which you are engaged will prove the instrument of exalting more and more to their posterity the transcendent virtues of our Pious Fathers; of effectually resisting the progress of a degrading superstition; of thoroughly purifying a vitiated taste for the monthly issue of literary frivolousness; and, in short, of extensively promoting the interests of pure religion, sound learning, and enlightened patriotism. I should rejoice to aid, in any degree, an noble as undertaking. But what can be expected from an invalid on the eve of his score? Truly and respectfully yours,

JOHN CURTIS SARGENT.

REV. E. R. TYLER, *Editor of the New Englander.*

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Eng'd by Daggett, Dunham & Co from an original picture in the Gallery of Yale College

JONATHAN SILLIMAN

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT

From 1706 to 1724.





THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. VIII.

OCTOBER, 1844.

GURDON SALTONSTALL, GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL, who was descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire, came to New England with Governor Winthrop and others, in the year 1630. The colonists with whom he was associated, first landed at Salem, and soon after removed to Charlestown. The apprehension, however, of the want of good water, and of other inconveniences in that place, induced some of their number to explore the surrounding country, in the hope of falling upon some spot of better promise. After the necessary survey, they determined to begin their establishment not far from Boston Neck; and as there was there an abundant supply of good water, from this circumstance they gave the name of Watertown to their new settlement.

The sufferings of these emigrants, during their first winter, were extreme. In consequence, Sir Richard appears to have become discouraged from further prosecuting personally this attempt at colonization, and went back to England; but he never ceased to befriend the colony which he had assisted in planting, and to take an active and zealous part in promoting its interests. His two oldest sons were not deterred by their father's return to Europe,

from trying their fortunes in America, and soon after emigrated to Massachusetts. Of these, Richard settled in Ipswich, and was chosen to the office of an Assistant in the colony in 1637; but after the revolution in England, he returned home. In 1680, he came again to Massachusetts, and was again chosen Assistant. Within a few years, however, he visited his native country a second time, and died at Hulme in 1694, aged eighty-four years.

Nathanael Saltonstall, son of Richard, graduated at Harvard college in 1659, and established himself at Haverhill. He was one of the prominent men of his time, and was employed in various important stations both civil and military. He died in 1707, at an advanced age.

The oldest son of Nathanael Saltonstall was Gurdon, Governor of Connecticut, who was born at Haverhill, March 27th, 1666. He was educated at Harvard college, where he graduated in 1684, distinguished for his talents and acquirements. For a profession he chose divinity, became an accomplished preacher, and in 1691 was ordained pastor of the church in New London. Besides his reputation as a divine, he was soon known as a man of general knowledge and solid judgment,

and was consulted as a kind of oracle by the magistrates of Connecticut, and by literary men of all professions. So generally was he known and respected, that on the death of the Governor, Fitz John Winthrop, in 1707, Mr. Saltonstall, at an extra session of the legislature of Connecticut in December of that year, was elected to succeed him.

A highly respectable committee of the colonial assembly was sent to New London, with a letter requesting his acceptance of the place of chief magistrate, and with another letter to the church and society of New London, urging them to consent that their minister should leave the pastoral office. The application was successful, and Governor Saltonstall took the oaths of chief magistrate, January 1st, 1708. At this time there was a statute in Connecticut, that the Governor, when elected by the people, should be chosen from among those who had been previously nominated for magistrates; and to enable the freemen, as they were then called, to give their votes at the approaching election for Governor Saltonstall, this statute was repealed. Accordingly, in the following May, he became Governor by popular choice, and was annually re-elected chief magistrate to the time of his death, which occurred September 20th, 1724.

Governor Saltonstall came into office a short time before the war of the Spanish succession, or as it is sometimes called, Queen Anne's war. At this period, the English colonies, especially those of New England and New York, were greatly exposed to attacks from the French in Canada, and from the sudden inroads of the savages. The latter, chiefly from French instigation, often perpetrated the most barbarous murders, and committed extensive depredations among the frontier settlements, which were necessarily furnished with but feeble

protection. To remove this abundant source of alarm and suffering, was one of the principal objects of the colonial policy and effort. Accordingly in 1709, Governor Saltonstall was appointed by the assembly their agent to the court of Great Britain, to present an address to the Queen, "praying for an armament to reduce the French in North America to her majesty's obedience." This agency he did not accept. The reasons of his declining it are not distinctly known; but the probability is, that he was influenced in his determination by the apparent change about this time in the measures of the English ministry for the defense of the American possessions of the crown.

The legislature of Massachusetts had addressed the Queen on the subject of the reduction of Canada, praying for an armament from England to coöperate with the troops of the colonies for this purpose. Early in 1709, news arrived that a plan had been concerted by the ministry for the conquest not only of Canada, but of Acadia and Newfoundland. To aid in the execution of this project, a requisition for troops was made on the colonies. Full quotas were furnished, and independent companies were raised and sent forward to join the expedition. A part of the New England troops were to embark in the squadron from England, which was destined to attack Quebec; the remainder was to unite with a land army chiefly raised in New York, which was to proceed by Lake Champlain, and simultaneously invest Montreal. For this great expedition, warlike stores had been collected, and a large portion of the troops had advanced to Wood creek; when news arrived from Europe, that the allies of Great Britain had sustained some reverses in the Spanish peninsula, and that the forces destined for America had been ordered for Portugal. This information was very disheartening

to the colonies. Most of their military preparations were lost; their troops at the north had suffered greatly by sickness; they were all deeply in debt, and nothing towards their final object had been accomplished.

This disappointment, however, was not followed by despair. A new deputation was sent to England, and the assembly of New York addressed the Queen. These efforts were so far successful, that in 1710 a small British squadron arrived in Boston, which with the additional force raised by great exertions in the colonies, took possession of Port Royal, and the whole of Nova Scotia was surrendered to the British crown. Another expedition against Canada was planned in 1711, and to concert measures for its success, a meeting of the governors of the several colonies was appointed at New London. New Jersey and Pennsylvania were united with New York and New England in this new attempt to drive the French from the continent. After great preparations, the fleet which was sent against Quebec, through bad management and unfavorable weather, was in part wrecked in the St. Lawrence; and the army, which was advancing northward, returned. Through the whole of this period, the duties of the governors of the several colonies were extremely arduous. On all occasions in this difficult crisis, Governor Saltonstall appears to have acted with promptness and discretion, and to have merited and retained the confidence reposed in him by the people of the colony. Connecticut, in consequence of these attempts to conquer Canada, was involved in debt. To meet the calls on the treasury, bills of credit, as they were called, to a large amount were issued. To pay these bills, extraordinary efforts were required, and they were all finally discharged.

The peace of Utrecht took place

in 1713, and the colonies were relieved of immediate danger from the French at the north, and from the savages. But attempts had been before made, and were soon renewed, to deprive Connecticut of its charter privileges. This colony, as well as some others, was thought to be too independent of the crown. To avert the danger which threatened the charter, required great prudence and decision, as well as knowledge of the subject. In Connecticut, most of the labor of managing this difficult concern devolved on the Governor and council; and the Governor, as the first magistrate and the most prominent individual in these proceedings, must have borne the chief responsibility of what was done. The agents employed to defend the charter in England, were ably instructed; they were faithful to their employers, and the charter was untouched. But in conducting this business to a successful issue, large expenses were necessary, which, in the circumstances of the colony, still suffering from the debts incurred in the Canadian expeditions, it was difficult to meet. In this emergency, Governor Saltonstall, to facilitate payments in England, became personally responsible for the amount due; and for thus supporting the credit of the colony abroad, received the thanks of the legislature.

As the English colonies were independent of each other, the regulations respecting their mutual intercourse were numerous and often vexatious; and these together with the internal concerns of the colonies, differing very greatly from what they are at present, required almost the constant attention of the several governors. In Connecticut, the meeting of the Governor and council, in the recess of the legislature, to take into consideration such subjects as required immediate action, was an event of frequent occurrence. It may be useful towards

illustrating the course of proceedings during the administration of Governor Saltonstall, to advert to a few particulars. It will be seen, that the military expeditions against the French and Indians, and measures to defend and preserve the chartered rights of the colony, did not occupy the whole time of the first magistrate.

At a meeting of the council in New London, December, 1713, the Governor laid before the board intelligence which he had received of a great scarcity of grain in the province of Massachusetts and in Rhode Island. He informed them, that although there might be a good supply of breadstuffs in Connecticut, yet as there were several vessels intending to load for Madeira and other foreign ports, those who had grain held it at so high a price, that the poor of the colony were in danger of suffering from want. He represented that there was a probability, that so much wheat, rye and Indian corn would be shipped to foreign countries, that there would not be left sufficient for the use of the colony, much less for the relief of the neighboring provinces. It was therefore resolved, not exactly in the spirit of free trade, that no grain should be exported from the colony to any place whatever, without special license from the governor in council. Orders were sent to the civil authority and selectmen of each town, immediately to make an estimate of the quantity of grain within their limits which could be spared, after reserving enough for the use of the inhabitants, and to report to the Governor and council with all convenient speed.

With respect to licenses, it was determined, that they might be granted by the Governor to such masters of vessels as should give a bond to the Treasurer of the colony with sufficient sureties to double the value of the grain to be exported, that they should carry it to Massachusetts

or Rhode Island, and within four months after the date of the bond, produce a certificate under the hand of the collector or naval officer of the port where they landed the same, that this had been done. All collectors and naval officers were empowered, in her Majesty's name, to seize all grain which should be found without regular license on board any vessel, and to secure it, that it might be disposed of by order of the Governor and council, or of the General Assembly, "to relieve the necessities of her Majesty's subjects in this colony and the neighboring provinces of Massachusetts and Rhode Island." No clearing was granted to any vessel whatever, till the master had made oath before the proper officer, that he had no grain on board illegally procured, or to be exported to foreign states. The regulations to effect the object which the government had in view, were numerous and precise, and without doubt were rigidly observed.

At a meeting of the Governor and council in New Haven, in October, 1714, the Legislature being then in session, his Excellency informed the board, that he had received a letter from the colony's agent, Jeremiah Dummer, Esq. at Whitehall, conveying the intelligence of the death of "our late most gracious Queen Anne of happy memory." He likewise stated, that in the letter were inclosed copies of the London Gazette from July 31st to August 3d, containing the same account; also, that "the Lords of the privy council, on the death of the Queen, assembled at St. James's, and gave orders for proclaiming the most high and mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland." A copy of the proclamation, which had been sent by the agent, was likewise communicated. The succession of the house of Hanover to the English crown, had been looked for in the colonies, especially in New

England, as highly auspicious towards securing their civil and religious privileges; and it was to be expected, that there would be no backwardness in Connecticut in celebrating the arrival of so important an event. Accordingly the necessary arrangements were made, and next day, the 14th of October, in the forenoon, "the death of her Majesty was solemnized by the firing of guns at a minute's distance from each other, and other proper indications of sorrow on the mournful occasion." About noon, the celebration of the accession of King George was commenced. The New Haven troops and those of the neighborhood, both horse and foot, were under arms; and at their head, as they were drawn up in "the great square before the court house," and in the presence of a "mighty concourse of other people," the proclamation of the privy council was read. "Each soldier was allowed half a pound of powder out of the public stores," and "wine and biscuit" were provided for the troops. To prevent disorders on so joyful an occasion, it was determined that no bonfires or fireworks should be allowed on the evening of the day, but that there should be "illuminations," as a "much more honorable signal of joy."*

This demonstration of sorrow and rejoicing, was a voluntary expression of feeling on the part both of the administration and the people, as no order had arrived from England on the subject. But in December of the same year, at a meeting of the Governor and council in New London, the Governor announced, that he had received a letter from Lord Bolingbroke, "giving an account of the death of our sovereign

lady Queen Anne of most blessed memory," and of the accession of "his present Majesty, our sovereign lord King George." He likewise communicated a letter from the Lords of Trade, covering one from the "Lords of his Majesty's most honorable privy council," with orders to proclaim King George, according to the form of a proclamation inclosed, with directions from the Lords of Trade to make a speedy return of proceedings in obedience to the requisition. It was upon this determined, that the transactions at New Haven ought not to be considered a sufficient compliance with the orders now received; but that "the high and mighty Prince George, our liege lord and sovereign, should be owned and recognized in the express form received from the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable privy council." On the 3d of December, therefore, the Governor and council, and several members of the assembly, with gentlemen of the town and neighborhood, and several military companies under arms, proceeded to proclaim King George according to the form prescribed. The Governor and council, and the gentlemen and officers present, took the oaths of allegiance, abjuration and supremacy; and when his Majesty was proclaimed, the troops fired three volleys, which were answered by the guns of the fort; after which the soldiers were entertained with biscuit and wine at the expense of the colony. The joy of the occasion was greatly increased by the news communicated by the Governor, that King George was in the actual and peaceable possession of the throne.*

In 1716, Indian prisoners were brought from South Carolina and sold as slaves, or were otherwise disposed of, in Connecticut. This pro-

* The bill for the expenses of the day, allowed at the colonial treasury, and which was probably complained of by the economists of the time, as unreasonable and excessive, amounted to six pounds, three shillings and four pence.

* George II. was proclaimed king, in the administration of Governor Talcott, in nearly the same manner, at Hartford, Sept. 8th, 1727.

ceeding seems to have created great alarm, and the Legislature, at their session in May, authorized the Governor and council to adopt such measures, in the recess, as they should judge necessary to meet so novel an exigency. Accordingly in July it was determined, that no vessel having such Indians on board should be entered at any port in Connecticut, till the master had given a bond with sufficient sureties to the value of fifty pounds for every Indian, that he should transport them out of the colony within twenty days. Very effectual measures were likewise taken, to secure and remove such Indians of this description as had already been introduced. The principal reason of this excitement seems to have been, the fear that these Indians from Carolina, having been taken prisoners in war, would find means to communicate their hostile feelings to the Mohegans, the remains of the Pequots and Narragansetts, and other Indians in Connecticut, and thus lead them to acts of cruelty and bloodshed. That apprehensions of attacks from the savages existed at comparatively a late period, is evident from occurrences in 1720. At this time the inhabitants of the towns in the neighborhood of Mohegan, petitioned for a guard to protect them from Indian aggressions; and the Mohegan sachem Cesar, Ben Uncas, and several of the council of the tribe, were summoned to New London to state the grounds of their uneasiness. About the same time, a Mohegan was tried before the colonial court for murder, and it is proof of the importance attached by the government to preserving a good understanding with the Indians, that some of their number were allowed in this case to sit on the jury. In 1720, an order was issued in England from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, for preparing a map of the colony, which seems to have occupied in part the attention of the

Governor for several years. The rise also of a fanatical sect called Rogereens in the eastern part of the state, was the occasion of much disturbance; and the wisdom and firmness of the Governor, were often put in requisition to preserve the peace. The bills of credit issued to meet the expenses of the Canadian wars, were extensively counterfeited, which circumstance caused the government no little trouble.

In the year 1700, a college was founded in Connecticut, which in 1716, after having been temporarily placed at Saybrook, was removed to New Haven, and subsequently, from the name of its principal early benefactor, was called Yale College. At the first public Commencement in New Haven, to give additional splendor to the literary performances, Governor Saltonstall, who had from the first exerted himself in favor of the institution, honored the occasion with a Latin oration. At the Commencement in 1722, Dr. Cutler, Rector of the college, Mr. Browne, one of the tutors, and several Congregational ministers of the neighboring churches, declared for Episcopacy. At this time there was not an Episcopal church, or clergyman, in Connecticut; and in Stratford only, a few Episcopal families. Fears were very naturally excited, that the introduction of Episcopal worship and Episcopal missionaries into the colony, would give the English church and government a dangerous influence in its concerns. In this emergency, it was thought expedient, that the subject of Episcopacy should be fully discussed between the trustees and the gentlemen who had made the declaration. Accordingly in October following, at a special meeting of the trustees in the college library, at which Governor Saltonstall presided, the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy was debated in presence of a large number of both clergy and laity. Rector Cutler was the most promi-

nent speaker on the affirmative, and Governor Saltonstall on the negative. Both parties, as is common in such cases, claimed the victory.

The interests of the college were, on various occasions, essentially promoted by the countenance and advice of Governor Saltonstall, and both he and his wife contributed liberally to its funds. It deserves here to be mentioned, that the family of Saltonstall has been long distinguished among the patrons of learning in New England. Sir Richard Saltonstall, his son Richard, and the widow of Nathanael Saltonstall, are reckoned among the early benefactors of Harvard college; and both Governor Saltonstall and his wife hold a high place in the catalogue of those who by their munificence have aided the same institution.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged ability, integrity and wisdom of Governor Saltonstall, he did not escape all personal opposition. This was shown, on the removal of the college from Saybrook to New Haven, in a manner to that time almost or quite unprecedented, in the case of a chief magistrate of Connecticut. This removal had been voted by a majority of the trustees, and sanctioned by the legislature; but a few of the trustees were determined to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the execution of this measure. The Rev. Mr. Buckingham, of Saybrook, who was one of the minority, and in whose custody the library of the institution had been placed, had refused for several years to deliver up this deposit for transportation to New Haven. At length the Governor and council assembled at Saybrook, and issued an order to Mr. Buckingham to allow the books to be taken. He refused compliance, and the Sheriff of New London county was directed to see the order executed, but was resisted in the performance of his duty. Upon this Mr. Buckingham

was put under bonds to appear before the proper tribunal to answer for his misconduct. By a new order, the house of Mr. Buckingham was broken open, and the library seized. But the difficulty did not end here. The carts, in which the books were to be carried, were attacked; and some of the bridges on the road to New Haven were rendered impassable. But the library, with the loss of two or three hundred volumes, finally reached the place of its destination.

The decided ground which Governor Saltonstall took in this affair, was the ground of much obloquy and misrepresentation. A strong party in consequence was formed in the colony, principally in the towns on the river, to defeat, the next year, his reelection to the chief magistracy. This was something new in Connecticut. The candidate set up in opposition, was the Hon. Nathan Gold, at that time Lieutenant Governor. During this political ferment, Governor Saltonstall, by the advice of the council, published two speeches which he had made to the legislature, of which very erroneous accounts had been circulated. This project of the malcontents was well nigh successful; but as passion subsided, the Governor appears to have regained his original popularity. These few details are given to show the manner in which the Governor of Connecticut was employed in the early part of the last century, and the circumstances of the state at that time in some important particulars which may be contrasted with the present. The meetings of the Governor and council were very frequent through the whole of Governor Saltonstall's administration. Thus in the year 1721, this body held two sessions in Hartford, seven in New Haven, and fifteen in New London. It should not be omitted in an account of Governor Saltonstall, that he was principally instrumental in introducing printing into

Connecticut. That the first printing press was established at New London, was in consequence of the Governor's residence at that place.

Governor Saltonstall seems to have enjoyed very uniform good health, and was still in the vigor of life, when on September 19th, 1724, at his residence in New London, after having dined as usual, he complained towards night of being unwell; and so rapid was the progress of his disorder, that the next day, at twelve o'clock, he expired. He had been Governor of Connecticut nearly seventeen years, a longer time than any other man has ever held the same office. The circumstances of his interment show the respect in which he was held. The militia were under arms; there was firing of guns at the fort, and from the ships in the harbor; and there was "a vast concourse of mourning spectators." The Rev. Eliphalet Adams, of New London, preached a sermon at the funeral, which was published. In this the character of the Governor is drawn at length, but not in exaggerated colors. All tradition, as well as every printed account, agrees with his representation. "Who," says Mr. Adams, "that was acquainted with him, did not admire his consummate wisdom, profound learning, his dexterity in business and indefatigable application, his intimate acquaintance with men and things, and his superior genius?" "His aspect," the preacher adds, "was noble and amiable, commanding respect and reverence, and attracting esteem and love, at the first appearance; and there was such an air of greatness and goodness in his whole mien and deportment, as showed him to be peculiarly formed for government and dominion."

In the Boston "News Letter," published October 1st, 1724, is an obituary notice of Governor Saltonstall, in which it is said, "He was very much fixed in the established

religion of New England, after a long, strict and critical inquiry into the principles of it; yet of a most catholic spirit, full of candor, and a sincere lover of all good men, though differing in some things from him." According to Mr. Adams, "no man was better read, either in the agitated controversies or the abstruser points of divinity." So great was the opinion of his practical wisdom, that he was much resorted to for advice, on a great variety of subjects. Mr. Adams remarks in reference to this circumstance, "People were wont to seek counsel of him, and so they ended the matter."

As to his efforts in behalf of the college, Mr. Adams observes, that "under his wing and care, our little nursery of learning hath sprung up to that consistence, observation and strength that it is this day; and now it heartily bemoans the loss of its best friend under God."

It is not known, that any publication by Governor Saltonstall is extant, except an Election Sermon, which he preached at Hartford before the Connecticut Legislature, at their session in May, 1697. In this discourse, the author treats largely of the importance of good laws, of able and faithful magistrates, and of the evils resulting to a commonwealth from the want of these essential means of the public good. As a specimen of the manner of his thinking and writing, a few extracts are here furnished from his remarks on courts of justice.

"Such is the unskilfulness of some that have an honest and just cause, such the craft and subtlety of many that have a bad one, such the shifts and tricks that men have devised to pervert the sense of the best, and to evade the force of the strongest laws, such the fair colors that the wicked tongues and worse consciences of unconscionable advocates study to put upon the most unjust and illegal actions, that if there be not wisdom to search out the matter, there will be no judging on which side justice lies." * * "Justice is to be given not sold, and that with

an equal and steady hand, so that neither a foolish compassion on the miserable when they are culpable, nor affection to friends, nor the insinuations of the crafty, nor the daubings of flatterers, the gifts of the wealthy, the favor of great ones, nor yet the frowns or threatenings of the mighty, should make it incline in the least to either side. Whatever difference there may be in respect of dignity between the parties concerned in the justice to be administered, yet justice remains one and the same, and the law by which it is to be administered ought to be duly regarded and kept unto, and not bowed or bent on every turn, as may serve occasions. This will maintain the honor of the laws, and of him who executes them; whereas, if this be neglected, they will

be both despised." * * "Do your utmost to remove every thing that hath the appearance of deceit and falsehood in it, as far as it is possible, from all affairs pertaining to the administration of justice. It is a sad thing, when it becomes a ruled case with those that have to do with such pleadings as are proper for courts of justice, that it is but a usual matter to aver any thing, be it never so wrong, if they can but make it serve the cause which they have undertaken, and when such as are paid for their speaking are so basely mercenary, as to speak more according to their fee, than their consciences. It is a horrid practice, not to be tolerated by such whose business it is to search the matter and discover the truth."

PROMISES.

WE endeavored in our first volume to present our views of the law of veracity. We found that this law binds us to preserve faith with all those, in whose minds we endeavor by a pledge of our veracity to inspire confidence, that we shall do, or refrain from doing, a specified act. We discovered also, that as such a pledge, except by the use of language, can not be given, so a breach of faith or lie, can consist only in an attempt to deceive another person by the use of language, either that of the deaf and dumb or ordinary speech.

In that essay no special reference was had to *promises*; the breach of which is thought to constitute the most flagrant species of lying. A lie or criminal falsehood is a breach of faith, because when we pledge our word to a given course of conduct, we give a tacit promise that the person to whom we make the pledge, shall not be disappointed. But in the case of promises, the promise is of course explicit. We declare expressly that we will do or forbear doing a particular thing.

Promises are of two kinds, simple and mutual. A simple promise is made by one party only. It is not con-

ditioned on the promise of any one man or body of men. A parent makes a simple promise when he tells his children, that he will, at a future time, take them to ride or to visit the museum. A mutual promise is usually styled a contract, and consists in the promise of one party, that he will do thus and thus, provided the other party will do so and so, to which the latter accedes and pledges himself.

Embarrassment often arises from the equivocal terms in which a promise is expressed. The same is true in respect to ambiguous declarations. Thus, if a boy keeps his eyes shut, while his brother is doing a mischievous act, he may tell his parents he did not see his brother do it. In *one sense* he did not see the mischief done, but in another sense, which is the one, in which he knows his parents put the question, he did see it. He was present when the thing was done; he was a *witness* to it; and this is what they meant when they asked him if he *saw* his brother do it. He did not see it with his naked eye; and by understanding their question in this sense, he flatters himself he speaks the truth. Still he is guilty of a lie. He is put on his veracity, he is expected to answer honestly,

he is supposed to be sincere, he virtually promises to represent things truly; yet he practices a deception, under cover of an ambiguous word.

Such illustrations are familiar to all. A master is said to have charged his servant, Frank, not to be out late at night. Having been disobedient, Frank shrewdly endeavors to escape punishment, without wounding his conscience, by chalking the figure 9 on one door-post and the figure 10 on the other; and so on being interrogated in the morning as to the time when he returned home, he replied, *between 9 and 10*. He was of course understood to mean between nine and ten o'clock; and he therefore told a lie, though in another sense his declaration was true.

A lady called at a friend's house about tea-time, and on being invited to a seat at table, replied that she had taken tea. She was understood to mean, that she had taken tea that evening, which was not the fact. When the truth was discovered, she apologized, by saying that she had often taken tea.

Ananias and Sapphira probably expected to escape the guilt of lying, by using equivocal language. They declared they sold the land for *so much*; a sum less than what they actually received. Yet they may have justified themselves by saying, we did sell the land for *so much*, and *more*.

In the same manner, promises are often couched in ambiguous terms either by design or inadvertently; so that the promiser may insist on one sense, and the promisee on another. By what rule then are we to interpret these ambiguous declarations and promises? The rule generally and justly acknowledged is, that an equivocal promise is to be taken in that sense in which the promiser supposes that the promisee receives it. The same rule applies to the interpretation of mere declarations. Thus when a prisoner is asked in court whether he pleads

guilty or not to the accusation, he may lawfully plead not guilty, though he knows the contrary to be the fact, for this language is ambiguous. His declaration is true in the sense in which it is received. The language is elliptical and means simply, I do not acknowledge myself to be guilty, I put my accusers to the proof.

A trader may innocently say that he can not sell his goods at less than a given price, for he does not mean, and is not thought to mean, that it would bankrupt him to do so, nor that he would make no profit; but that he is warranted by the market to expect a greater price.

On this principle alone can we excuse a juror for acquiescing in the opinions of his colleagues, contrary to his private judgment, after having sworn to decide a case according to law and evidence, unless the true interpretation of his oath is that he may thus acquiesce. This interpretation, however, even if it prevails, is unsound; because the law evidently designs that a case shall not be decided against a defendant except by a unanimous verdict of twelve of his peers; and hence each juror is bound by his oath to adhere inflexibly to his opinion.

This then is the rule of interpretation applicable both to declarations of fact and to promises. When a promise admits of more senses than one, it ought to be performed in that sense in which the promiser supposed that the promisee received it. It is not the sense in which the promiser actually intended it, which governs the interpretation of an equivocal promise; for it is possible that his real intention might not occur to the promisee, and the promiser might know that it would not. Much less is it the sense in which the promisee receives a promise; for then the promiser might be drawn into engagements of which he never dreamed. It must therefore be taken in the sense in which the promiser at the time of the promise believed that

the promisee understood it. A general, says Paley, once promised a garrison, which he was besieging, that if they would surrender, *no blood should be shed*. The garrison surrendered and he buried them all alive. Now he fulfilled the letter of his promise, and in the sense in which he intended it at the time, but not in the sense in which he knew the garrison received it. He was therefore guilty of a breach of promise, for he ought to have fulfilled his promise as he knew it was understood.

A promiser may however, in many cases, screen himself from human censure, behind the ambiguity of his promise, for it is not possible for the promiser to know in what sense the promisee understood his language; but still he is bound in the *sight of God*, to fulfill the promise precisely as he supposed it was received.

Whoever acknowledges the duty of veracity in respect to facts, on the ground that whenever we profess to speak the truth, we *virtually* promise to do so, will readily acknowledge the obligation of keeping our *actual* promises. The same considerations which create the former obligations, impose the latter with equal or greater weight. Most writers on moral science however, tell us that promises are not always binding; and they generally give us a list of cases, in which they assure us promises are not obligatory.

There is something, we apprehend, unfortunate for the cause of good morals, in the use of this language. We are at first assured that a breach of promise is a lie or criminal falsehood, and then that breaches of promise are sometimes justifiable—a loose mode of expression adapted to bewilder the mind, and set it afloat in an ocean of uncertainty. Breaches of promise are invariably sinful, if the argument on the universal sinfulness of lying, contained in our previous article, is sound. What then shall be done in

those cases in which it is evidently sinful to perform what has been promised? Are these sinful acts to be committed rather than violate a promise? We are not thrown on the horns of any such dilemma. The truth is that no promise ceases to be obligatory until it has ceased to exist. All promises are made on conditions either expressed or implied, on the failure of any one of which, the promise itself may be annihilated. A promise can not exist after the conditions on which it was made, have vanished. This is very obvious in the case of a contract, where one promises thus and thus, on the express condition that another will do so and so. For if one party in the engagement fails to fulfill his promise, the other party is released, not from the obligation of keeping a promise, but from the promise itself. When I say I will do a certain thing, if you will do another, I make no promise, until you reply accepting my offer. I am then bound, until it appears that you are false to your engagement, when my obligation and promise cease. By not doing what I once promised to do, I do not innocently break a promise; there is no promise to break. This all acknowledge.

The same is true, if we mistake not, in regard to all other promises. They never lose their force, unless some of the conditions, on which they are expressly or impliedly made, are found to be wanting—in which event, they no longer exist.

Some of these conditions may be named for the purpose of showing the truth of these views. When I promise a beggar, to do him an act of kindness, it is on the expressed or implied condition, that I find his tale of distress, which is the motive of my promise, to be true. If, on inquiry, I find he has been telling me a tissue of lies, I can tell him so, and dismiss him without relief; for I made the promise on the condition, that he told me the truth. In like

manner no promise is binding, which is obtained by false pretenses; for the implied condition of making it, is, that the reason for which it is made, shall prove to be true. Thus, if a woman promises her hand in marriage; and afterwards discovers that her suitor is a man of bad character, her promise is null and void; for she may be presumed to have made it on the supposition of his being such a man as he represents himself to be.

Ability to perform a promise is always one of its conditions. If I promise I will pay a debt at such a time, it places me under obligation to do all in my power to fulfill my engagement; but if, after having done this, it should prove impossible for me to pay it, I am not guilty in the sight of God of a breach of promise. I may have done wrong in making it without sufficient reflection and a proper calculation of my means; but I am not culpable for failing to do impossibilities. Every promise is manifestly conditioned on our ability to fulfill it; for otherwise it would be wrong to make any promise, since our ignorance of what an hour may bring forth, assures us, that we may be unable to fulfill promises, which seem to be completely in our power. Still the promiser is guilty of a lie, if at the time of making the promise, he is secretly aware of the impossibility of keeping it. The case is the same, if he voluntarily occasions the impossibility.

Another condition of every promise, is, that the promise is lawful. A promise can create no obligation, to do that which God forbids. A case may occur, (like that of the men who made a vow that they would neither eat nor drink, till they had killed Paul,) in which the promise is known at the time to be unlawful. In such a case it is unlawful to make a promise, and doubly so to fulfill it. No obligation is created by it. As a binding power,

the promise never has an existence. Those to whom it is made, knowing it to be unlawful, ought not to expect or desire its fulfillment. It is no breach of authorized confidence to treat it as an idle word. It may happen, however, that the promiser is, at the time, ignorant of the unlawfulness of his promise, but discovers the fact afterwards, when the promise ceases to have a being. Thus, a woman may give a promise of marriage, and afterwards discover that her intended husband has a wife yet living. Her promise at once vanishes. The oath of Herod to the daughter of Herodias belongs to this class. He promised her whatever she should ask, even to the half of his kingdom. This promise was not unlawful; it was only rash, in the terms in which he delivered it; and when it became unlawful by his daughter-in-law's choice of the head of John the Baptist, he was not bound to fulfill it, in that sense; for the implied condition was, that she should ask what he had a right to give. If she had asked him for the throne of Cæsar, it would have been no more inconsistent with his legitimate powers, or the true interpretation of his promise. Though he had a physical control over John, as he was one of his subjects, he had no more right, in a moral sense, to take his life, than he had to usurp the throne of the Roman emperor.

It is, also, made a condition of every promise, that the promisee may release the promiser from his engagement. This is evident. If now we carefully examine every promise, we shall find them all to be binding, except such as are vacated by the failure of some one or more of the conditions on which they depend. When any of these conditions fail, the promise ceases, or becomes extinct, just as truly as it would if I should say expressly, that I will assist you or visit you at such a time, if I am well or not unavoidably prevented. We do not

always thus *express* the conditions of our promises, but they are always either expressed or understood. We never mean to promise a thing absolutely, whether it proves practicable or not, whether lawful or unlawful, whether the promise is fraudulently obtained or not, whether we are released or not by the promisee. And because these conditions belong to every promise, and are generally recognized, we are not often at the pains of expressing them.

It is, therefore, no breach of the law of veracity, no lie, not to perform a promise, which has become null and void by a failure of any material condition, either expressed or implied, on which it was made. In all cases promises are binding; or it is our duty to fulfill *every* promise, for no vacated promise has any existence. However much the fulfillment of a promise may distress or embarrass us, it is our duty to fulfill it. He is commended in the Holy Scriptures, who sweareth to his own *hurt*, and changeth not.

After this exposition of the law of veracity, we feel disposed to moralize a moment, and in this manner to throw a stronger light on this important point in practical ethics.

1. It should never be forgotten, that when one party in a contract fails to keep his engagement, the other is entitled to damages to the amount of what he may have suffered by such failure. A breach of a promise of marriage, on the part of the man especially, justly entitles the other party to damages for whatever injury may have been suffered, in feeling and in the prospects of life. Nor ought the recovery of damages in a court of law, to be esteemed derogatory to the female sex; for in this case, above many others, the magistrate beareth not the sword in vain.

2. Contracts between societies, and between societies and individuals, are just as obligatory, as if formed between individuals. The familiar assertion, that corporations have

no souls, or no consciences, owes its currency to the strange delusion, that men may do things in an associated capacity, which would be acknowledged immoral in an individual. The conduct of many men, who are upright in their intercourse and transactions with private persons, is often of such a character in their dealings with the government, as can be justified only on the supposition, that society is indeed, like the lower creation, without a soul, without rights. But the obligation of veracity extends to all the parties to a contract. A society is as strictly bound to keep its faith with other societies, and with individuals, as individuals can be to keep faith with each other; and even more strictly, since the interests at stake are much more momentous. A breach of faith between nations may involve them in war; indeed the faith of treaties is that which binds them together in peace, and sustains their commercial enterprise. Nor is it less essential to the prosperity of a nation, that her rulers should possess the confidence of the people. A government that can not be trusted, will be hated, and if possible overthrown. Individuals are also bound to keep inviolate their faith with society. Their obligation to fulfill their engagements with individuals can not be more sacred. When we wrong society, we wrong every particular member of it. The reason why this is so feebly felt, is that our contracts with society are not usually made in manner and form, but tacitly. Thus, by remaining in a country, when one has the liberty of removing—by claiming the protection of government, and by participating in the election of rulers and the enactment of laws, if that is permitted him, a person tacitly or silently agrees to submit to the laws of the land. He thus becomes a party to a contract. While society is under obligation to extend to him the rights of a citizen, he is under

obligation to fulfill to the best of his ability the duties of a good citizen ; and if he voluntarily fails, he is guilty of a breach of contract. On this ground, it is a breach of contract to defraud the customs, to evade the usury laws, or to break any other law of the land, which is not itself opposed to a higher law, the law of God. An exception may be admitted, where a law by general consent has gone into desuetude ; for in this case it may be presumed that society relinquishes her claim to obedience.

3. It should be observed, that contracts are not disannulled by a failure of either party to do all that becomes him in the relation, provided no essential element of the contract is broken. Thus, an insult on the part of one nation will not justify the other in refusing to fulfill her treaties. For, if this were so, I should, on the same principles, be released from obligation to pay a just debt to any man, who had spoken disrespectfully of me. So likewise, a man may not be divorced from his wife, simply because she is extravagant, slovenly, intemperate or fretful ; for though, in these respects, she is not what she contracted to be, she has not committed an absolute breach of covenant. In this, human and divine law may not harmonize. The laws of man may allow a rupture of the marriage contract, for reasons which may indeed justify a temporary separation of the parties, but which the Bible does not acknowledge to be a sufficient cause for divorce. Whenever, therefore, this contract is formed, the implied condition is, that it shall not be dissolved, by either party, unless the other shall first be guilty of the crime, which our Lord pronounces the only sufficient reason for its abrogation. In the event of a separation for other reasons, neither party can be innocently married to another person.

It is, however, to be remarked, as Paul teaches, 1 Cor. 7 : 15, that this

sin is virtually committed, or a party to the marriage contract is presumed guilty of an absolute breach of contract, when he separates himself from his partner, with no intention of returning, and with an entire neglect of conjugal duties. This is recognized in the civil law of most countries, and is made the ground of divorce, not only from a support, but from the marriage relation itself.

4. We can not be too cautious in making promises, or too faithful in keeping them. They who hastily say that they will do whatever is requested, without carefully considering whether they shall be able to meet their engagements, are apt to break their word, and to acquire a reputation very far from being desirable or honorable. This is the reason why certain classes of artisans are proverbially false to their promises. They are daily obliged to inform their customers when their work will be finished, which exposes them peculiarly to the habit of making promises without due consideration. It becomes them to put a double guard on their lips. In all cases, we should avoid making a promise which we shall be liable to break. No promise should be given without a good reason ; and then it should be accompanied with proper conditions, plainly expressed, so that there may be no well founded disappointment. We should be more particularly on our guard against promises which are difficult to keep, and which are of great importance to the happiness of others. This remark applies to very early and hasty promises of marriage, which are apt to be broken by one party or the other, to the great unhappiness of both.

It is a serious reflection, that a breach of promise is a criminal falsehood—a sin against God, which in addition to the most afflictive consequences in this world, is liable to severe retributions in eternity. While therefore we endeavor to

avoid the danger, by making no hasty and needless engagements, we should be exact and scrupulous in keeping them, when once made. No fear of loss or suffering, no plea of expediency, no pretense of duty, should deter us from fulfilling engagements, the obligation of which has in no way been vacated. In short, we should cultivate an ardent, devoted love of truth, and shrink from the moral pollution of a breach of promise, rather than from the temporary inconveniences of strict veracity.

5. Whoever is ignorant of the spirit of the law, and understands the letter only, having no sound principles of interpretation to apply to the moral precepts of the Bible, and to the civil codes of men, has no safeguard against the most absurd and extravagant conduct, and can have no intelligent peace of conscience. He will make himself an object of contempt to bad men, and of pity to the good. He will close against himself every avenue to honor and usefulness. For example, if he imagines that promises are based on no conditions, and subject to no other limitations than are expressly specified, he will, if an honest man, be drawn into a vortex of fooleries, utterly destructive of his reputation as a man of sense. A letter recently appeared in the papers, which perfectly confirms these views. It is addressed to Gov. Briggs of Massachusetts, by a distinguished gentleman of that state. In this letter, he resigns the office of justice of the peace, and renounces and recalls the oath to support the constitution of the United States, which he made at the time he received his commission. But whence arise these strange proceedings? Does he not know that an oath made to God can not be recalled? Is he ignorant that an express oath to support the government of a country has no more force than the tacit promise to that effect which every

citizen makes by consenting to reside in a country and claiming the protection of its laws? Whence then this farce—this vain attempt to throw off the obligation to support the constitution of his country? From his want of information. He has never studied ethics as a science. The subject is too dry and theological for one whose mind is absorbed in the wisdom of this world. He does not know that promissory oaths are always made under conditions, by the failure of which the promise may be in part or wholly vacated. He is ignorant that an oath to support the constitution of a country, does not include those parts of the constitution which are opposed to the divine law. So far as any promise embraces in literal terms the doing of wrong acts, it is null and void. No promise can be made without this expressed or tacit understanding as respects this necessary limitation. Yet he, a man of conscience, feeling himself bound by his oath to support our national constitution even to the article that requires the delivery of a fugitive slave to his master, is driven by a sense of duty to decline serving his country as a magistrate, and to renounce his oath to sustain the best national constitution in the world, even in those respects in which it comports with the divine will. What an absurd waste of talent! What a sacrifice of personal advantages, of reputation, influence, office and income! All this he can endure and rejoice over as parts of his duty. He prefers this bondage to error, to the liberty enjoyed by a thorough ethical student. He can not spend time to investigate such dry themes. Thus he ignorantly makes himself the scorn and pity of the world.

This is only one illustration of the liability of men who are ignorant how to interpret the moral law, to rush headlong into the grossest absurdities, a warning to all their imitators.

REVIEW OF DR. STONE'S MYSTERIES OPENED.*

WE welcome this volume from the pen of Dr. Stone. It is a valuable addition to theological literature. We should welcome such a work coming from any quarter, on account of its intrinsic worth. We welcome it especially, as coming from an eminent Episcopalian. The rarity of such works from Episcopal sources render them exceedingly valuable. We commend its doctrines on the vitally important topics of which it treats. We commend them without qualification. The book in its main features is right, just right. It is good, very good.

We are not surprised at such a work from Dr. Stone. It is what we had a right to expect from his well known ability, evangelical principles, and manly Christian character. Having held the pastoral office for many years successively, in Litchfield, New Haven, Boston, and Brooklyn, Dr. S. is widely known and highly respected and admired (more generally we think out of his own denomination than within it) for his evangelical, plain, pungent, and eloquent preaching. There has been therefore, an extensive feeling of late, that Dr. S. would not be long silent; that he would lift up a standard against the errors subversive of the gospel—yea, constituting another gospel—which have become so rife in prelatic charges, in Episcopal pulpits and papers, and in Episcopal theological schools. That expectation has not been disappointed. Dr. S. in the volume before us, the substance

of which, he has, we presume, delivered in another form to his people, has spoken faithfully, manfully, powerfully. He has given a refutation of prevalent Episcopal errors, respecting baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the comparative value of preaching and the sacraments, and a statement and defense of the truth on these subjects, which can not be overthrown, which will stand as long as the Scriptures, on which they are firmly based.

The work is truly Protestant and truly Catholic. Catholic we mean in the true and best sense of that term. It is able, thorough, and just, in the statement and defense of the truth, and impartial, able, thorough and unanswerable in the statement and refutation of error. We will give briefly our views of the work, by illustrating from its pages these several positions.

It is *truly Protestant*. He brings his cause for trial before the sole tribunal of the Scriptures. His appeal is ever to the law and to the testimony. He occasionally endeavors indeed, to show the harmony between his views and the ecclesiastical standards of his church. But this is an object by the way, and entirely subordinate. He evinces plainly and practically his opinion, that we are to go individually and directly to the Scriptures for our religious creed, and that all human exposition and interpretation, whether that of the church or of individuals, is valuable, only as it assists us in judging of the true sense of the Bible. He sustains his own views and refutes those of his opponents, by arguments from the general scope of the Scriptures, and by a thorough, critical, and sensible exposition of numerous texts. One reason which has influenced him in taking this course, he says, is—

* The *Mysteries Opened*; or Scriptural Views of Preaching and the Sacraments, as distinguished from Certain Theories concerning Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence. By the Rev. John S. Stone, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1844.

"The increasing prevalence of views which, to his apprehension, threaten the dislodgment of the Bible from its true place of importance in the settlement of all questions involving the purity and the vital interests of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"We see coming into distinct shape among us the notions that Christ has left himself perpetually incarnate, through the sacraments, in the living body of the visible church; and that he now dispenses the gifts of the Holy Spirit, not by imparting them directly to the *individual*, who privately studies or publicly hears the truths of the word, or who, independently of all outward ordinances, seeks those gifts in secret and believing prayer, but by having, *once for all*, deposited those gifts in the hands of his apostles alone, to be by them *handed down* through successors, and by successors, through sacraments, to the body of the church. Now these are notions which can never be plausibly sustained but by aids extraneous to the Scriptures themselves; in other words, by later *tradition*. It is impossible to find adequate support for such views in the word of God. They are in conflict with that divine standard. They must virtually appeal from it to another rule. It is evident, therefore, that just so far as such notions prevail, the Scriptures must be sinking in the practical esteem both of clergy and laity; while tradition simultaneously rises to the rank of virtually supreme judge and arbiter in all the most important questions which can affect the purity of the church and the Gospel, or the destinies of Christ's kingdom on earth. On the theory which the above notions involve, the ministry of the church holds a prerogative, which, as our nature is constituted, can never be safe in human hands; which has ever proved the means of the most crushing spiritual despotism, and which must always force its upholders into greater and greater departures from the simplicity of the Gospel, into the corruptions of error."—*Preface*, pp. 5, 6.

Speaking of the argument, "that such is the meaning (that which teaches baptismal regeneration) put on the passage (John 3: 5) by a long catalogue of ancient writers and liturgies," he says,

"If, therefore, the meaning '*assumed*' for this expression, and '*seen*' in it, though not '*proved*' of it, be a *wrong* meaning, then it matters not how many writers or how many liturgies have been concerned in thus *assuming* and *seeing* what they attempt not '*to prove*.' There have been ages, not very modern, when both individ-

ual writers, and scattered churches using liturgies, were prone to incorporate *some errors* among the mass of truths which they doubtless held; and, under *such* circumstances, a *wrong* meaning of the text, though '*assumed*' and '*seen*' ten thousand times, does not thereby become the *right* meaning."—p. 180.

One more passage in illustration of this point, we will quote. After an attempt to reconcile his denial of baptismal regeneration, with the language of the baptismal service in the Prayer-book—an attempt wholly unsuccessful, as we think—he says,

"But whether or not this be, to all minds, a perfectly satisfying explanation of the language of our church, as it has been quoted, in one thing we may be well settled: the justness and necessity of that great law of interpretation, so vitally important to us as *Protestant* Episcopalians, which I find in the writings of the late venerable Bishop Griswold, that, in cases of apparent conflict, '*the Prayer-book must be explained into an agreement with the Bible, and not the Bible into an agreement with the Prayer-book.*' If the two *appear* to differ, much more, if they really *do* differ, the *human* must bow to the *divine*. It were *impious* to force the *divine* to do obeisance to the *human*. And that the theory of baptismal regeneration, as I have exhibited it from the writings of its now most popular, if not its actually greatest masters, does, not only *apparently*, but *actually* and *irreconcilably*, differ from the true sense of Scripture, is a position which has, I humbly conceive, been sufficiently demonstrated."—pp. 245, 246.

Now we are aware that it may seem to our readers no great praise, to say of a work in this Protestant country, that it is truly Protestant; and we assure them, that had such a work been written by a Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist, we should not have thought of awarding to it praise on this account. Our readers may think also that in a church calling itself *Protestant* Episcopal, it ought to be no distinction, to have written a work truly Protestant. But things are not always as they ought to be, nor as they profess to be. It is a distinction in this Protestant country, for a Protestant Episcopal minister

to be a true and thorough Protestant. It is extraordinary praise of an Episcopal work in this country, to say that it is thoroughly Protestant. We hear so much more of, "To the Prayer-book and to the Liturgy," than of, "To the law and to the testimony," so much of the denial of the Protestant principle, as in Bishop Brownell's late charge, and the assertion that the Holy Scriptures are authority, not directly to individuals, but only as they are read through the interpretation of the church during the two first centuries, which interpretation is contained in the Prayer-book. We witness so much of alienation from, and opposition to a Bible Society which circulates the Bible alone without note or comment; so much fear of the distribution of the Bible, unless accompanied by the Prayer-book as an expositor; so much more exaltation of "our excellent liturgy" than of the Scriptures of truth; so much desire that the Prayer-book rather than the Bible, should have free course and be glorified; so much more of church-interpretation, than of individual study of God's word; so much more of "How can I understand except the church teach me," than of "Search the Scriptures," that when an Episcopal writer swings clear of the interpretation of church, liturgy and fathers, as decisive authority—declares that these are mere human helps by which it is "impious" to be bound contrary to our judgment of the true meaning of the word of God, manfully appealing directly and individually to that word, as the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice, and glorifying it as the great instrument of God the Spirit in regenerating and saving a sinful and lost world, we rejoice in it as an extraordinary phenomenon, and deem it worthy therefore of marked praise.

The work is also *truly catholic*. We find in it no claim that the

Episcopal branch of the church of Christ is the only true church, no claim that hers are the only valid ministry and ordinances, no contemptible talk about "dissenters," no monopoly of covenanted mercy and titles to the heavenly inheritance. Dr. S. when speaking of the Episcopal church, unlike his high church brethren, and, we are sorry to add, unlike most of those who are called low church, uses not the exclusive and arrogant phrase, "*the church*," but generally the just and appropriate one, "*our church*." Throughout his whole book, his doctrine is, that all who have "repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ," are included in the covenant of grace. Moreover, he refers to the uncharitable and insolent dogma, that those out of the pale of the Episcopal church have no promise of salvation, and if saved at all, must be saved by uncovenanted and unknown mercy, and thus explicitly and eloquently contradicts it.

"But, says the theory which we are examining, although the atoning sacrifice of Christ be the only *meritorious* cause of the remission of sins, yet the sacraments of the church are the truly *instrumental* cause of this remission. The pardon which Christ purchased on the cross, he conveys through the sacraments.

"Here, however, starts up the question, What, then, becomes of those myriads who have the word of God, and hear the Gospel preached, and believe in Christ '*with all the heart*,' and yet have not access to the sacraments of the church in the only sense in which this theory understands the sacraments? a question to which the theorists have nothing to reply but this: that if such are saved, it is not by promise, not by guarantee, not by covenant; but in some way of which God hath been pleased to tell us nothing; perhaps by those superaboundings of grace, of which the church, as '*a vessel of mercy*,' is so unconfinably full that they overflow, and reach even to those hapless believers who are providentially left (if not left too far) beyond the limits of covenanted favor. This reply, however, brings out the thoroughly unscriptural character of the theory to which it belongs. According to the Bible, all to whom the Gospel comes, and who truly believe in

Christ, are saved, not by the vague possibilities of 'uncovenanted mercy,' but under the guarantee of *promise, covenant and oath*. The *covenant of grace* goes with the *word of God*, and reaches wherever that word is received into the faith of renewed hearts. It is not circumscribed by the walls of a visible church, especially as those walls are built by the architects of this restrictive theory. It covers with its divine palladium every believer in Jesus who, having that word in which it is revealed, clasps it to his heart, and lives on its assurance. *Every* such one has, by those 'two immutable things in which it is impossible for God to lie, a strong consolation;' he is among those '*heirs of promise*' to whom 'God hath more abundantly shown the immutability of his counsel,' in that he 'confirmed it by an *oath*.' Such an one 'hath fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before him;' and this 'hope he hath as an anchor of the soul, both *sure and steadfast*, and which entereth into that within the veil; whither the Forerunner is for us entered, even *Jesus*, made a high-priest forever, after the order of Melchisedec.'—Heb. vi, 17-20. Every such believer, I repeat, is saved, not by *chances*, or by *possibility*, or by *peradventure*, but by *promise*, and under the *oath of the covenant*, whether he fall *within or without* those walls of the visible church, which are drawn and reared by the hands of this limitarian theory. God hath not *two* revealed ways in which he extends remission of sins to the disciples of Jesus; he hath but *one* such way; this way *excludes* every other, wherever the knowledge of the Savior comes; and *this way* is thus marked out: 'God so loved the *world*, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'—pp. 312-314.

This is large hearted, noble Christian charity, such as the gospel ever inspires in those who partake largely of its spirit. We commend it as a feast of charity to the New York Churchman and the Bishop of New York to be inwardly digested.

Here again, our readers may ask, Is this extraordinary liberality, worthy of uncommon praise? It seems to us, mere common Christian charity. True. It is mere common Christian charity, *out of the pale of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches*. But in the Episcopal church, it is by no means common, but very extraordinary charity, to acknowledge the cove-

nanted title to salvation, of all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. In all our Episcopal reading we recollect but few acknowledgments of this kind, and none so full, decisive, and unqualified. For Episcopal charity it is extraordinary, and therefore deserving of uncommon praise. We have felt so often grieved, and insulted, and disgusted by the bigotry, arrogance, and impudence of Episcopal writers—by their exclusive appropriation of the title, "*the church*," ("the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these"—"no doubt but ye are the people")—by the declarations, that "where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the church by the participation of its ordinances at the hands of the duly authorized priesthood is the indispensable condition of salvation"*—that "what means the goodness and mercy of God may provide for the salvation of those who have never heard of the Gospel, or of those whose ignorance or prejudice has induced them to reject it, is not for us to know, but the revelation of God offers salvation only through the (Episcopal) church"†—"that the alone want of communion with the bishop, makes persons aliens from the covenants of promise and the commonwealth of Israel," and that "the condition of those who are disunited from Christ, by being disunited from his visible representative (the bishop) is the same with that of the damned"‡—that non-Episcopalians "are destitute of the sacraments, destitute of a scriptural ministry, destitute of the church"§—that Episcopal ministers are "the sons of Aaron," and non-Episcopal ministers "the sons of Korah,"|| that we are delight-

* Bishop Hobart's Companion for the Altar.

† Bishop Brownell's Charge.

‡ Dodwell.

§ Missionary Sermon preached in Trinity Church, New Haven.

|| Coxe's Revivalism and the Church.

fully surprised when we read any Episcopal writer who values the inward more than the outward, faith more than forms, the kernel more than the shell—who manifests an enlarged Christian charity. It seems to us, as Bishop Brownell says the Episcopal church does among the “dissenting sects,” like “an oasis in the desert;” and we rejoice over it more than over “ninety and nine” manifestations of non-Episcopal charity. We heartily thank Dr. S. for his free and eloquent reciprocation of that Christian fellowship, which we ever delight to extend to all of every name, who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. It has really refreshed us, and quite soothed our wounded Christian sensibility. And we place it on our pages in honorable contrast with the insolent and wretched bigotry with which we have been so mournfully familiar.*

But we must pass on. The book is truly *impartial*. Our author has indeed, presented the errors which he refutes in all their real deformity. But he has done it by presenting them, not in his own, but in the language of their advocates. And, quoting the language of the authors whom he opposes, (he quotes chiefly from Dr. Pusey, Mr.

Newman, and the Oxford Tracts,) he quotes fairly, and puts their theories in such a light as they themselves must acknowledge to be just. We have seen no instance in which he has endeavored to force a meaning on a passage, which his opponent did not really intend.

The work is also *able, thorough and true*. It denies baptismal regeneration and the real presence, scatters to the winds all arguments in their favor, and brings an irresistible array of arguments both from Scripture and reason, against them. It denies the Puseyite and high church opinion that the sacraments are “sources of grace.” It flies in the face of the doctrine so common among Episcopalians, that the liturgy and the sacraments read and administered by the duly authorized priesthood, are more important than preaching, and maintains that preaching is the grand instrumentality, chosen by Divine wisdom, for the salvation of the world. But we prefer to let Dr. S. speak for himself. The following view of the nature and importance of the question which really involves all the questions that he discusses respecting the sacraments, is very just.

“To say that the difference between the two views which have been taken of baptism is *important*, would be weak

* High church Episcopalians have become so habituated to this kind of insolence, that they have come to think that they have a right (proscriptive we suppose) to be insolent, and indeed do not seem to know that they are insolent, so that when their insolence is exposed and rebuked with a tithe of the severity which it deserves, and the public health demands, they cry out against our discourtesy and think themselves marvelously ill used. They start with an air of injured innocence and inquire what “the church” has done that it should be an object of general attack and discourtesy. They put us out of the church of Christ, and out of our hopes of heaven, and consign us to uncovenanted mercy among aliens and heathen; they turn us out of the company of “the children” among “the dogs,” and this habitually, by word, and by practice, and on theory.

And then when we, thus assailed and calumniated, begin, not to retaliate, not to deny their standing in the church of Christ, and their right in the covenants of promise, but simply by Scripture and reason, to defend our spiritual birthright and privileges, and our title to a name and a place in the Christian church and to covenanted salvation, and thus to expose and rebuke their uncharitableness and arrogance, they think us, forsooth, very uncourteous, and *themselves* greatly abused! Poor injured souls! Oh! the blindness of bigotry! They are like a man so accustomed to crowd other people off the walk, that he thinks he has a right so to do, and when an individual, without attempting to retaliate, simply exposes to him his rudeness, he thinks himself very uncourteously treated and grossly abused.

speech. It is *fundamental*; involving the vital interests of the kingdom of Christ, and auguring, as the one theory or the other shall prevail, either the return of a dun eclipse to the Sun of truth and life, or the shining on to a still more perfect day of that glorious light of the Gospel which the best fathers of the English and American Protestant Episcopal churches have held forth ever since the time of the blessed Reformation. It is in the view taken of *baptism* that the seed was planted which, in the middle ages, produced the fruit of that giant error, in later times named *Transubstantiation*; the poison of which, it may well be feared, hath made her who hath tasted it sick unto death. And it will be in *our* views of baptism, if we are indeed destined to so sad a retrogression, that *we* shall *replant* the same seed of error, and reproduce the same fruits of death!"—pp. 246, 247.

The sum of what is said in the work, is thus briefly but truly stated.

"The sole end of God, in all his gracious dealings with us, is the renewal and sanctification of our sinful natures: the sole agent of this necessary change is the Holy Spirit: the sole instrument which the Spirit uses in this work is divine truth: while both preaching and the sacraments are but channels of equally divine appointment, through which, in their proper places, order, and degree, that Spirit pours the energy of truth, in all its renewing and sanctifying light, upon waiting, inquiring and obedient minds."—pp. 391, 392.

"Keep these principles in view," adds he, "and the church will be to us full of life, and the way along which she conducts us to heaven, luminous with safety. Lose sight of these principles, and the church herself is in danger of becoming but a body of death: and the way along which she leads us begins to be overhung with the darkness of error, superstition, and fearful peril to our souls."—p. 392.

The volume is divided into three parts, the first, on the design and relation of preaching, and the sacraments; the second, on the nature of baptism; the third, on the nature of the Lord's supper.

His first chapter is on the Christian's new birth; a subject which he rightly deems fundamental, and therefore first in order in the discussion. This, which he holds to be a radical change in moral character, consisting in repentance and faith, he declares to be wrought by the

agency of the Holy Spirit, and yet in such a manner as not to conflict with moral freedom and responsibility.

"He (the Spirit) acts not on merely passive substances. He acts by inclining living spirits to action. He infuses not holiness in quantity into a motionless soul, as men pour clean water into a standing vessel. He puts the soul in motion toward the attainment of holiness, as a skillful master teaches his pupil how to acquire useful knowledge." "The soul becomes holy by thinking of holiness, longing for holiness, and laboring for holiness; but it is the Spirit of God that *moves* it to think, to long, and to labor."—p. 23.

He then shows that the Spirit works this change by the sole instrumentality of the truth. Says he—

"How the Spirit uses this truth in renewing and purifying the soul, is a different question, and one which I purpose hereafter to examine. For the present, I am concerned simply with the *fact* that, strictly speaking, this truth is the instrument, and the *only* instrument, employed in his work. I say the only instrument, because the church, her ministry, her sabbaths, her worship and her sacraments, are not, *in strictness*, instruments. They are so only as they hold the instrument in their hands. They are but the scabbard, in which is sheathed that heaven-tempered 'sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God,' the truth of the Gospel. Unsheathe—not for use, but to cast away—that sword; withdraw, so as to lose, this truth; or even, in *any* way, virtually deprive her of the word of God, and the church, her ministry, her sabbaths, her worship and her sacraments, would be lifeless things. They could exert no renewing and purifying power over the soul. In vain would you then go to them for life and cleansing. You might as well go for knowledge to a book, the covers of which inclosed only *blank leaves*, without the imprint of a syllable or a letter. Except as channels through which the Spirit pours God's truth upon the mind, the external things of the church are powerless for spiritual good. Take this truth out of them, and they could make no more impression on the soul, than could a man's naked hand, or a literal sword of steel. The soul can not feel *them*; it can feel only the *truth*, when it comes through them."—pp. 25, 26.

Dr. S. then, in irresistible opposition to the Puseyite or high church doctrine, which he quotes from the

Oxford Tracts, "that the *sacraments*, not *preaching*, are the sources of Divine grace," proves, that "preaching is the right hand of the Spirit, in wielding the sword of the word," by showing, that, "in the New Testament, the main stress in the work of saving men is laid on preaching, whether we look at Christ's own ministry, or at his various commissions to the twelve, or at their action under those commissions, or at the language of the New Testament writers when speaking of preaching, or the sacraments, whether separately or in connection." We can only give this outline of the argument and quote one sentence as a specimen of the point and power with which it is executed.

"'Christ sent me not to *baptize*, but to *preach the Gospel*.' That is, administering the sacraments is not the main thing for which I am sent. *This is the preaching of the Gospel*."—p. 48.

The conclusion of the argument is well expressed thus.

"The principal results, then, which have now been reached are these two: that the sacraments were intended, not for the instrumental origination of the new life in the soul, and the conveyance of pardon or justifying grace, but for administration to those who, through the preaching of the Gospel made effectual by the Spirit, have previously been brought to repentance and faith in Christ; or who, if *infants*, are in baptism placed amid the means of their subsequent renewal unto righteousness and true holiness; but, that the preaching of the Gospel of Christ crucified, in season and out of season, in the face of persecution and death, with boldness and fidelity, in love and long suffering, was the one mighty labor to which the first ministers of Christ were devoted, and in which they wore out their lives for the conversion and salvation of their fellow men."—p. 51.

This is very good, and what the Episcopal church especially needs to hear. For, the idea is quite too common in that denomination, not only that salvation comes by the sacraments rather than by preaching, but also that "faith comes" not "by hearing," but by *reading* (the liturgy.) And verily, when we have

heard some high church moral essays about fifteen minutes long, we have not wondered at the prevalence of this opinion. And on the other hand, when we have heard in Episcopal churches, Dr. S. and Bishop McIlvaine and others like them, we have thought, not only that they realized that preaching is the right hand of the Spirit, but also, that if their hearers would endure for any considerable time the faithful operation of this right hand from these "Presbyterians in disguise," (as they have been frequently called in places which we wot of,) they verily would believe and realize it also, and prize such ministrations beyond measure.

The conclusion quoted above, is then confirmed by a chapter on the sacraments, in which the author shows a correspondence between this view and facts in the history of the Christian church.

Having thus demolished the idea that the sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of divine grace, and placed these in their true relative position, Dr. S. proceeds to the second part of the work, the nature of baptism.

He states in the language of their advocates, the errors on this subject which he opposes, which for the sake of those of our readers who have not access to the Oxford Tracts, we transfer to our pages.

"'Baptism containeth the remission of sins,' and 'hath the *germ* of spiritual life.'" 'This exposition' (that which makes John i, 12, 13, refer to baptism as the instrument of the birth there mentioned) 'is founded on the very notion that the *partaking of the incarnation*, and the Christian relation of *sonship to God*, is imparted through baptism, and is not imparted without it.'† Baptism is 'that mystery whereby we are made *partakers*

* Dr. Pusey's sermon before the University of Oxford, N. Y. ed., p. 5. The following references on the subject of baptism are all to the New York editions of Dr. Pusey's sermon, and of the "Tracts for the Times," vol. ii, part i.

† Tracts, vol. ii, p. 31.

of the incarnation,' being 'baptized into one body, the body of our incarnate Lord.*' 'The pardon of sins is the direct provision in baptism.' 'Baptism gives life.'† 'Herein are we justified, or both accounted and *made* righteous; 'have a new principle of life imparted to us; since, having been made members of Christ, we have a portion of His life or of Him, who is our life.‡ 'In baptism two very different *causes* are combined: the one, God himself; the other, a creature' (water) 'which He hath thought fit to hallow to this end.'§ 'Faith and repentance are the conditions on which God gives it. Water, sanctified by our Lord's baptism, is the womb of our new birth.¶' In baptism, 'the old man is laid aside, the new taken; he entereth a sinner, he ariseth justified.'‖ 'Regeneration is the being born of water and the Spirit, or, by God's Spirit moving again on the face of the waters; sanctifying them for our cleansing, and cleansing us thereby.'** One of the chief writers on this subject calls baptism 'this miracle.'†† The baptized, by way of expressing the reality of this miracle, used to be called 'Christophori, Theophori,' Christbearers, Godbearers.‡‡ And, finally, 'That oneness with Him in His Son,' which is alleged to be wrought through the sacraments, is called 'the perfection of eternal bliss, where will, thought, affections, shall be one, because we shall be, by *communication of His divine nature*, one.'§§—pp. 82, 83.

In giving a summary of the meaning of these passages, Dr. S. says:

"In short, by 'this miracle,' 'this communication of the Divine nature,' we lay aside the *old* man and take the *new*; we enter the water sinful flesh, and rise from it as from an 'overwhelming mystery,' 'Christophori, Theophori.'

"Such is the theory: the Holy Spirit imparted to the water; in that water meeting the infant, and imparting to it Christ; and then, as it leaves the font, presenting it justified in the twofold sense of being both accounted and *made* righteous, the subject of a virtually miraculous communication of the Divine nature."—p. 85.

* Tracts, vol. ii, p. 44.

† Dr. Pusey's sermon, p. 6.

‡ Tracts, vol. ii, p. 24.

§ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 26.

¶ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 43.

‖ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 47.

** Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 47, 48.

†† Ibid., vol. ii, p. 68.

‡‡ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 44.

§§ Dr. Pusey's sermon, p. 8.

We should suppose that those who advance such opinions, would be rather anxious that they should not be scrutinized very closely by the light either of reason or Scripture. Accordingly, they

"Warn us against asking, 'How can these things be?' They call all such 'Nicodemus questions;' they urge us to *believe* that we may understand; and they caution us against turning certain Scriptures into *figures*, lest we thereby justify heretics in turning all other vital truths into the emptiness of mere tropes."—p. 86.

Penetrating to the foundation of this theory, our author shows that it rests on "a correlative notion of what at first constituted original righteousness and of what still constitutes original sin," which he thus expresses in his own words.

"God at first created, not a mere perfect man—a man in the divine image, because of a moral and rational nature, and perfect in his kind; but a perfect man with a divine *addition* to his perfection; a literal Theophorus—a created being with an endowment uncreated. And then, by the fall, man not only lost his "actual inherent holiness," but also forfeited his *supernatural investment*; in which forfeiture—not in the loss of holiness—consists original sin."—p. 88.

This he proves to be a mere figment, utterly unscriptural and impossible. Of course, he argues, we are left not only at liberty, but under obligation, to reject the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which is founded on it. He then declares, that whatever may be God's act and the soul's experience in baptism, it can not be the great moral change which the Scriptures assert to be necessary to salvation.

"For," says he, "in the case of all adults, this change is required in *order* to baptism, (see Acts viii, 37; also the Church Catechism on Sacraments.)" . . . "While, in the case of *infants*, this change can not be wrought. It is a change, the steps in which are, 'repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ;' leading us out into the life of *holy love* and *holy obedience*, with every other affection of a sanctified nature. We can have no other idea 'than this of the change required in us. But how can we

repent of sin till we understand and feel *what sin is*, and that we are its perpetrators? Or how can we *believe*, till we know and approve that *in which* we are to believe, or Him *in whom* we are to repose our faith? And how can we feel *holy love*, or render *holy obedience*, or exercise any *other* affection of a holy nature, till the springs of these things are reopened within us? All this is clearly impossible, and therefore it is that *this* change, whatever else may be wrought in *infant baptism*, *can not be wrought*."—p. 102.

If our author had stopped here in his statement of errors on this subject, his discussion would have been very imperfectly adapted to this country, for the error most common here, we apprehend, though it may be reduced perhaps to this, is not in form this, and therefore his arguments would be evaded. But he does not stop here. He follows up the error, and states the less bold and more common form of it, thus:

"Although that great change which every *actual* sinner needs, can not be *fully* wrought on unconscious and unthinking infancy, yet may not the *principle*, the *seed* of this change, the *germ*, as it were, of the new life, be then implanted in baptism; to be afterward developed and brought into growth when the infant becomes capable of understanding and feeling truth, and of exercising intelligently repentance and faith?"—pp. 105, 106.

This he examines, and shows that there is

"To the terms principle, seed, germ, of life, no sense intermediate between that of an *addition* and *incorporation* of the divine nature *to and with* the human, and that of a *change* of our nature itself by the agency of the Holy Spirit; a change, through repentance and faith, from sin to holiness; a change, which must be wrought by the Spirit in the use of truth; a change, which can be wrought in those years *only* of opening intelligence and accountability, that lie forward on the course of life at a greater or less remove from the moment of infant dedication to God. And to invest those terms with *this* idea is, of course, to abandon that modified form of the theory of baptismal regeneration, designed to be presented by the suggestion now under consideration."—pp. 108, 109.

After answering in many pages of profound scriptural and philosoph-

ical discussion, through which we have not space to follow him, several objections to the position assumed in this argument, he concludes this part of his argument thus:

"It seems, then, from all the texts and classes of texts which have been examined that, whatever may be meant by the terms *principle*, *seed*, or *germ* of the new life, we have no ground for supposing that it is implanted in the infant at his baptism, but, rather, that it has, both as to *time* and as to *instrument*, a different origin.

"One reason why this process has not its beginning in *baptism* is, as we have seen, that, as the gift of the Spirit, it begins in that *change* of our nature, in that 'repentance and faith,' which 'infants, by reason of their tender age, *can not perform*' or feel. And another reason which may be assigned is, that the theory which lays the beginning of this work in baptism, puts the Bible out of its true place, or tends to substitute, for its great office in the hands of the Spirit, an *unreal efficiency of sacraments*, whose inevitable fruits are, *growing* error in doctrine, and *growing* superstition in practice. If the new life, or its germ, may be miraculously* communicated by one sacrament to *unconscious infancy*, it may, of course, be miraculously developed by another sacrament in even *unreflecting manhood*. Thus, the office of the Scriptures of truth is practically superseded. The ministry need not preach those Scriptures, nor need the people "search" them; the former to teach, nor the latter to learn, how "they testify of Christ." The work of both parties is mainly summed up in *sacraments*, and their spiritual life is both given and nourished in those supposed awfully *efficient* mysteries. It is needless to say that this disuse of the Scriptures and of preaching, and this almost solitary exaltation and magnifying of the sacraments, are facts with which the history of the church has been but too sadly familiar."—pp. 136, 137.

Then, by a critical and sensible exposition of passages of Scripture, both those on which the above errors are professedly based and those which teach the true nature of baptism, he proves that those errors are wholly unscriptural, and that baptism is, as it is generally held to be, by

* The writers to whom I have referred on this subject repeatedly speak of baptism as a "*miracle*," and of both the sacraments as partaking of the *miraculous* in their effects.

evangelical Christians, a *badge* of our Christian profession, a *symbol* of our regeneration, an *initiatory* rite, a *covenanting and sealing* ordinance, a *moral monument* to the origin and truth of Christianity.

In the third and last part of the work, our author treats of the nature of the Lord's Supper. Here as on the subject of baptism, he presents at the outset, the seminal error which he would refute and which he says is "gaining currency among us."

"It is said that there is 'a real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament;' that 'the body and blood of Christ are sacramentally united to the bread and wine, so that Christ is truly given to the faithful;' 'His flesh together with the bread, and his blood together with the wine:' that the '*hands*' of the officiating minister '*convey* the sacrifice,' 'our Savior's sacrifice,' that on which the Lord's Supper is a 'holy feast;' that 'every faithful communicant may be as certainly assured that he receives the Lord's body as if he knew that the bread is substantially turned into it;' that 'the nature of this mystery is such, that when we receive the bread and wine, we also, together with them, receive at the same time the body and blood of Christ, which, in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, are as truly *given* as they are *represented*;' in short, 'that there is a true, real, spiritual presence of Christ at the holy Supper; more real than if we could, with Thomas, feel Him with our hands, or thrust our hands into His side;' and that though 'this is bestowed upon faith and received by faith,' yet faith does but 'open our eyes to see what is really there,' and 'that it is there *independently* of our faith.' The *presence* is indeed *spiritual*, not *visible*; and our *eating* is *spiritual*, not *carnal*: still, that *presence* is not the mere *omnipresence* of infinite Spirit, realized by faith, but the *real presence* of Christ's very *body and blood*, '*independent* of faith;' and our *eating* is not mere faith in the sacrifice of Christ, as offered on the cross, and as *represented* in the eucharist, but a real reception of the true body and blood of Christ, as united with the bread and wine, and as actually *conveyed* by the *hands* of the officiator."—pp. 253, 254.

"This view is not content with affirming that Christ is present at his holy Supper in His *divine nature* as an *infinite Spirit*, or by the special benefits of his death and sacrifice, which he communicates to his faithful disciple, but asks us

to believe that his very broken body and shed blood are, however inscrutably, yet *really* present with the elements; and that they are actually conveyed by the hands of the officiator, and received into the body and the soul of the Christian at the same time with those elements. And they who urge this view call that opposite interpretation, 'which regards the consecrated elements as visible symbols only of his *absent* body and blood,' an 'ultra-Protestant theory.'"—pp. 301, 302.

After examining those passages of Scripture to which the advocates of this error appeal, and others which plainly evince the nature of the eucharist, he concludes thus:

"On this subject the Bible teaches no more than this, that, in order to salvation, Christ, as our divine and atoning Savior, must be *believed in, trusted, loved, and obediently followed*; and that, in the sacrament of his Supper, we feast, in *common* with the whole *fellowship* of believers, on the *constituted symbols* which represent his death and passion, as endured in order to procure the pardon of our sins, and to render forgiveness possible to our fellow creatures."—p. 299.

Dr. S. then devotes a chapter to an examination of the theory of the real presence, in the light of reason and experience.

"Reason and experience," says he, "are sacred things. The one is that light which God hath set in the soul, and without which we can neither read his word nor his works. The other is that providential test, to which He himself brings, for a trial far from useless, the truth or the falsehood of all human theories. And that theory, even of this holy institution, which will not abide the test both of reason and of experience, gives at least one weighty proof that it can not abide the higher trial of God's revealed word."—p. 300.

Applying this test he shows, that the notion on which the theory of the real presence rests, viz. that salvation depends on our receiving the real body and blood of Christ into our bodies and souls, is unreasonable; that this doctrine teaches, that the pardon of post-baptismal sins is *conveyed* in the Lord's Supper only, which he proves to be false and pernicious; that the real presence of Christ's body and blood in this sacrament, as now taught, is impos-

sible; and that it is the parent of the notion of a *sacrifice* in the eucharist, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the traffick in masses, and the worship of the host.

Having thus prepared the way, our author derives from the Scriptures the true idea of the Lord's Supper. It is, he says, in "the primary and most obvious attribute of its nature a divinely obligatory **MEMORIAL**, and the Christian's reception of it is a divinely obligatory **COMMEMORATION** of that solemn act, in which our blessed Redeemer gave his body and blood on the cross as an atoning sacrifice for sin." Under this head Dr. S. tells us in what sense the Christian sacraments are mysteries.

"They are sacred and richly significant symbols, designedly kept from common and profane use; pledges of love reserved as the exclusive privileges of the people of God; holy things, not to be handled by the wicked, ordinarily not even understood by them; and yet not difficult of understanding to those who desire to know and enjoy them." . . . "There is no more reason for supposing the sacraments of the church to involve *incomprehensible* mysteries, than there is for supposing that the ordinary truths of the Gospel involve incomprehensible mysteries."—p. 348.

A mystery, our author says, in one of its subordinate meanings, is "something *secret* because not *revealed*, though *when* revealed, easily comprehended." This explains the somewhat peculiar title of the volume, "the *Mysteries Opened*." After exhibiting this feature of the Lord's Supper, Dr. S., speaking of the different attitudes assumed in the administration of the eucharist by ministers who hold to the theory of the real presence, and by those who reject it, appropriately asks—

"Which of these attitudes is scriptural? Which is conceived in the spirit of the Gospel? Would not any seriously intelligent student of the Bible, who was, at the same time, a careful observer of his own nature, feel that the *former* attitude belongs to a religion which addresses itself with thrilling energy to the senses and the imagination; to all the strong,

inborn tendencies of man to superstition and a perilous reliance upon forms; a religion which proposes to do its work by mysteries operating upon awed and prostrate minds, and encouraging a passive reception, in which thought lies still amid the excitement of the senses, and the overmastering of wonder; a religion, in a word, which tends to exalt its minister into the rank of an almost superhuman caste, and to depress its subjects to the level of beings who bow with unquestioning submission to mere authority and to overpowering prerogative? And would not such an observer feel that the *latter* attitude belongs to a religion which addresses itself with instructive power to the affection and the faith, in combination with the reason and the understanding of the Christian, to all that is capable in man of being raised into a worship full of love and of light; a religion which, by the hand of intelligent symbols, leads the mind away to glorious acts and glorious truths symbolized, and there, through a teaching *memorial*, wakens thought, and kindles meditation, and calls up the whole mind to the activity of grasping, embracing and feeling the work and the power of Christ's divinely rational, though faithless *love*; a religion, in short, which shows its minister, though in the midst of unusually holy things, still *intelligently* exhibiting the one Gospel of our salvation, and its subjects, though receiving an unusually solemn ministry, yet receiving it into earnest minds, as well as into yielding hearts, and voluntarily coöperating with the power of divine grace, as well as reverently honoring the claims of that divine commission under which this grace is proffered?

"Such appears to be the difference between the tendency of this sacrament when considered as involving the *perplexing* mystery of the real presence, and its tendency when considered as embodying the *intelligible* mystery of a *memorial* of Christ's atoning sacrifice on the cross."—pp. 354, 355.

Another essential feature of the Lord's Supper our author thus expresses: "This ordinance is also, *Faith's MIRROR of the sacrifice on the cross*."

The difference between the two opposing theories, Dr. S. well sums up thus:

"The theory, then, which involves the real presence, puts a *sacrifice* into the eucharist, and *conveys* remission of sin by virtue of that sacrifice, and through the act of its priestly offerer. But the theory which rejects the real presence, makes the eucharist the *memorial* of a sacrifice,

and a seal of the covenant which assures remission of sin to every one that believeth, even upon his first exercise of a living faith in Christ. Such is the first point of difference, and it is of immeasurable importance.

"Again, the theory which involves the real presence, brings the *true*, though invisible, the *real*, though spiritualized body of Christ, into the eucharist, and conveys it with the sign into the body and soul of the recipient, commingling and co-uniting both, so that each communicant becomes *one body*, one flesh and blood, with his Savior. But the theory which rejects the real presence, makes the eucharist a *symbol* of the body of Christ; and a rite, which brings all who receive it truly into one communion, fellowship or company; into the one collective, mystical body of Christ, his church; under him as the head, and receiving governance, grace and heavenly benediction from him, as the source of all authority, life and blessedness. Such is the second point of difference; and it is, if comparison may be indulged between things immeasurable, of still more immeasurable importance than the other."—p. 375.

Our author rightly maintains that there is a sense, in which the true Christian receives the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, as he receives them at no other time and in no other way.

"Then only is it that he receives them—not simply by faith in the sacrifice, which they constitute, and in which they were, *once for all*, offered on the cross—but, also, in sight of the very MIRROR which reflects them on his spiritual sense; in sight of the very '*pledge*' which certifies him of the never-dying love of Christ; and in sight of the very *seal* which assures him that he is a ransomed, pardoned and adopted child of God. And this, I humbly suggest, is the only sense in which the Christian can with truth be said to receive the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. He receives them by looking, from the beating heart of *love*, and with the kindly eye of *faith*, through the MEMORIAL to Him whom it keeps in memory; through the MIRROR to Him whose face shineth therein; through the SYMBOL to the sacrifice which it represents; and through the SEAL to the pardon which, on the terms of the covenant, it insures. To receive the body and blood of Christ into our bodies and souls, or to feed on them in the Lord's Supper, in any other sense than that of believing in Christ, relying on his atoning sacrifice by faith, and being spiritually refreshed and strengthened amid the pri-

vilages and under the blessings which are vouchsafed from heaven on that precious ordinance, is impossible. Neither reason nor revelation shows any other way of 'eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man,' than that now indicated. This way both reason and revelation concur in showing; and it is the way of *life*. To seek any other, is to plunge deep into the peril of being lost forever amid those darkly wildering mists of error which are spread over the entrance to the way of *death*!"—pp. 377, 378.

Growing out of these fundamental views of the nature of the Lord's Supper, there is, Dr. S. observes, a third, of great interest and importance—that which presents the ordinance in its character as a *means of grace*. Here our author clearly and judiciously draws an important distinction, between the ordinance as a *means* of grace, and the same as a *source* of grace.

"It will be remembered that, at the very outset of this treatise, I referred to the notion which is gaining extended currency among us, that 'the sacraments are sources of divine grace.' Now this is either a most unguarded expression, or a designed enunciation of a doctrine which is full of error. A *source* is a fountain, first cause, or original producer. A *means* is an instrument used by an agent in the production of an intended effect, or a medium through which some effect or supply is communicated. To say, therefore, in so many words, that 'the sacraments are sources of divine grace,' or to treat them as though they were such *sources*, is either unguardedly or designedly to lead men to stop at the sacraments, to regard them as things endowed with a miraculous, spontaneous energy, and to rest in them, as, by a secret power of their own, and in some mysterious way, of which we know nothing, whether as to its operation or as to its effect, making us partakers of the Christian character and of the divine life. The sacraments are *not* sources of grace; they are but *means* of grace. And even when we come to regard them as *means*, it is necessary carefully to consider and rightly to understand the sense in which they are *means*. They are not *means*, then, in such a sense, as that by them God *generates* the divine life in the soul; but only in such a sense, as that through them God *nourishes* and *perfects* the divine life *already* generated. Nor are they *means* even in such a sense as that God *nourishes* and *perfects* the *already* generated divine life of the soul by any *power* or *virtue*

lodged in the *very matter and substance* of the sacraments themselves; but only in such a sense as that, through the vital *truths and realities* which they affectingly symbolize and represent, the blessing of God in the influences of his Spirit, nourishes and perfects the life which himself had produced by the instrumentality of his own quickening and sanctifying word.

"This, then, is what I mean when I speak of the Lord's Supper as a *means of grace*. It is a medium through which the Holy Spirit increases and perfects all the graces of our Christian character by the peculiar and unusual energy with which, in the symbols of this sacrament, he presents and applies to our souls those glorious *truths and realities* which cluster so movingly around the cross of Christ."—pp. 378-380.

Dr. S. then views the Lord's Supper (4) as a divinely ordained test of men's obedience to Christ, and (5) as one of the visible badges by which the disciples of Christ are distinguishable from the world and held amenable to the divinely instituted laws of discipline in the church.

"In this character, it were devoutly to be wished that it were more frequently, as it might then be more salutarily used. Discipline among us is plainly in a state of decay; and our church harbors in her bosom many who, both for *her* benefit and their *own*, should be cast out, and received no more to her holy feast, till they can come back robed in the white garments of most humble repentance, and shining in the evident graces of a heart-purifying faith."—p. 387.

We commend this remark of our author "to all having authority in the church of Christ."*

The sixth and last view which Dr. S. takes of the Lord's Supper, is, that it is "a moral monument to the truth and divine origin of Christianity, and to the identity of the church through all ages."

* The following is a copy of a letter which an Episcopal minister of our acquaintance, gives to those who request a letter of dismission from his church and a recommendation to a *particular Congregational church*: "I hereby certify that — is a member of the Protestant Episcopal church in good and regular standing. As such he is dismissed and recommended to all *having authority in the church of Christ*."

As some illustration of our author's view of the sacraments, as moral monuments, and as a specimen of his style, we give the following. It is the introduction of the first chapter on the Lord's Supper.

"From our deliberate and prolonged survey of the most ancient of what I have termed the two great Christian monuments, those significant memorials of himself which Christ hath builded within the ample inclosure of his church, I come now to a view of its younger but more solemn sister, rearing itself evermore from amid the sad shades of Gethsemane and of Calvary, and yet gathering most of its sublime impressiveness from the light which breaks around its summit, the light of eternal life. While *baptism* is built on the broad *fact* of our *own* 'death in trespasses and sins,' and on the co-extensively broad *truth*, that we need a quickening and a rising to the new life of holiness; and while, from such a base, it towers upward till lost in the glories of our *bodily* resurrection from the dead as first-fruits of the great Forerunner's victory over the grave; *the Lord's Supper* is built on the mighty *fact* of the *death of Christ* as a sacrifice for sin, and on the equally mighty *truth*, that in him alone 'we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sin;' and rising from such a base, it points away till its pinnacle is lost in the profound upward depths of that light which it pierceth before the throne of God and the Lamb, the light of the soul's blessed life forevermore."—pp. 251, 252.

But we have not room to give, as we desire, a more full account of this able work. We have said enough, we hope, to induce our readers to make a place for it in their libraries. We should like, could we afford the space, to give some illustrations of our author's thorough and judicious exposition of the Scriptures, of his careful and acute analysis, of his profound yet lucid philosophical discussion, and of the use he makes of plain common sense, when establishing his positions either by reason or Scripture. He seems to have entire confidence in truth, and to be assured that the Bible, if rightly interpreted, will be consistent both with itself, and with all known truth, however known. We have purposely con-

finer ourselves to an exhibition of his views on those points, on which, in common with the New Englander, and all consistent advocates of spiritual religion, he is at issue with high church formalism. But we shall do injustice to the work if we convey the impression, that it is merely or mainly controversial. It is an independent exposition, on the authority of the Scriptures, of the true nature and relative position of preaching the word, and of the sacraments, controverting error only when it lay right in the author's path while establishing the truth. We know of no work which we can more cordially commend both to the ministers and the members of our churches for their assistance in the investigation of these important subjects.

One question has been constantly rising to our lips, during our perusal of this work :—Dr. S., this is all well ; *but how do you reconcile it with the Prayer-book*, especially with the baptismal service ? This is indeed a question of little *intrinsic* importance ; for, if the views presented in this volume are *true*, "it matters not," as Dr. S. has in substance well observed, "how many liturgies contradict them." Yet it is a question in which we, and we doubt not our readers also, have felt great curiosity—and, moreover, it is a question somewhat important in its bearing on some other questions ; this for instance,—if Dr. S. be right and the liturgy wrong, on some of these points, what ought Dr. S. to do about reading those parts of the liturgy ?

This question Dr. S. has answered with respect to the Lord's Supper, as we knew that he could, with partial success. In the articles which respect the Lord's Supper, and in the communion service, the meaning evidently accords in the main with the views which our author has presented ; though there are some expressions there, which (as Dr. S.

well observes in a note respecting some expressions of Calvin on this subject) "though susceptible of a Protestant explanation, yet show how deeply the minds of the Reformers had become imbued with the *language* on this subject of an earlier and an impure age, even though they rejected the erroneous *meaning* of that language." In "the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper," also, that whereon the bread and wine is laid is called simply "*the Table*," and "*the Lord's Table*." It is not once called, as the Puseyites or High Churchmen by an artful infusion of radical error call it, "*the Altar*." Still this communion service is not *entirely* accordant with our author's doctrine. It speaks of the *priest*—"then shall the *priest* kneeling down," &c. It speaks of the "*oblation*" of the bread and wine. But according to Dr. S. and to the Scriptures, Christianity has but *one priest* and *one oblation*, Jesus Christ, the great High Priest—the oblation, the sacrifice which he made "*once for all*" on the cross. Christianity has *ministers* or *teachers* pointing the soul to Christ, but no priesthood, or priests, or offerers of sacrifices standing between the soul and Christ. It has no oblation or sacrifice other than that of Christ—not even "the oblation or sacrifice of symbols."^{*}

But in the endeavor to reconcile his views with "the ministration of public baptism of infants," Dr. S. has, we think, entirely failed. This is a feat too difficult for any logic to accomplish. We will quote the principal part of what he says on this point.

"It will, of course, be asked, Does not our church call baptism, not only '*a sign of regeneration*,' but also *regeneration itself*? Does she not, in her office for infant baptism, thank God '*that it hath pleased him to regenerate the infant*' just baptized '*with his Holy Spirit*'? And does she not, in evident allusion to this

* Bishop Seabury's Sermon on the Eucharist.

baptismal act, declare, in her office for confirmation, that God hath 'vouchsafed to regenerate' the candidates 'by water and the Holy Ghost?' And is not all this a proof that she really holds the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in all its breadth and length? Does it not show that she really ties the birth of the Spirit to the washing of water?

"To this questioning, then, I reply, the language here used by our church, if taken by itself, or without reference to the Bible, would, without doubt, be difficult of reconciliation with the views already advanced. In truth, whatever view we take of this language, such a reconciliation is not altogether easy, if we expect thereby to satisfy the queries of every mind. To explain to the satisfaction of all, what others of more leisure and ability have failed so to explain, I certainly do not expect in the little which my remaining limits will allow me to add. And yet, it may fearlessly be said, our church *can not* mean by this language that the Holy Spirit in baptism regenerates the infant in the sense of working in him that great moral change from the old death in sin to the new life of holiness, in which faith and repentance are essential parts. If she meant this, she would stand up a house divided against itself, and sure to fall. She can, therefore, mean no more than that the Holy Spirit effects for the infant in baptism that of which in baptism it is *capable*."—pp. 243, 244.

But what if it be true, we ask our author, that your church is inconsistent? What if she *be* a house divided against herself? You have not *proved* that she is not. You have *assumed* that without proof. What if the passage on which you rely as asserting the impossibility of spiritual regeneration in infancy be a piece of new cloth patched into an old garment? What if your church, as Lord Chatham once said, have "Calvinistic articles and a Popish liturgy?" The Prayer-book is entirely self-consistent; *therefore* regeneration by the Holy Spirit does not mean regeneration by the Holy Spirit! *Prove the premise*, and then the argument may be worth consideration.

But Dr. S. proceeds—

"Perhaps the best thing which, in a few words, I can do, will be to give what the author of one of our standard works on infant baptism says, in explaining what

the infant is capable of receiving from the Holy Spirit.

"There are some operations of the Holy Spirit, as working actual faith, repentance, &c., in the heart, of which an infant, indeed, is not capable. But when God does apply the pardon of *original* guilt, does transfer a person out of the state of nature into the state of grace and of the Christian covenant, does unite him as a member into the mystical body of Christ, and accept him for his child; these things and these *promises* are spoken of in Scripture as done, sealed, and applied to the person by the *Spirit*. Now of these latter an infant is capable."

"This view, understood as the author probably intended, accords well with that which I have already given. In *substance* it amounts to this: 'That in infancy we are capable of having the pardon of *original* guilt applied, at least in this sense, that the *promise* of its forgiveness through Jesus Christ is then *sealed*; of being transferred from that state of nature, in which we are *out of covenant*, to that state of grace in which we are *in covenant* with God; of being united to that mystical body of Christ which is his church; and of being thus, for our future discipline and training, adopted as children of God.' Of all this we doubtless *are* capable in infancy; all this, too, may with justice be said to be done for us by the Holy Spirit in baptism; and in *this* sense, we, who were baptized in infancy, may be said to have been *regenerated* by the *Holy Spirit* in that ordinance. Understood in this sense, there can be no objection to the term. The church has sanctioned its use, and at least one text in the Bible justifies us in considering baptism a *symbolical* regeneration, (Titus, iii, 5,) a regeneration effected by the Holy Spirit in applying to the infant all the benefits of the covenant of grace of which, at that tender age, he is *capable*."—pp. 244, 245.

We are almost willing to leave this quotation without adding a word, so confident are we that the explanation of Dr. S. will appear entirely unsatisfactory to every candid reader—so confident are we, that it will appear to every such reader an entire misnomer, a misnomer sure to lead, if uncontradicted, into serious and fatal error, to call *this* which he describes as taking place in baptism, "regeneration by the Holy Spirit." Dr. S. says in another place, when speaking of baptism as a covenanting and sealing ordinance—

"They are capable of being made subjects of the promise that, upon future re-

penitance and faith, God will forgive them all sin, and bestow on them the blessings of everlasting life! They are capable of being placed, in their earliest infancy, within the circle of his mercies; that peculiar circle, where his mercies live most *vitality*, and fill all means with their best power."—p. 235.

This is, according to the opinion of Dr. S., that of which infants are capable, and of which they are made subjects in baptism. That is, in other words, God covenants respecting them that, on condition of their future repentance and faith, he will bestow on them forgiveness and the blessings of everlasting life; and moreover, places them in the community of his people amid various and peculiar influences fitted to lead them, in the future, to repentance and faith. And this is called regeneration! and regeneration by the Holy Spirit! Who has any right to use language thus? "*Understood in this sense*," says Dr. S., "there can be no objection to the term!" True. But who *will* understand it in this sense? Suppose that we should call a certain *white* object *green*, while we express our full belief that it is *white*; and when called on to reconcile our language with our belief, should say, that by *green*, in this *one instance*, we mean *white*; and should add that there can be no objection to the use of the word *green* in this instance, *if understood in this sense*, viz. to express *white*! The truth is, we can not thus violate all the rules of propriety and usage in language, without *misleading*. "Understood in this sense!" We ask our author who *does* understand it in this sense, unless specially instructed to do so? i. e. unless the real meaning of the language be explicitly contradicted, and thus the language itself be treated as of no use except to mislead? If you employ that service in baptism, you pray before the baptism "for this infant, that he, coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of sins, by spir-

itual regeneration;" and "Give thy *Holy Spirit* to this infant, that he may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ;" and then *after* the baptism you say, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, &c. let us with one accord make our prayers to Almighty God, that this child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning;" and then in the concluding prayer, say, "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit." "Understood in this sense!" Such language ought not, according to all the laws of language, to be understood in any other sense than that of spiritual regeneration—that change of character which, according to the Bible, is necessary for salvation and fits for heaven, and it *will* not be so understood, unless contradicted at every repetition of it; and even then, more will be influenced by the authoritative language of "the book," than by the "private judgment" of him who contradicts it. We see not how Dr. S., with his views of the nature of baptism, can use these expressions in the book without great embarrassment and pain—that embarrassment which ever attends a consciousness of apparent inconsistency, and that pain which every conscientious man must feel, when fearful that the words he uses convey error on a vital subject. We know at least two Episcopal ministers, who will not and do not use these expressions in the baptismal service;* and we respectfully ask Dr. S., not why he does not leave the Episcopal church—for we be-

* The following fact we have on unquestionable authority. An intelligent and prominent member of a Presbyterian church, being on a visit to a friend who was an Episcopalian, went one Sabbath morning to worship with him in the Episcopal church. The subject of the ser-

lieve that being *such as he is*, he can *now* do more for the victory of spiritual over formal Christianity where he is, than any where else, though we are confident that his *whole* life might have been spent much more beneficially in some other church, where his truth-loving spirit had been less trammelled, and where he would not be so much like a man rowing against the stream—but we ask, why not insist on a *reformation of the liturgy in these respects*? Why not insist that “the language on this subject of an earlier and an impure age”—language which has an obvious and fearful tendency to *ruin the souls of men*—shall be expunged, or at least that it may be considered “*rubrical*” for those of opposite sentiments to avoid it? On this point we commend to the attention of our author the sentiments of Bishop Bloomfield, as quoted with approbation by Archbishop Whately, which we give in a note below.*

But though we can not reconcile the views of Dr. S. with some parts

mon was regeneration, which the minister presented, as this Presbyterian guest thought, in a very evangelical manner. He was so much pleased with such a sermon from an Episcopalian, that he concluded to go to the Episcopal church in the afternoon. As he entered the church, he saw that there was preparation for the administration of the ordinance of baptism, and he felt great curiosity to know how the minister would get along with the baptismal service after preaching sentiments so utterly inconsistent with it. He listened very attentively. The minister went on with the service till he came to the passage which pronounces the baptized child regenerate; there he paused, and looking up, said, “Brethren, *the book is wrong*. Baptism does not regenerate.” Such facts show that there are those in the Episcopal church who feel that the liturgy needs a reformation. May they be greatly multiplied, and have grace to be bold and faithful!

* “During the last few years a great variety of projects have been laid before the public for alterations in the discipline and formularies of our church. So great indeed has been the variety, that it has afforded a plausible ground for arguing,

of the liturgy of his church, yet, as we have said, we heartily commend the views themselves, and we wish God-speed to their author, and others like him, in the great work to which they are called—that of resisting the progress of formal Christianity within the Episcopal church, and of completing in that church the blessed Reformation. This is their high mission. In the contest—the great contest of the age—between a Christianity of forms and sacraments and priests, and a Christianity of repentance and faith and active love, they occupy the most important post; for God has placed them on the very battle-ground, and in the thickest of the fight—in a church where, though many are for them, more, we fear, are against them. With them it rests in a great measure to decide, whether the Episcopal church shall become, like the Roman, a body of superstition and spiritual death—a sacramental way to hell,—or, purified from those fundamental errors, and that formalism and exclusiveness and arrogance which now prevail to such an extent within her communion, shall be the warm friend of revivals, the patron of evangelical and pungent preaching of the word, and the coadjutor of other denominations, their equal in

that, as it will be impossible to satisfy all who are desirous of change, we need not attempt to satisfy *any*. It can not be necessary that I should point out to you the fallacy of such a mode of arguing. What is reasonable, and salutary, and safe, we should admit, though it may be claimed but by a few. What is extravagant, or hazardous, we should resist, though clamored for by multitudes. . . . If I were asked what my own opinion is, as to the expediency of attempting any alteration in the liturgy, I should be deficient in candor and truth, if I did not think our liturgy susceptible of improvement. It would be little short of a miracle were it otherwise; and I know not why I should be ashamed or reluctant to avow an opinion which was entertained by Sanerost, and Tenison, and Wake, and Secker, and Porteus.”—*Whately's Kingdom of Christ*, p. 280.

zeal and energy, in carrying forward under God that "kingdom which is, not meat and drink," not formal observances, not rites and ceremonies, "but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

With such Episcopalians as Dr. S. we have no controversy. He differs from us indeed on certain unessential questions. He thinks the Episcopal and we think our form of government and modes of worship *most* accordant with the Scriptures, and best adapted to promote the highest interests of true religion. On these points we differ and can agree to differ. But on all vital points we are agreed. We are agreed on the question in what consists true piety, and on those doctrines of the Bible which constitute the great objective motives of piety. We are agreed in maintaining the Protestant principle against all modes of its denial, that the Bible is the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice. We are agreed in the fact, that all who have repentance and faith are entitled to covenanted mercy and life everlasting. We agree that divine truth is the great instrument by which the Holy Spirit renews and saves sinful men, and that preaching is the right hand of the Spirit in that blessed work. And we are agreed respecting the nature of the sacraments and the relative importance of preaching and the sacraments. Here is a wide basis for mutual harmony, and fellowship, and coöperation, in performing the work committed to us by the Master.

We know indeed that many account us hostile to Episcopalians. We are not. We have been, and by God's help we will be, the uncompromising opponents of that exclusiveness and arrogance and for-

malism, which we have mourned to see so extensive within the Episcopal church, and to those dogmas which confine all covenanted grace, all the privileges of the visible church of Christ, to the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Episcopal churches, and which, unmixed and uncounteracted, make Christianity only another of those religions by which the world has been cursed—the religions of superstition. But we are not hostile to Episcopalians. And we bring as proof of this declaration the undeniable fact, that wherever there is found in the Episcopal communion a man evangelical in doctrine, and faithful in preaching, charitable to all the friends of Christ, and the friend of the Christian enterprise of extending spiritual religion throughout the earth, he is more admired and honored and beloved by us than by the majority of his own denomination. Dr. S. for instance, has received more unqualified favor wherever he has preached, from other evangelical denominations, than from his own; and we venture to say, has more at this day who honor him among Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, than among Episcopalians. This very book which we have reviewed, from what quarter does it receive commendation more cheerful and abundant than from us, and those who agree with us? While the organ of the most numerous and powerful part of the Episcopal church, the New York Churchman, sympathizing on one page with the late arbitrary and anile bull of the Pope, on another speaks of this book as a volume "by Dr. Stone, with the almost *blasphemous* title of *Mysteries Opened*."

THEODORE PARKER AND LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY.

Our readers will remember, that in the last number of the *New Englander* we gave them some account of the opinions of Theodore Parker as advanced in his "Discourse of Religion." In the conclusion of our article we proposed to resume the discussion, and to inquire, what is the relation of his opinions to those commonly held by Unitarians, and what is his present position in the denomination. Our former discussion concerned Mr. Parker as a religious philosopher. The present one relates to Mr. Parker as a Unitarian or liberal Christian.

When a close and consistent thinker comes to unusual conclusions in respect either to religion or philosophy, it is always fair and often interesting to ask, "What was the process by which he was led to these results?" The answer to such a question is always curious, and not unfrequently instructive. To detect and bring out the processes through which the individual mind has been led,—to trace the workings of one or more master-principles of error or truth, of evil or good,—though a difficult task, is still not without its reward.

In the present instance, the inquiry possesses more than usual interest. We see not here the movements of an individual, but also those of the public mind. We trace not the capricious windings of a streamlet, that has made its little channel for itself, but we mark the movement of a mighty stream, that has cut its way across the ordinary landmarks of opinion, and made the traces of its course both wide and deep, and seen from afar. Mr. Parker is not a solitary student, nor a recluse philosopher. He is known to the public as connected with an important movement among a distinguished sect of religionists. He

is not alone. Though he may stand by himself, in the length to which he has pushed his speculations and the boldness with which he has avowed them, he is but one of many in the same school of philosophizing. Hence when he came before the public, he found listeners and admirers, defenders and friends. Crowds came together to hear him, not only, as we are well advised, because as in the other Athens they would hear the last new thing, but because he struck, strong and sure, a chord of sympathy that was waiting to be played upon. Whence this preparation? How happened it, that he was thus heard and admired? How has it come to pass, that at this moment there are in New England hundreds and it may be thousands of minds who have gone far in the same direction—who, it may be, know not what to think and believe, but who yet, as far as they do think and believe, hold with Mr. Parker in his conclusions?

These are questions which it is wise and profitable to think of. They are questions which we can not but attempt to answer, not, as we believe, with reference to the interests of any party or sect, but to gather profitable conclusions in respect to the interests of science, religion, and the social welfare.

With many it will doubtless be a sufficient answer to say, "Oh, he is a Unitarian, and that is enough." Those to whom the word Unitarian is a synonym for every thing that is bad, and Unitarianism is the fermenting chaos from which proceed "all monstrous, all prodigious things," will not care to know the principles from which these results have grown, nor the processes by which they have issued forth. Such are not all, such are not any of our readers. At all events, we write for none such.

We care not to deserve the odium of adding reproach to a name *by a name*; or of fastening upon a set of men the errors or caprices of one who happens to be found in their ranks. Besides, we have always found it a somewhat difficult matter to discover what Unitarianism is. We shrink from hastily associating any result with a cause so indefinite and vague, as alike unphilosophical and dishonest. Our concern is with principles, and with principles alone.

Without farther preamble, we propose to ourselves the following inquiry: What are the principles and modes of thinking peculiar to liberal Christians, which have led to these conclusions by an obvious tendency? We use the term liberal Christians rather than Unitarians because it is preferred by themselves, and because the principles which we propose to discuss, though they involve, do not directly concern the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the divinity of our Lord.

Here we may be met by the plea, 'What do you mean by the tendency to such conclusions as Mr. Parker's? Surely you must be aware that the mass of liberal Christians reject these conclusions with abhorrence. It is bad enough to condemn men for what they avow, without adding the reproach of *constructive heresy*.' To this we reply, the inferences which are involved in principles, or which may be logically derived from them, are those to which they tend. These are always fair subjects of discussion. Nay, often they are the most important tests by which their truth or falsehood, their harm or usefulness, are most obviously discerned. While therefore we allow to the men themselves, all to which they are entitled from their own avowals in respect to such inferences, if the inferences are logically made and truthfully derived, they illustrate the principles of their system. Those principles, also, which do not *logically* tend to given con-

clusions, but which practically justify them as indifferent or harmless, may be tested by their consequences.

One word more of preamble, and we will proceed. The principles which we discuss, we suppose to be peculiarly and *distinctively* those held by liberal Christians, if they have any such. But we do not suppose that they are held by none beside. Some or all of them are held by those without their ranks, and they are the same principles wherever they are held, whether they are corrected and held back by others of better influence, or carried fearlessly out to all their legitimate conclusions. On the other hand, they are not the principles of all who are called liberal Christians. We know that some hold the contrary views with earnestness and honesty, who, for reasons which concern themselves alone, are found in their ranks.

First of all we notice the fundamental principle of liberal Christians, of opposition to creeds. In a few words it is this: 'No man and no number of men can be so certain in regard to any religious doctrine, as rightfully to hold their views of it as essential to orthodoxy.' For themselves they may be entirely confident that God has revealed it to man, but for others, they have no right to make it the basis of Christian fellowship, or hold it essential to the Gospel. In accordance with these principles, they call themselves liberal Christians. They reject creeds both written and spoken, in form and substance of doctrine, as tests of piety or of soundness in the faith. In every form they regard them as invasions upon the right of private judgment, and the freedom of individual inquiry. On the broad basis of bondage to no creed, do they invite Christians of every name to meet in mutual charity in the name of a common Lord. This principle, if any, they would

claim as distinctive and peculiar. By this would they be known as the only denomination which is truly liberal and Protestant. "Unitarians," says Dr. Ware, "have always claimed the right of every individual to have his own creed. What they have sometimes had occasion to object to is, that any, whether an individual or a body of Christians, should insist on their creed being the creed of others, either as a title to the Christian name, or as the condition of their being admitted to the participation of any Christian privileges."

"We have now come to learn," says Channing, "that Christianity is not a dogma, but a spirit; that its essence is the spirit of its divine founder; that it is of little consequence what church a man belongs to, or what formula of doctrine he subscribes; that nothing is important but the supreme love, choice, pursuit of moral perfection, shining forth in the life and teachings of Christ." So again—"I can not but look on creeds with feelings approaching contempt. When I bring them into contrast with the New Testament, into what insignificance do they sink." "Christian truth is infinite. Who can think of shutting it up in a few lines of an abstract creed? You might as well compress the boundless atmosphere, the fire, the all-pervading light, the free winds of the universe, into separate parcels, and weigh and label them, as break up Christianity into a few propositions. Christianity is freer, more illimitable than the light or the winds. It is too mighty to be bound down by man's puny hands. It is a spirit rather than a rigid doctrine, the spirit of boundless love. The infinite can not be defined and measured out like a human manufacture. It can not be reduced to a system. It can not be comprehended in a set of precise ideas. It is to be felt rather than described." Says Greenwood—"Exclusiveness

is its utter aversion. Exclusive Christianity is its unspeakable wonder. It regards exclusive religion as quite as great a contradiction as an exclusive God."

If these statements mean any thing, it is this, that liberal Christians are opposed to creeds not from expediency, but from principle; not because actual creeds may be and have been abused, which would only prove the need of those which are different; but because they are wrong in theory. They do not reject them because they are too extended, or too metaphysical, but because they are *creeds*. The argument against them is not their perversion, but the principles involved in their use at all. These principles must be some or all of the following. 1. God has revealed himself so indistinctly, that no man can be so certain in regard to what he would say, as to hold his fellow man in the wrong. 2. Man through moral deficiency is not to be trusted to interpret his will for others. 3. Religion, or the possession of a right character, does not depend on what a man believes. 4. There must be provision made for human progress. 5. The spirit of Christianity is enough, and is the most important thing to be secured.

The opinions of Mr. Parker on this point are in no respect different from those of the liberal school. He has only sought to find for them a philosophical basis, in the proposition that "religion is one and the same." He would show that on this subject the conceptions of men not only do differ, but *must* differ. He takes the somewhat indefinite language of Dr. Channing which we have quoted above, and crystallizes it into the following beautiful system, and attempts by arguments to show it true. The reason alone reveals and discerns God in his idea. This idea is inconceivable, yet seen and felt; ineffable, yet known to all. But the conception

of God is and must be imperfect. It can never do justice to the truth. It must also continually change. With the enlargement of man's knowledge and the elevation of his desires, so will his views of the Deity be more and more just, and his theology more and more perfect. But however gross and debasing it may be, it will still represent the divine. "Religion in all its forms is one and the same. He that worships truly, by whatever form, worships the only God. He hears the prayer whether called Brahma, Jehovah, Pan, or Lord, or called by no name at all." So far Mr. P. and his brethren are all one. If he had remained on the right side of historical Christianity, he would have been honored as not only truly liberal, but as having discovered a philosophical argument for the unity of all religions. But when Mr. Parker's conceptions of the divine are so enlarged and elevated, that he discovers that Christianity in no sense depends on the facts recorded in the gospels, or on the belief that Jesus wrought miracles,—when he teaches that this pertains to the *transient*, and has passed away, while the *permanent*, or its principles of absolute religion, is all that remains, and claims that he is still a Christian, and should be received as a Christian, they know not what to do. They are taken all aback. On the one hand, they are posed with the fact that there is a Christian teacher among them with whom the supernatural and miraculous Moses and Jesus are but the heroes of wondrous legends; and the Bible, as a book of facts and history, is but little better than moonshine. On the other hand, they are driven to the wall, by the unquestioned fact that he claims to preach a high and pure Christianity in its principles and spirit; and the fact is unquestioned that his views of sin and holiness, of regeneration and spiritual influence, are higher and better than

those of many who would call him an infidel, did they dare to use a term so uncourteous. But yet to refuse him fellowship as a Christian would be to adopt a creed. Thus the religious community of Boston are agitated and brought to a stand. The question is gravely argued, and it is time that it were—"Who has a right to call himself a Christian?" And with this inquiry the fellowship of liberal Christians is greatly moved. At last an anonymous note is addressed to Rev. Mr. Lothrop, requesting him "to define his position and opinions as to two points. First, as to the measure of faith that constitutes a man a Christian—that is, gives him a claim to the Christian name and privileges. Secondly, as to the principles of Christian liberty, What are they? How to be applied?" The answer of Mr. L. was given in a sermon, and is in substance as follows. He is a Christian "who receives the Gospel as historically true." "This I conceive to be the broad and distinctive foundation of Christian faith. All who stand on this foundation I am ready to acknowledge as Christians. Let their creed be what it may, if they go to the teachings of Christ, to the New Testament as a record of facts for authority and proof to establish and sustain that creed, I call them Christians, embraced among the disciples of Christ. More than this I am not disposed to demand; less than this I dare not concede as sufficient. If a man merely bow to Christ as an extraordinary religious genius, whose character, though distinguished for its moral elevation and purity, was yet marked, he thinks, by some inconsistencies and imperfections, which, however, he is willing to overlook, as, *considering the youth of the man, very venial errors*, if he does not regard him as invested with any direct divine authority, as no more inspired than we may all be, *if we will pay the price*; if this is the

extent of his faith and acknowledgments, I am not prepared to give such latitude to the appellation of Christian, so to destroy all meaning and force in it as to apply it to him." "My brief answer to the question, what is Christian liberty? is, it is liberty to be a Christian. It is liberty to go to the New Testament as a genuine and authentic history of the teachings, conduct, and character of Christ, and according to the best lights of reason, history, and criticism, interpret that record, and gather and deduce from it such truths and doctrines as such interpretation seems to the individual to sustain and establish." In these conclusions we suppose the general opinion of the denomination to be expressed.

So at last liberal Christianity has a creed;* rather short, indeed, but very good so far as it goes. In vain does Mr. Parker ask his teachers who gave them authority thus to fetter the soul of man? In vain does he, as it were, retort upon them—"You have permitted us to doubt and deny every thing beside. You have suffered us to plow, and sow, and reap, all within the enclosure, so long that it is a field outworn as a field for speculation and inquiry. Why stop us by this limit? Why hinder from taking a loftier flight and rising to nobler results in reli-

* It will not be inferred that this creed has been executed in the ordinary way of social bodies, whether clubs, debating societies, or churches; for a late writer says on this point, "Great use has been made of the fact that no censure has ever been passed upon Mr. Parker by any act of our whole body, or of the association of ministers to which he belongs. That this fact should have been turned to the discredit of Unitarianism by those whose difference from us in theological opinion seems to render them incapable of understanding the principles of our union, is what we were prepared to witness." Of this we say, that *the fact* in the case has demonstrated the impropriety of such "principles of union." It has enabled us and some Unitarians to understand them too well.

gious speculation?" He puts to them, as it were, the following inquiries based upon their common principles. 1. If God has given us such a word, that a man in no sense can judge for his brother what that word contains, by what right do you assert for me, that that word asserts that he has revealed himself *by miracles*? 2. If *man may not be trusted* to interpret this word for his brother, who committed to you the trust, of judging for me that God spoke from Sinai, or enabled Jesus to raise the dead? 3. If you object to creeds that they make the *belief* of a dogma, and not *character a test*, and if you yet believe me to be a good and pious man, why in this instance make belief a test, and that in a dry historical fact; a test too, by which I may not assert the name of a Christian, and must be denied the tokens of Christian fellowship? 4. If a creed is not to be allowed lest the progress of man should be hindered, why do you limit that progress of free inquiry by making it essential to Christianity, to believe that Christ wrought miracles? 5. If the most important element in Christianity is its spirit rather than its doctrines, if its "love to God and love to man," are of higher moment than its facts of history; and I by your admission teach with energy and truth, the spirit and the life, why deserve not I the appellation of a Christian, when others receive it, who seem only to bow to the *name* of Jesus?

Their only reply to these inquiries is this. The very name Christianity shuts you out, and has always shut you out. You have *religious* liberty indeed, a liberty to be of what religion you please, but not liberty to call yourself a Christian. This is perfectly correct and obvious to us, but not so to Mr. Parker, who may at once retort, Who gave you liberty to define Christianity for me? In doing it you abandon every argument urged against a creed, and used to sustain us in free inquiry.

Thus might Mr. P. charge inconsistency upon his friends, in regard to that claimed as their chief peculiarity and proudest distinction. We can not see but that he drives his arguments home. Their force can not be evaded. Their consistency is complete and their logic is unbroken. The fact is, that our friends have by their incantations, raised a spirit which is too mighty for them, and they can not reverse the spell. The muttered words are still abroad in the air, and will raise new spirits, unless a new formula is invented to conjure them down.

But this matter has to us no personal interest. The question concerns us only as a development and test of principles. The liberal principles of the liberal school, we regard as fully tested and carried out by Mr. P., and found wanting. *Experiment* has shown the falseness of the theory. *Facts* have proved the hypothesis to be but a fine abstraction.

We are not content to leave this question here. The principles on which the theory is based, are still retained, and they are too often coming up to be let entirely alone. We are aware that they are plausible. We see in them a mixture of truth with error.

The first principle, respects the implied uncertainty of the Scriptures. We say their implied uncertainty, for we think that no man will hold it in so many words, as it must be held to make the theory good. We reject it, we can not endure it, as casting dishonor on God, the giver of the word. To say we *can* have no common creed, is to say, that he has attempted to make himself known, but has not succeeded, or at least not so succeeded, that honest men can agree upon what he has said. On themes most important to man, he has professed to give light, but this light is darkness. A revelation from God to man! What can it be, if not a revelation of principles, of truths? How can it give

light if not by truths? How can it give instruction, if not the instruction of truths? Let us take the lowest possible view of the Bible, consistent with its being a revelation at all. Still it must declare something or it is worthless; and it must so declare it, that it can be expressed in other language and become the property of science and literature in the form of certain principles. At least so do we think of other books, that are counted of value, and especially of permanent value; and especially of permanent value on important subjects. Grant that the Bible is not inspired. Grant that the Old Testament is to be thrown aside as antique, and darkened by oriental and poetic phrase. Grant even that in the New, the gospels are an ordinary story of truth, and the epistles as an exposition of the system of Christ, are but as the exposition of that of Socrates or Cicero, by an intelligent disciple of either. Does it follow that it teaches nothing? or that it teaches nothing on which men may agree? Can we not learn, and *do* we not learn from the story and comments of Xenophon what Socrates taught, admitting that Xenophon is our true and only authority? The argument against any creed, as far as it implies that the Bible is uncertain, can not stand. We say the argument against *any* creed. We do not say the argument against existing creeds, and on the ground that they have gone beyond the plain import of the word. The two arguments are very different things.

The second principle implied, or which may be implied, is, that allowing the word to be clear and certain—it is interpreted by man weak in intellect and honesty, and therefore he may not be trusted to frame such a creed. This, to say nothing more, is inconsistent, as it comes from those who give to the reason of man so high authority, and speak in terms so flattering of the excellence of his heart. We acknowl-

edge that man is ignorant and weak. We grant that his temptations at this point are great and peculiar—that the pride of intellect, and love of power, and fondness of opinion, all come up, and are potent in their influence to warp and bend the mind. There is danger that man will decide amiss, or extend his decisions too far, or insist on them with a sectarian and superstitious fondness. Grant this, and say nothing of the power of influences to the contrary. We must yet have creeds, in fact or in form, or we can not have a Christian society. Christianity is a social concern, and a society without principles asserted and understood, is but a bag of marbles; or a collection of sticks and stones and refuse, frozen into an icy mass. A society, to have the glow and action of life, and the energy of excited and vigorous action, must stand upon its principles.* From them must it derive its food and its inspiration. It must clearly see them. They are the law of its existence and the bond of its union. Let the risks be the greatest possible, we must encounter them. To have an earnest church, we must have a bond of union and discipline. The argument for the necessity of sects growing out of this very principle, is well stated by a writer in a recent number of the *Christian Examiner*.

The third ground of argument, which is more than implied by our friends, is that the great object of

Christianity is character, not an assent to a dogma. Character therefore should be the sole bond of union and test of fellowship. It is in this form that liberal Christianity is fond of declaring her distinctive and peculiar liberality. We have seen how consistently she carried herself in respect to it in the case of Mr. Parker. It is spoken of by the writer we have just alluded to, in the following terms, in which he contends for sects, indeed, but claims that this principle is, and should be, the grand peculiarity of their own sect. "Now, we think, a yet more vital question is involved in our differences from the sects about us, namely, whether faith or character is 'the one thing needful.'" "In the course of discussion we have penetrated beneath one after another of the forms under which a false principle has manifested its 'shape and bearing,' and have now reached the principle itself; which adopting as its symbol the scriptural phrase of 'justification by faith,' uses this phrase in a sense widely different from that which was intended by Paul in his vindication of the claims of Christianity over ritual institutions. What is the ground of salvation? Is it belief or obedience? Does salvation come through 'the merits of Christ,' or through righteousness which is the consequence of a hearty reception of his truth? Is the sinner forgiven in virtue of his reliance on Christ, or in virtue of his submission to Christ? This is the great question, the central, inmost, all-embracing, all-determining question of the controversy, which we are called, on behalf of a pure Gospel, and after the example of those honored men who have gone before us, to maintain with earnest and confident hearts. Never was the truth on a question of a deeper import trusted to men. Never has a question arisen in the Christian church which penetrated

* It has always seemed strange to us that shrewd men accustomed to business, who would despise a bank, or insurance company, without principles and rules of action; and jurists, who in their profession insist most strenuously on principles and facts and words to express them, with a discipline to carry them home, should love an indefinite and truthless Christianity, and a church without rule or discipline. Surely it must be because they believe that in religion nothing is certain, or nothing is important.

farther into the very significance and worth of the Christian revelation." "On every side the voice of instruction affirms as Christian doctrine, (to borrow the pointed expression of another,) 'that men are sinners by nature, and saints by faith.' We maintain that it is *character* alone which can make men either sinners or saints, and therefore that it is character which Christianity regards as supremely important."*

Let us look at the issue. "The object of Christianity is character, not faith. Therefore character should be the only test of fellowship." We accept the premise, but deny the conclusion. The motto of Christianity is not character with any faith, but *character produced by faith*. Character is the great thing, but character is, *in fact*, produced by faith. It is alike a dictate of reason and the Scriptures, that a man's belief in respect to things spiritual, will form and mould his character—and will change that character from wrong to right. It is revealed as distinctly, we think, that the Gospel of Christ, or certain truths in respect to Christ as a Redeemer, are so *eminently* fitted to transform the character of man, that they are fitly called "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." These are called, by most Christians, the Gospel by eminence. They think that the Scriptures so call them. They think it therefore not merely needful for their union and moral life to have a creed, but that these peculiar truths should be expressed in that creed, and be made prominent in it. Those who do not hold these truths, so fully and distinctly as we think they must be held to exert the full power of the Gospel, though they may be Christians, and as far as *character* is concerned satisfy the most rigid external tests, we rejoice in as

Christian brethren ;—we hold communion with them in prayer and praise, and the offices of Christian brotherhood. But we may not so surrender the Gospel, nor the power of the Gospel, as to lower our creed to suit the case of every supposable good man. It is better far, that such should be as they are, in respect to fellowship, than that these truths, instinct with power and life, should not hold high their place. It is only in this sense, that a good and wise man would use the very improper phrase, that "Unitarians are not Christians." But our writer is inconsistent with himself. He himself admits that character is produced by faith. He speaks of "the righteousness which is produced by a hearty reception of his truth." The issue between the liberals and the other sects which he makes so much of, is not then, as he says it is, between *character* and *faith*—for both admit that character is produced by faith—but where lies the power of Christianity to affect character? What is the Gospel? Is it, or is it not, Christ as a Savior? This is the issue that has always been made. This is the deep problem to be answered, and vain is the attempt to call things by new names.

The fourth principle is, that provision must be made for human progress, and it is idle to restrict it by creeds which must soon change. On this point we will be brief. We believe in progress as truly, though not in the same sense, as do our liberal friends. As mental science advances, and the nature of man is more closely analyzed,—as the laws of language are more distinctly evolved, and as the past slowly gives up the buried treasures of its history, so do we believe that progress will be made in theology and biblical interpretation. For this reason should provision be made for it, by framing our creeds, simple, free from the terms of science, and in-

* Christ. Exam. May, 1844.

cluding nothing that is not revealed in the Scriptures as *fact*. But as the human heart will not change in its wants, so will not Christianity in its provisions. Nor will God change in the facts of his government, any more than the face of nature, in her perpetual revolutions back upon herself. In respect to both, science may bring out and understand the laws of God's acting in nature and in his moral kingdom. The language of science must form and change itself continually. But the facts by which the laws show themselves will change in neither; nor will the language of common life that describes these facts. Hence the language of the Bible speaks to the heart of man now just as truly and just as forcibly, as when David uttered it forth to express the life of his own soul. Hence the New Testament does but complete the aspirations of the Old. The truths which are the objects of practical theology will never change. These we would embody in a creed. The truths of scientific theology may and will change. These we would neither petrify nor embalm.

The last principle is this. 'The most important element of Christianity, is its spirit as shown in the life of its author. This is more important than its facts of history, and its facts of truth. This should be insisted on and nothing beside.'

We acknowledge the power of the life of Christ. To the man who believes nothing and is certain of nothing, whether in respect to the facts or the truths of the Bible, we know how to present it with power, and urge it home with the force of present obligation. We acknowledge the influence of that life in changing man. We rejoice in all the good fruit which it produces, even where his teachings and the import of his death are imperfectly understood. We hail his spirit as a badge of Christian brotherhood. But

that life is best understood in its close. The sublime and affecting import of all its revelations, is only fully set forth, as we see Christ die, and know for what he dies. It is a common saying, that we can know no man's life till we have seen him die. How true is this of the life of Christ. But this is not all. Christianity as we shall yet show, rightly understood, is more than a spirit and a set of principles. It is a manifested God. It is facts that are in the highest and holiest sense symbols, while yet they would signify nothing were they not also facts. These facts we can not sever from our creed, and yet think that we retain that which is peculiarly Christianity.

We pass to another feature of liberal Christianity, in its view of the nature of religion. What is piety? Who is a religious man? These questions, we need not say, are in the highest sense fundamental and vital. How are they answered in the school in which Mr. Parker has learned his theory of religion? In one sense, very well. In another, very imperfectly and ill. In the pages of its best writers, we often meet with just descriptions of religious emotions, and glowing portraiture of a truly religious life. The good man lives before us in the meek and earnest discharge of the duties he owes to his fellow; and in a devout and humble spirit toward God. In the dealings of life he is just, in its benevolence generous, in prosperity he is meek and sober, in adversity resigned, in sickness patient, in death peaceful. These portraiture are often true and beautiful. They are useful and inspiring. So far as they give us the truly good man, we complain not that they are untrue to the life. The only defect which we see, is, that they have a cast too poetic and ethereal, to answer to living men and women.

But when the good man is ana-

lyzed, which is too rarely attempted, and the elements which combine in this result are shown apart, we feel the error, and detect the imperfection. The religious man is well enough described; but what is it that makes a man good? What is it by which he may be known to himself and others to be religious? This may be so vaguely told, that no one is the wiser; or so delusively expressed, that sad and fatal errors are sure to follow. It is here, that accurate views are demanded. It is here that defects and mistakes are possible and too easy. It is no difficult matter to know what a Christian ought to be, and to tell what a true Christian in the ideal is. Any man who has an honest conscience and an open eye, can do it. But to separate and analyze this character into its essential elements, to lay open and clearly say what is the *vital element of all*—what the thing is, which being present, the character is good, and which being absent, it is defective; this is not so often done.

The religious man is to be viewed under two heads; his connection with God, and his connection with man. He is governed by one commanding principle, the moral as supreme, or the principle of duty which acts itself out in the relations which bind him to each. The religious and moral can not be disconnected. They are never apart, and they can not be opposed. It is one great principle which makes the religious to be moral, and the moral to be religious. It must be a commanding principle, the supreme thing with the man. Now the great defect of the liberal school is this, that *their religion is not moral, and their morality is not religious*. It is a defect in their principles—their theory. We do not say, that when they describe a religious man, they do not represent him as governed by the law of duty—nor again, that when they

conceive of him as under the law of duty, they do not make him religious. But we do say, that when they reason about religion and morality, they fail in the points asserted.

We have said that the defect of the liberal school is, that their religion is not moral. We mean not strongly and distinctively so. We know that none insist more earnestly than they, on a good life, and on the vanity of all religious pretension without it. We can imagine the serene smile which would play across the classic features of some of our Cambridge friends at so strange a charge. And yet we believe it strictly and strongly true. Religion in their view is a sentiment. Man is by nature religious. He has aspirations that connect him with the Deity,—that are ethereal and divine. These capacities to feel religious obligation, and to exercise religious emotion, which make him a being capable of religion, they take as indications that he is a religious being, in the sense of fulfilling these capacities, so as to secure the favor of God. These capacities show themselves in all men. In every man who looks away to God, there springs up an instinctive awe, it may be a kind of gratitude, confidence and love, as he turns to that in the Most High which is fitted to call out each emotion. In some men these emotions are vivid and strong. In other men they are dim and weak. In all men they have a measure of strength and force, else would they not be capable of religion at all. The sensualist may have his better moments. He may pause from groveling pleasures to reflect on their unsatisfying nature, and to feel a conscious thirst for those which are higher and holier. If his temperament be warm, and his nature attuned to the finest issues, he may rise to lofty heights of no feigned emotion, and in his heaving bosom and glowing soul, nature

may utter her thirst for God. The ambitious man may stop in his hot career, be disgusted at his low and earthly aims, and in his own nobler aspirations read that he was made for a higher destiny. Even the worldling, shriveled and care-worn, may relax from his stern pursuit of gain, and look up from the pelf over which he is bending, and grin with a ghastly smile, as he clutches at the golden crown which is held above him. All men have their better moments, in which emotions that are warm, and tender, and pure, and noble, awake and live in their hearts. All men have a sense of religion, which must show itself out in some mode of worship, or form of religious observance. All men have seasons of relenting, in which they will acknowledge the evil of which they are guilty, even though it be to prepare for a new convulsion which leads them with a more tremendous energy to the same indulgence. All men have some moments for prayer, even though prayer and blasphemies roll in quick succession from their tongues.

Now it is a truth vital to all right distinctions, that these emotions of themselves are not religious, till duty to God becomes the law of the man, and a supreme and hearty reverence for the will of God is the reigning principle in his entire being. Then is it, that all these right emotions have scope and room enough to expand, and glow, and mature, till they become the habit of the soul. The passions that might take their place, or oppose their kindly influence, the selfish and malign, the dark and debasing, these are repressed and driven back to their dens to starve and die. Then it is, that the peace of the man is attained, and the prevailing current of right affections sets with a steady but peaceful swell toward the haven of his rest. The raging billows are stilled, that were raised by angry and conflicting tides,

—"which now have quite forgot to rave,
While birds of calm sit brooding on the
charmed wave."

This is peace, even "the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

Without this substratum of duty, mere emotions, however ardent and strong, as tests of character, are worthless, while in point of quality they want body, distinctness, satisfaction and permanency. They are vague, flashing, intoxicating and fleeting. But, penetrated and fed by this nobler life, they assume the better form, and are so contrasted, even in the consciousness of feelings without principle, that with proper qualifications, the change of the *affections* proves a change of *the man*. He is born anew.

Now what we assert is this : that the distinction between the religious sentiments, as instinctive, natural and involuntary, and the same emotions, when controlled by duty, and so made virtuous and moral, is not asserted as it should be by liberal Christians. Many do not seem to insist on the existence of any feeling, certainly not on any *strong* feeling toward God, as a token of religion ; as if a man could be right in character toward such a being as his Father in heaven, and yet have no feeling ; and as if the want of such feeling, did not show him wholly wrong. More, however, are satisfied if there be emotion, and forsooth because nature will flash out a little from amid her embers that smother the divine, and show for what she was made, therefore man's nature is religious. Or, if they see this distinction, and in some of its uses assert it, they do not assert and use it, as a prime principle which makes its mark, in their views of practical religion. They are indeed most large-hearted and liberal ; so liberal, as to overlook the distinction between animal and necessary sentiment, and spiritual and virtuous emotion ; so liberal, as not to care for the differ-

ence between a being capable of worship, and a being who knows the exalted rapture of actual worship. Hence if a man now and then shows some tokens of his higher nature, he is religious, for do you not see, he has religious feeling. If he respects religion, the charitable construction is that he reveres his God, and if his better moods are oft recurring, though with no powerful influence on his life, the religious element is largely developed. Hence religion of every kind is but the various language in which the same God is worshiped, and the same religious nature is uttered, and in its varied forms, we are bidden to see, not the proof that nature will out with her tendencies, though perverted, dishonored and abused, but the delightful variety under which she shows the same holy aspirations.

In the same way, the morality of the liberal Christian is not religious. If there be a God, the relations which bind us to God are the most commanding of our nature. The emotions which lift us to him, surpass all the others in their right to be supreme. They must penetrate every other feeling. They must command and give a character to every other principle. Hence is it an instinct of nature, that duty to man must have a higher reference to the will of God, and that, unless this animates the whole life of our social morality, it must lack the most important element that can make it truly virtuous. Or in other words, it is alike the dictate of reason and revelation, that whatever we do, should be done to the glory of God.

We do not see this distinction insisted on as we should desire, in the liberal preachers and writers. We never see it urged home with the force and searching analysis which is due a distinction so important. A failure here is one most vital. It is in effect a failure everywhere. A

vagueness and forcelessness here, will corrupt and destroy.

We have no complaints here to urge against their views of social and external morality. Those which might suggest themselves to our thoughts, it falls not within our scope to name. We give them the highest praise for the estimate in which they hold the graceful amenities and the sweeter charities of social intercourse. We give them the highest praise for insisting on kindness to all, as the only spirit which a Christian should cherish; courtesy, as the only external robe which he should wear; and good works, as the only results that should follow in the path in which he treads. We admire the high spirit of honor, the delicate sense of propriety, the stern commercial integrity, which are fostered and exhibited by so many who are trained under the influences of liberal Christianity. The intellectual spirit, the elevation above the vulgar gentility of mere wealth, which are diffused through many—not all—of its social circles; the truthfulness to nature, in manners and in taste; the high appreciation of intellectual and moral institutions; the public spirit which so lavishly provides for them; and, above all, the strict and careful conscientiousness which trains and moulds many an esteemed and honored friend, are virtues of no mean value, and are not the chance growth of nature. They show culture; intellectual, social, moral, of the highest order. But these in themselves are not religion, and, unless penetrated and animated by duty to God, are robbed of a soul that should animate so worthy a frame, and spoiled by wanting the highest life. We honor and admire these virtues. We would like to send hither to school many among ourselves who profess to glow with religious feeling, to learn how to act out that feeling in its most appropriate and becoming manifestations. But, much as we admire and delight in it, we know of

something better. Much as there is which fascinates us in man so cultivated, when we think of man so cultivated as he is, or would be, when elevated and subdued, when fired yet chastened by right views of God and spiritual things, we grieve that the highest life should not glow in so fair a form. It is a form

"So coldly sweet, so deadly fair,
We start, for soul is wanting there."

We repeat, then, that in our view, the great difficulty with their theory is, that their religion is not moral, and their morality is not religious. From this view do they fetch their strongest arguments against a mistaken and traditional notion of what others hold in respect to the character of man. Let them correct their own theory of the nature of religion, and they would find it easy to believe all that is worth believing, under the name of total depravity.

We contend, at this point, that if the doctrines taught by liberal Christians were in all respects true; if the objective of that vague something, called liberal Christianity, were the exactest transcript of the truth, the failure to specify the character which the truth should form in man, and to do it by the sharpest analysis, would expose it to the gravest objections. Christian truth is of prime value, because it bears upon the destinies of man, and shapes and forms his character. The character which Christianity is fitted to form, must then be accurately conceived of and forcibly described, or how can we know what is the work which it has to do, or when it has done its work? If our theory be here at fault or vaguely declared, it will lead to the grossest practical error. If it mistake sentiment for piety, and call a superficial social morality true religious principle, it can not but be sadly deficient.

This error pervades the system of Mr. Parker. It is the basis of his argument. Give him this, and his system is complete, and his ar-

gument is conclusive. Nothing but the grossest confusion on this point, could have given him his hold on himself, in framing that argument. Nothing but the feeling that those held it for whom he wrote, could have made him bold to utter the argument when framed. His argument is, that where there is worship there is religion. How totally does he fail to see what is required to make that worship moral! how totally does he fail to understand that *the kind* of religion must have a tremendous influence in the morality of him who believes it, and that, of course, religion may be to man the brightest of the messengers of heaven, or the blackest of all the deputies of hell!

We turn to another point in which Mr. Parker is at one with the liberal school; that is, the moral government of God. It is true they have here no formally established principles to which all subscribe. They give assent to no form of words. They own allegiance to no distinguished writer as their authorized expounder of the principles of God's moral administration. But their principles are most manifest. The great first truths, on which they fall back, are too often appealed to, or taken as granted, not to be distinctly known. They have diffused a spirit and style of reasoning. They have founded a school which speaks its own peculiarities. Its principles are uttered in a single phrase. Law is the opposite of love. He who governs by law can not govern by love. The one is stern, morose and tyrannical. It speaks by authority which is always forbidding. It constrains by wrath and reward. Its spirit is mercenary and slavish. It may be needed for untutored and barbarous men, whose dispositions are mercenary and debased, and whose natures are savage and perverse. Hence was God forced to reveal himself in a dispensation of law to the barbarous Jews, or rather

was forced to say that he did. But as soon as human nature was lifted to a higher point, he laid aside these terrors forever, and is now revealed as a Father.

We know that our liberal friends often speak of the moral government of God; that they argue from laws in nature to laws in morals; that they insist, that as the one are enforced by pain and disease, so will the other work out the pain and disease that is worse,—the pain and disease of the soul. On this they reason beautifully and with force, though it is a too common fault to make nature more amiable than she is, and to soften the sternness of her moral movements, and the terror of their actual retribution. "This system," says Mr. Parker, "allows no ultimate evil as a background of God, believes in no vindictive punishment. The woes of sin are but its antidote. Suffering comes from wrong-doing, as well-being from virtue. If there be suffering in the next world, it is, as in this, but the medicine of the sick soul." They do not believe in a government properly so called. They do not hold that the eternal Creator must be a reigning Jehovah; that as such he must throw himself on the side of holiness, with all the energy which he has as a living person; that to do this, he must threaten and punish sin, and command and reward holiness, and that only as he is and does all this, can he be a God of love. They see not and feel not, at least they do not reason as if they saw and felt, the grandeur of the position which such a Being occupies in a universe of moral beings, free to stand and free to fall, to whom holiness is health, and life, and bliss, and sin is a living death. To him is entrusted their weal or woe, as he shall hold them fast in bonds of reverential yet joyful goodness, or as presuming on his careless good nature, they shall curse their own souls with the fatal indulgence, and open

the sluices that shall flood them with internal fire. What a curse to such a universe were an easy and indulgent Jehovah,—the Eternal, who should uphold the sure connection between virtue and subjective life, and vice and subjective misery, but who had no favor of his own to add, whose smile should be heaven, and no displeasure, whose frown should be hell! What a fiend were a Jehovah capable of adding these powerful influences, who should yet withhold them, and thus give leave to a flood of subjective vice, compared with which the sufferings of those who would cast themselves upon his uttered curse, would be as nothing! Would that the malignant character that is involved in the common conception of a God of love were fully developed. Would that the "reign of terror" that is implied, by certain consequence, in such a moral administration, were fully realized. Then would men understand better the highest meaning of the often used but never thread-worn sentiment, "Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power."

It is easy to say that the spirit of such a system is slavish, that the grasp of law throttles the life of all generous affection, that it puts the strangling cord on the free course of spontaneous love and honor, and thus drives out of the universe the highest form of virtue. Love, it is said, to be worthy to be given or taken, must be free. He that *drives* me to my duty, can not have the best homage of a generous heart. Such is the influence of unhappy associations, produced by those of God's ambassadors who have sadly misrepresented his will, that it is hard to reason against them. And yet we know that the son who gives an

earthly parent the manly tribute of filial confidence, and the daughter, who, in her maiden bloom, pours out of gushing fountains her ardent love, we know that neither of these love their father less, because they are sure that the eye which beams on them with tenderest affection, would flash out with holiest indignation against a treacherous son or a shameless daughter. Do not they rejoice in him the more, because they know and feel him to be such? Their affection is more free, their love more generous, because they consent to such a guardianship as their own defense, and rejoice in it as the noblest trait that their father wears. It is more generous, because it is the homage of intelligent and consenting principle, and not the mere flash of animal sentiment, which is one moment all tenderness, and the next may be as cold or faithless.

It is easy to call this influence selfish and mercenary,—easy to attach to law in heaven the associations of being formal, clumsy and abstract, associations taken from the workings of law on earth. This can not be other than superficial, and it takes its hue and influence from those who administer it, and they are cunning and heartless men. But law on earth, sometimes, nay, often, rises to the grandeur of its divine original. The place of human judgment not rarely beams with the awful radiance which is reflected from the throne of the Eternal.

But this our liberal friends do not see. They reason as if it were not true, and the most fundamental of all truths. Hence their misconceptions, their false reasonings, their forceless and vague appeals, in respect to the retributions of the eternal state. They fill their minds with horrid fright, at the flames of hell! kindled by the wrath of God! They conjure up hideous visions of howling fiends, with ghastly and wailing spirits, and having filled

the picture with all these heart-rending accompaniments, they tell us that this is the hell of the Calvinist. They ask if a good being could build or threaten such a prison as that. They forget that it is not its inflicted pains, in all their variety of terror, that give it its meaning or its force; but that it is, that they are the awful and expressive symbol of God displeased with sin. Their meaning and testimony is moral, not material; the utterance of the feelings of God against a thing so evil. They forget too, that there are two greater evils, even than that a God should punish, or rather two involved in one—the first, that God should not act himself out as displeased with sin, and the second, that sin should burst the mount of terror in which it is pent up by his hand, and desolate all that is fair and holy by its waves of rolling fire.

Hence their reasonings in respect to those representations of God in the Scriptures, which make him command and threaten, and reward and punish. The stern and awful voice of God as he thunders upon Sinai, is no revelation of the living Jehovah, as he announces the eternal principles of his moral dominion, but the necessary and painful "Theophany," of God as an oriental despot, to keep the Jews in order. The destruction of the cities of the plain is no perpetual symbol of Jehovah, in his strange work of punishment, as the Apostle says it is; but the ungodly of these times may have milder views of punishment, for God is "a Father." How strange and inconsistent and evasive the reasoning, with which they soften and dilute and explain the earnest words of a reigning God. How strangely do they forget, that the mild and merciful Savior, spake familiarly of the worm that does not die, and the fire that is not quenched,—that the lips which spake such words of winning mer-

cy, as no mortal ever heard beside, could utter reproof and terror too, such as no mortal would choose to encounter.

But most of all does this primal and pervading error, unfit them to understand the scene, around which is gathered our highest interest in God as revealed to man, and which we are taught, is to be the theme of the songs of heaven. Those who see not that God should reign as a sovereign, or he can be no God of love, can not understand why Christ should die, that God may forgive. Those who in the law of God, as executed, see no love, see only a thirst for blood, a vindictive and cruel spirit, in the demand that God as forgiving, should not be untrue to God as reigning. They who see love only in that kindness which is alike easy with the evil and the good, feel neither the need, the nature, nor the reality of that work of atonement, in which reigning and forgiving love both mingle with an interest so sweet and awful, and the heart of the sinner is softened while he also fears the God who *so* forgives.

We trace the influence of this error on a point so important, in every part of the liberal scheme. It robs it of earnestness. It strips it of its power over the conscience. It makes it untrue to man's highest instincts; to his most solemn and most honest fears.

Shall we go farther and say all that we fear? It is this *την ὁρὴν ψεύδος*—this fatal misconception of love as opposed to law—assumed as true, honeyed with words so grateful to desire that longs for indulgence; and made plausible by clear but shallow reasonings, which has done no little mischief to the social welfare. They who oppose love to law in things divine, can not but do the same in the affairs of men. If it be wrong for God to punish, surely it must be wrong for man.

The theologians who reason away the strong expressions by which God reveals himself as a sovereign and a judge, need not be surprised, if others take their arguments and use them to reason down the strong demands of man for human government. It is true, that the plain and obvious necessity for law here, exerts a strong conservative influence against mere abstractions. The interests of the purse, will hold a long siege against the artillery of words. Yet such is the charm of consistency, and such the power of principles, supported by ingenious reasoning, enforced by artful eloquence, and appealing to debauched desire, that it would be no surprising thing, if those theologians who have denied the need of a strong government in heaven, should be forced to see and feel in scenes of horror which their own spells have raised, the need of a strong government on earth. It would be no surprising thing, if those who have refused to render deserved homage to law, as she sits upon the eternal throne, should see their error in her stern refusal to give them needed protection from violence and misrule. Stranger things have happened, than that God should find it needful to cure the relaxing influence of a false theology, by letting out on man its legitimate results; in law dethroned and anarchy let loose.

We more than suspect the influence of this style of reasoning in this regard. We fear it, as a sure though subtle poison, which slowly works in the body of human society, to macerate its bones, and leave in their place a weak and contemptible substitute, which can give it neither strength nor beauty. We trace to its influence the prevailing opposition to law as in any sense penal—the sentimentality that sympathizes with the criminal more than with the commonwealth against which he sins—the disposition to fa-

ther every crime upon the neglect or bad formation of society, (the only sense of responsibility known to cut-throats and sentimental villains,)—and that depravation of moral and manly sentiment which will enact, but dares not execute wholesome law.

This view of the government of God is closely connected with another, no less fundamental in respect to the character and guilt of man. He who lightly estimates the binding force of the sovereignty of the universe, will think but little of the sin which slights or scorns it. He who limits the extent of its requirements, must limit also the bounds of actual sin. It is by the *length* of the law, that we measure our deficiencies. It is by the *earnestness* of the law, that we know their damning ill desert.

Let us see how the liberal Christian looks at man. What are his views of the law which measures his duty? What of the heart, which it will have, or it will have nothing? Does he see clearly and enforce strongly the truth, that in all his amiable impulses, his kind dispositions, and his useful deeds, there must pervade the high and commanding law of duty to God? that without it there is wanting, not merely an important organ of a perfect being, but the life which should run through all the organs? Does he see that this element is not present in any man as he is by nature; and that in consequence, he is deficient and depraved in his whole being? Does he see that as *the moral* is not supreme and every where present, he is wretched and guilty, let him go where he will, and be as good in other respects as he may be? Does he measure the guilt of this perpetual sin, this constant self-murder, this sustained and voluntary depravity, as it is illustrated by being in face of the known will of the Eternal, and a living rebellion of the conscience and

moral faculties against the solemn law of a reigning sovereign, and that sovereign the king eternal, immortal, and invisible? Does he form a just idea of the perfection of man as he should be—of what a noble, what a glorious and godlike being man would be, in whom intellect, sensibility, and conscience, all in their finest perfections, were sustained and penetrated and enlivened, by a hearty and reverential allegiance to his lawful sovereign? Does he then place man as he is, by the side of man as he ought to be, and see his deficiencies and deplore his guilt? No, he does none of these things. Now and then there is one, who reasons and preaches as if these were his views, but how blandly and coolly and amiably;—with how little of the soul-stirring earnestness which becomes a man, who has the reasonableness of the claims of God to vindicate, and the guilty conscience of man to convict, and the soul in its deep and desperate wants, to lead to quench its thirst in the living God. Of these even, how few are they, and how far between. As to the most, how kindly and amiably do they judge of man. His high and noble aspirations, and his warm and active sympathies are appealed to, to demonstrate that he is a being not greatly fallen. As if these all, did not by their brightness flash a more fearful light on his ruin, by showing the end for which he was made! As if they did not make the guilt more inexcusable, that can pervert capacities so exalted and sin against motives so affecting! But the liberal teacher counts the good deeds of men and counts his evil ones, and finding even in a very bad man the balance in his favor, he can demonstrate by arithmetic that men can not be very sinful. As if the argument, that overlooks the character which the external acts out, must not of course be superficial and baseless; and the

reasoning which if it proves any thing, would prove the greatest of criminals to be fit for heaven, did not prove itself worthless. The danger of man is far from being realized. Where there is little earnestness in God, there is but little occasion for fear on the part of man. In a moral universe in which there is no law, there can be no rebellion, with its desperate hardihood and certain ruin. If man be a sinner, it is not so very great a thing—and then he has so many fine emotions and generous traits, that it is not a serious matter to spoil them all by treason to the Eternal. But God is a Father. As if an earthly father could be pleased with a son who is generous and noble to others, who should be any thing but generous or noble to himself.

These imperfect views of God as holy, and of man as a sinner, by a necessary consequence, involve imperfect or false ideas of what is required for man's recovery. If man will but repent, God has nothing to do but to pardon him. He has no law to vindicate—no relations to his moral universe to make good. As man is not in character an acting rebel against his moral will, he is not to be summoned to immediate repentance. As he does not reluctantly delay, there is no need of constraining influence to make him willing. His regeneration is an elevation of his higher sentiments, by appropriate culture, not their renewal by a turning of the man to God. As there is no disorder and depravity in all his being, there is no law of sin within his members to call for new resistance, and new strength from on high.

In this school, has Mr. Parker been trained. These principles describe his views of the government of God, and of the wants of men. They have been with him unquestioned principles, his admitted prem-

ises in all his reasonings, the truths on which he has fallen back as not to be debated. In all his writings, they are the principles, which he uses as first and familiar truths.

"But what have these views to do with his conclusions? What part do they bear in the argument for or against the historic truth of the Christian revelation? How do the liberal school deserve the charge, of having trained him to results abhorrent to their feelings, by giving him these views of the government of God?" We shall see.

To our mind, right views of the government of God and the guilt and wants of man, are the glory and power of the Christian system. With the facts furnished by revelation as adapted to these wants, they are the system itself. But right views concerning God and ourselves, are indispensable, to lead us to feel the worth of this revelation, as clearly uttering the instincts of nature and the monitions of conscience, and as furnishing to man a grand and wondrous remedy for his wants as a sinner condemned and lost. It is *these truths, as living and powerful principles, as facts which are instinct with energy divine, that we value and believe in. These are to us Christianity, as having fitness in them when fully believed, to renew and change the man.* It is the reception of them as truths of this kind, which makes a man a Christian. It is not consent to a dogma, or a traditional form of words, as our liberal friends so confidently affirm. It is not the preference of one creed to another, except as it better brings out these living realities. It is as the Bible utters these truths and meets these wants, that we love it and believe it. We do not care for the simple fact, that God has spoken by one man or another, or performed miracles by a hundred in ages past. What is that to us? By itself it is a dry and naked fact, with no higher in-

terest than any other fact. But when we know *what he has said* by this or that prophet, and what he has confirmed by this or that wondrous work, we start up, and listen, and believe. It is the import of the Bible, that makes the argument concerning its truth or inspiration to be of any consequence, and in establishing these facts, forms a weighty and powerful argument.

These great truths which find their proof and warrant in the conscience, can all be urged without determining the question concerning the inspiration of a given part or even of any part of the Scriptures, and even without debating it. If there be a reigning God, man may be called upon to yield to him and love him, and in that view of the solemnities of a future state, even though the Bible be a lie. He may be urged to do this, because his conscience tells him he is bound to do it, and to do it without delay, and to do it, whether the Bible be inspired or not inspired, whether it be true or false. These duties are facts. The truths which make them binding live in man's bosom. His conscience witnesses to their reality. So too, man may be summoned at once to be like the Lord Jesus Christ in spirit and in life; and he knows he ought to be such a man, whether Jesus be divine or human only; or even if he performed no miracles, and his life was but a glorious myth or an amplified legend. So true are these truths, and so self-evident to man.

Nor is this all. It is of far higher consequence, that we should know aright what the truth is, than that in itself, we should know that the Bible is from God. Certainly it is of far higher consequence, that we know God and ourselves aright, than that we should be right in respect to the book through which these truths have wrought their saving work on man. If we could sever the one thing from the other, it

would be worse to err, as Mr. Parker does, upon these principles in respect to God and man, than to err as he does, in respect to the Book which claims to be God's revelation.

We make these remarks to show how important it is, that we come to the argument in respect to the Bible, with right views on points so essential in making out the argument. If our views be wrong respecting the situation in which the Bible finds us, the argument will be slighted because it is of little consequence, and the argument fails in the most important element that will prove it true.

With the liberal scheme of God and man, it is of little consequence whether or not the Bible be historically true—whether its miracles be wonders wrought by the hand of God, or wonders magnified by the eye of man. It is a matter of interest as a theme of speculative inquiry and of historic probability; but it does not come home to the heart and hopes of man. Christianity is a scheme of philosophy. It reveals God as a Father. It makes known a future life. It sets before us the example of Christ. We have these principles. Of what great consequence is it how we have attained them? If God is a Father, we know it. Of what great import is it, that we know precisely the way in which this truth was made known? So too if we believe in a future life and take Christ as our model—of what mighty consequence is it, that a man thinks so or so, of the way in which the world has learned them? We have got possession of them—they are incorporated into the mind of the race. We will lay the Bible on the shelf, or take it down now and then to speculate about its origin and history, as curious men debate whether one or twenty men composed the Iliad. How easy to go from this view of the importance of the argu-

ment, into the conclusions of Parker, Strauss, and Heuvel!

But take the other view of the matter. God is holy, and man is a sinner. I know that there is a holy God,—a future life of retribution. I am a sinner, condemned and lost. Can God forgive? How shall man be just with God? Wherewithal shall I come before God? Does he care for me still? May I trust myself to his mercy? Is there a way by which I can be forgiven? Is there help, as I am prone to fall? Is there grace which will give me new strength? How important these questions! How interesting the argument as to the fact whether God has cast light upon them! How overwhelming the conclusion, that he prepared the way to answer them by the slow and patient training of the world for the full revelation of himself as a pardoning God! How intense the interest that gathers around the life and death of the Word, who was made flesh to bring us to God! How important that we come to right conclusions in respect to the book which continues to answer these questions, as the soul feels new doubts, and the conscience is laden with new fears! Is it true? Is it reliable? Does God speak in it? Are its facts glorious realities, or are they but splendid fictions, built upon a meagre basis of truth? Are its wonders the power of God, or did all the wonder about them lie in the credulous weakness of those who thought they saw them? It is impossible that a man who comes to the question with this solicitude, should look at it as an indifferent thing how it is decided.

This leads us insensibly to the influence of these different views on the argument itself. A man with the liberal scheme concerning God's government and man's necessities, with very low views of God's earnestness and man's wants, will at once see, that it is hardly reasonable to think that God would take all this

pains about man, especially so many times over, as the Bible speaks of, simply to bring out two or three doctrines, of his paternal character and a future life. If he believes that he would perform one miracle, he can not believe that he would go through so long a succession of miracles for so small an object, when fewer would answer the purpose. He accordingly is incredulous about the greater part of the story. He explains it away as far as possible, or rejects the whole as unreasonable. He believes that men are more likely to be imposed on, or tell a falsehood, than that such wonders should have happened. It is contrary to all experience that such wonders should have happened, but it is not contrary to all experience that men should be deceived or lie. This is the old sophism of Hume, and it is just as much alive now with the naturalists and neologists of Germany and England, as though it had not been said to be exploded. The fact is, it is true, if there is not a fit occasion for God to intervene, and a sufficient reason why he should work a wonder, it *is true* that it is far more reasonable to believe that men should be deceived, than that the miracle should have been wrought. Now the liberal scheme furnishes no such necessity. There is not a sufficient reason, in the character of God or the wants of man, and hence shrewd men will be slow to believe all this story of wonders. Now and then a consistent and thorough-going thinker, like Prof. Norton, will persuade himself that man can know nothing about God or a future state, except it is hammered into him by miracles, and so he will create a sufficient reason, by turning man in his moral nature to a mere negation. But even his sufficient reason is not large and broad enough to serve as a basis for the whole Bible, and so he rejects all the miraculous in it, except the fact that Moses and Jesus did work

some wonders. The other school, who exalt man, as did Dr. Channing, turn out a consistent thinker, like Mr. Parker, who finds no need of miracles, because man is already inspired; and then up again comes Hume's maxim, in the form of the last type of German neology, that the stories are only magnified legends or symbolic myths. But the reason is, there is no sufficient reason to the mind of Mr. Parker for these miracles. His views of God and man are such, that he can not believe them real; and all this he learned at the liberal school.

But take the opposite view of God's government, and of man's need and danger. We do not ask, that it be digested into a regular and philosophical scheme, and lie mapped out before the eye of his intellect. Let a man take it as it lives in every honest conscience,—the truths which Shakspeare, Sophocles, and every other true dramatist recognizes,—the truths with which Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, prepares the mind to understand and receive the Gospel. Let him with this, the just view of God and himself, open the Bible. It is a history of wonders,—of God interposing to turn aside the onward march of nature's eternal round, and intermeddling with the paltry affairs of obscure men and women. The world is full of such stories, none like these, it is true, in dignity, consistency, simplicity and tenderness; but yet, if there be no sufficient object for these, these too may be held in suspicion. But about all these there is gathered the tremendous interest of God speaking to the heart of man. Mark well the circumstances under which he speaks. Reason exalts God upon a holy throne, and upholds him there, even though the whole world shall be found guilty. Conscience smites in the breast of every man, with the knockings of acknowledged guilt. Eternity lifts up her awful voice of

terror. Man cries out in the agony of his mingled guilt and fear, "How shall I be just with God?" Nature hangs out her signals of mingled fear and hope, by which man is now lifted up with joyful confidence that God will forgive, and anon convulsed with anguish, lest forgiveness may not be for him. From out her dark and dim recesses, she utters mysterious responses to man's agonized inquiries as to what God will do, and how God feels. At last he cries out, Oh that God would speak out for himself! "Oh that I knew where I might find him, that I might come" near to him, "even to his seat!" Let God declare himself by a messenger from his presence, by a voice of words, by himself made manifest. Man too is weak, as well as condemned and fearful. He is prostrate upon the earth, entangled by the knotted chains of habits long indulged, and fixed and fastened to his own ruin by pleasant bonds that are ever growing from his living self, and that are terrible because they are a part of his own soul, and grow harder and harder by time. Of himself he can not and will not rise; and he looks up with an imploring cry, "I have destroyed myself! Whence cometh my help?" Here is a *sufficient reason* for God to interpose. How thoughtfully and wisely must he do it! for he has to do with a rude, and thoughtless, and perverse family. Here is a sufficient reason for him *often to interpose*. He must slowly establish himself as a one and holy God, and by often repeated lessons, that startle the senses, must he spell to the childish mind, letter by letter, the mysterious and ineffable name of Jehovah. Together with this must he reveal himself, as a Redeemer, by the slow preparation of miraculous dealings, and by the continuance of a sacrificial system, along which runs his supernatural agency, as the silent electric fire, which is ready at any moment to start out upon those who

trifle with its laws. At last, after its dim and broken dawn, up comes the day; the sun shines forth, and God is fully made known to man. Befitting wonders add their imposing presence, and attest a God revealed.

The application of all this to our argument is obvious. For all these wonders there is a sufficient reason. No objection can be brought against them that they are trivial. How could God work a miracle *upon* man and *for* man, that is not as trivial as man himself? No argument can be urged that they are adapted to untutored men, and come down to the apprehensions and prejudices of an ignorant and savage race. How could God speak at all, except in the language which they use? How could he meet their senses and their minds, without *stooping* to do it? There is a sufficient reason for the whole, *for the wonders themselves, and the manner in which they are wrought*, the time, the variety, the order, and the long succession. Look at the Bible from one point of view, and it becomes an incredible story of useless miracles, or a mixture of the true and false, or a splendid but factless mythology. Look at it from another, and it justifies itself, as credible, as it is worthy of God to give, and of man to receive. The one point of view is given in the liberal school, and accordingly we see what that school thinks of the Bible, and how different men in that school think of it, according as they have higher or lower views of man and of God. The other point is furnished by the truth, and it leads to far different views of the need and of the truth of its story of wonders.

We might go farther, and show how this argument not only justifies the Bible, but *demand*s that it should be received as true. We might show how nature and conscience and reason all say, that God, in these awful exigencies, and with this

uncompleted plan, not only might be expected to do as much, but could not do less,—not only that we might think it natural that he should work these wonders for such a cause, *but that he was bound* to reveal himself so that man would hear. We might show that, in consequence, he who, from this point of view, rejects the story, may well tremble lest he sin as did they who put dishonor on works wrought by the finger of God, and received the terrible rebuke of the Son of God.

We review our argument, to answer a possible objection; an objection which has been entirely shut off by the principles already advanced, but which it may be well to answer in form. "You have said," it might be urged, "that you regard Christianity as valuable on account of its principles, or its views of God and man; that you prefer a disbelief of the Bible as true or inspired, with a belief of these principles if it were a thing to be supposed, to a belief of a history of the Bible, with a rejection of this as its scheme of moral truths. Why then make the belief of the history a thing of consequence? Why not be content that its principles should be received?" This is our answer,—the answer already given. This system of principles demands a revelation of God in facts. It requires and justifies actual miracles and a history of living realities. Take the principles, as far as we have them without fact. A holy God reigns over sinning man. Man is condemned, and will be lost, if God is true to himself. The darkest of all mysteries hangs over the gravest of all questions, "Will God forgive?" To answer this, we must have more than a myth or a legend. It is not a principle which we require, no matter how we have got it, but it is *a fact, a provision made*,—God made manifest, as able to forgive,—God commanding to us his love. The Bible is wanted to manifest God, in re-

spect to certain necessities of fact. If God has not in fact made himself known, it is not the thing we need.

This is not all. A Bible of symbols, the half or the whole of it, will never move man. Nothing will do it but a Bible of fact and of truth. No voice will break up his guilty slumbers, but the voice of an earnest God. No truth will fill him with awful terror in view of his lost condition, but truth that comes warm and direct from the soul of God, as he says, with all the earnestness of a beseeching and commanding Redeemer, "Be thou reconciled to me!" And it is more than God speaking by words, that man needs, burning words though they be, and words that come from lips that heal the sick and raise the dead. It is the act, the manifested God, the revealed divinity, the word made flesh, condescending, suffering, living, dying, to sustain the throne of the Eternal, and to pardon the guilty, to reconcile the two opposing demands of divine regard—love for the law, because it blesses the universe, and love for the sinner, because he longs to save him. These must be realities, or they are powerless and worthless things. They must be facts, or they can not be symbols or truths.

The Bible too, the book which records these facts, and explains and sets them home, though written by man, must have, in some sense, the seal and stamp of God, or it loses its power and force. It is not philosophy, nor the excellency of man's wisdom, that is required; but it is the power of God. Man is sluggish, sensual, guilty, and the book must come to him, as one that has authority to speak for God, to array him before the realities of the eternal scene, and to set him face to face with a present Jehovah. Make the Bible any thing short of this, and you strip it of its power over the race.

The next peculiarity of the liberal school which we notice, is their

view of the Scriptures, and their habits of biblical interpretation.—These have had no slight influence in leading Mr. Parker to his conclusions. To us, with our views of the Scriptures, with the high estimate in which we hold them, for the truths which they teach and for the manner in which they teach them, it is a problem not easily solved, to account for the ease with which he sets them aside, and the barbarous and monstrous theories which he sets up, to dispose of their supernatural origin. We find it difficult to place ourselves upon the point of view from which he looks at the Bible. But as we study some of the most approved and influential interpreters of the school in which he has been trained, the mystery is removed. In our view, the Bible, whether inspired or uninspired, if it is to be taken in its obvious meaning, and dealt with like any other honest and reasonable book, reveals most distinctly the truths of which we have spoken, viz. God as a sovereign and Redeemer, and man as a sinner, with whom God is earnestly dealing. These principles the liberal Christian rejects, or but half receives. To interpret the Bible, and not to find these principles, or rather to *work them out of the Bible*, is his task as an interpreter, and a hard and heavy task it is. For ourselves, we know not what business in any or all of the departments of learning, sacred or profane, we would not sooner undertake, than to hold the Bible of divine origin, or even in any degree reasonably consistent and honest, and yet to find in it nothing more nor less than the doctrines of the extreme form of liberal Christianity. We hardly dare trust ourselves to say what we think of its methods of dealing with the Bible. We prefer to give Mr. Parker's own impressions of them.

"It would believe nothing not reasonable, and yet all things scriptural; so it will not look facts in the face, and say,

This is in the Bible, but out of reason none the less. So with perfect good faith it 'explains away' what is offensive. 'This is not in the canon. That is a false interpretation.' To such a proficiency has this art of explaining away been carried, that the Scripture is a piece of wax in the Unitarian hand, and takes any shape. The devil is an oriental figure of speech. Paul believed in him no more than Peter Bayle; the miraculous birth of Jesus, the ascension in the body, the stories of Abraham, Jonah, Daniel, are 'true as *symbols*, not as *facts*;' Moses and Isaiah never speak of Jesus in the law and the prophets, yet Jesus is right when he says they did; David, in the psalm, is a sick man, speaking only of himself; but when Simon Peter quotes that psalm, the inspired king is predicting Jesus of Nazareth! These things are notorious facts. If the Athanasian creed, the thirty-nine articles of the English church, and the Pope's bull 'Unigenitus,' could be found in a Greek manuscript, and proved the work of an 'inspired' apostle, no doubt Unitarianism would in good faith explain all these, and deny they taught the doctrine of the trinity or the fall of man. The Unitarian doctrine of inspiration—can any one tell what it is?"—*Disc.* pp. 474, 475.

This explains at least Mr. Parker's view of the matter. This tells us how he had learned to think of the Bible, and what was the authority of the Bible, before he landed upon his last conclusion, that, rather than hold it a book from God, and treat it so, it were better to believe it was not from God at all. This statement of his shows how slight must have been his veneration for it, as a book of sense or honesty, and how low the barrier over which it remained for him to leap, in order to believe it of no authority at all.

We care not to make extended references, to illustrate this point. That we may not, however, speak altogether at random and without authority, we refer to "The Statement of Reasons," &c., by Prof. Norton, and to his more elaborate work recently issued, "On the Genuineness of the Gospels." The truths taught by Moses and Jesus, and which were confirmed by miracles, are described by Mr. N. as follows:

"Our belief in God, then, as the Father of men, and our belief in our own immortality, truths which may well seem too vast for human comprehension, if we were left to our unassisted powers, rest on our belief that their evidence is the testimony of God, through the mission of Jesus Christ." * * * "The fundamental truths of religion, as taught by Christianity, necessarily imply the fact, or, in other words, involve the truth, that we shall always be subject to the moral government of God; to that government which connects happiness with the observance of those laws that are essential to the nature of every moral being, and suffering with their transgression. Under this aspect the practical bearing of religion appears. Thus, when assured of the truths which it teaches, we know all that is necessary for our virtue or happiness. With these truths settled in our minds, we may enter without anxiety on the examination of the many and opposite opinions, true and false, which different parties among Christians have connected with their faith in Christianity. *In rejecting for the greater number of them as unfounded*, an enlightened and well-informed man will perceive that he is merely arriving at conclusions to which the progress of the human mind in knowledge and correct modes of thinking has been gradually conducting us."

Or, in other words, this is all that it is essential for us to know. This is all that we can be certain that the Bible teaches. If we consent that these truths were attested by a mission from God, we are at liberty to believe any thing or nothing, as to what is the import or how great is the authority of the rest of the Bible, or whether it is of any or no authority. In respect to these points, Christianity is in no way responsible. The early Christians, such as Peter and John, may have thought that Christ taught more than this in regard to the authority of the Old Testament and the way of acceptance with God. Yet Christ was too wise a teacher to correct these mistakes. The opinions expressed by the Apostles, beyond the merest elements of religion, or in expansion and illustration of the system of Christian truth, are but their private opinions, which deserve but little credit, considering that in his lifetime they were so often mistaken;

or, in other words, the Christian's creed concerning the Bible is this: 'The gospels are genuine, that is, they are as they came from their authors, who were honest, but rather weak men. Moses was a divine messenger, who wrought wonders. But we are not sure that Christ said or did all that he is reported to have said or done, only something like it. Moses did not write the Pentateuch, and no sensible man can believe that God could have given the Jews that foolish and unworthy ritual and civil law, especially as the prophets and Jesus had such hard work to lower its influence in the Jews' esteem.'

We know it will be asserted in reply, that Mr. Parker would never have rejected the divine authority of Moses and of Jesus,—which we are now to understand is what is to make a man a Christian, and save the honor of the Bible,—had it not been for his strange and uncouth metaphysics. We grant it may be so. He might have been, forever and aye, as good a believer as Mr. Norton, if he had but adopted Mr. Norton's philosophy, as to how much a man may know of God without a revelation. But this is not the point of objection; but it is this, that he had been trained to believe that the Bible was not such a book; that nothing more could be made of it than the merest elements of religious truth; that as to the rest, history, miracle, prophecy and doctrine, it was mistake, exaggeration and imposture. It is that a school had existed and he had been trained in it, which had lost sight of the moral glory, the divine truth, the wondrous salvation of the Bible, and had been forced to sustain their argument to do injustice to the historic truth, the convincing honesty, and the consistent beauty, that makes it so worthy of admiration and honor. Indeed, were it not for Mr. Norton's philosophical theory, we are persuaded that, with his logical and consistent

mind, he could not go so far, without going farther. He could not put upon the Bible so violent a construction as he does. After having made all the admissions which he had done, he would go the whole, and land in Mr. Parker's more consistent conclusion. "The character of the record is such, that I see not how any stress can be laid on particular actions attributed to Jesus. That he lived a divine life, suffered a violent death, taught and lived a most beautiful religion, this seems the great fact about which a mass of truth and error has been collected, &c. Nothing could save Prof. N. from this conclusion, but his unnatural philosophy.

We do not charge Mr. Norton's views of the Bible upon all of the liberal school.* We are happy in knowing, that many hold vastly higher views of the Bible, and that the current is setting with many strongly in the direction of reverence and of faith. We believe that through all the fluctuations of opinion in the liberal school, some of their teachers have revered the Bible as the book of God, and in the main, supernatural and inspired. We believe also, that with some the feeling is stronger than ever, that the word is more deserving of study and reverence. If we may judge from not a few papers in the *Christian Examiner*, within a few past years, the Scriptures are stud-

* And yet we observe that the *Christian Examiner*, of March, 1844, speaks thus gingerly of what it calls, "his original and acute but somewhat startling criticism." "Whatever may be thought of some of his conclusions, no one who attentively reads, will have cause to complain that his religious feelings have been wantonly attacked, or outraged by flip-sant remark or sarcasm." "Mr. Norton cuts deep, many will say too deep. Yet he plants himself, as we have seen, on the great fact that God made a direct revelation of his will through Moses; and this fact saved, the rest may be regarded as in comparison of little consequence," &c.

ied with a deeper reverence, and criticised with higher and better principles. But we may be allowed to say of this movement, that we think the *heart* is better than the *head*—that the Bible is honored rather with a determined feeling that it must be revered, or every thing is gone, than by an actual application of its dicta to the forming of right opinions. It is revered in the general rather than in the detail—reverenced in view of the beauty and the necessity too, of having some faith, and not from knowing what to believe and believing it, because God hath said it. As interpreters, our friends of “the believing spirit,” if they will thrust so much truth out of the Bible, still labor under the sad necessity of thrusting out much more than they wish, and of losing the Bible itself. So long as the Bible does not teach to them a scheme of law and grace—the one consistent with the other, and demanding for the wants of man a divine mediator and eternal spirit—so long must that violence be done to the Bible, which, when carried consistently out, will lead them to the violent conclusions of Norton and Palfrey, from which consistent thinkers will be glad to be relieved, by the more wholesale though more religious unbelief of Mr. Parker.

While we say this, we say also, that we by no means believe that the Bible has as yet been exhausted as a study for the critic. We are by no means insensible to the difficulties which yet remain to be disposed of—to the higher laws of interpretation which are yet to be developed and vindicated—to the superstitious reverence with which old views are adhered to, as well as to the misapplications by which parts of the Scriptures are sadly perverted. A true and consistent theory of interpretation of the Bible as from men, and of its inspiration as from God, is yet greatly wanted,

while the evidence is overwhelming as to what is the Christianity which such a theory would vindicate.

We have one more inquiry to make and we have done. Where learned Mr. Parker his philosophical system? Where did he discover that man of himself might be so inspired, that his God could give him no added inspiration? Where learned he that man was so exalted a being, that in his bosom was already revealed the truth which the Bible declares, and that Jesus is only the model and realization of what any man may become? while as to the truths which he taught, they are but the articulated utterances of the whisperings that float in every man's own bosom? Mr. Norton will start up with his accustomed promptness, and reply: “Not from me—not from me. I have always taught as I do now, that man could not know God, or a future state, or his own moral nature, except as truths concerning these points are attested and confirmed by miracles, and I told the transcendental school at the outset, that if they contended that man could and did know these truths of himself, and that the evidence for the Bible rested on its correspondence with their inward testimony, upon our scheme, there would be no farther use for the Bible, and I called them to account, as having adopted ‘the latest form of infidelity.’ But it is all German metaphysics, the adoption of the last importation from the dominion of tobacco smoke, and the taking up the last extravagance that has come from the addled head of some German professor, that has done the mischief.” Thus much might Prof. Norton say. But we are not quite certain that this is a complete and satisfactory account of the matter. We have some of us heard of Dr. Channing, and have known of his influence in shaping the principles and in forming the spirit of the

liberal school. Now none of Dr. Channing's admirers (and we would rank ourselves among them to a certain degree) have ever thought him a metaphysician. No man will have the audacity to affirm, that he was often guilty of a syllogism, or that the barbarous technology of the Teutonic school was greatly to his taste. But all of us know his views of man as godlike and divine, as having an unction from above, and knowing all things. We all know the relation in which he was accustomed to place man in respect to the Scriptures, and the office which he made the Bible fulfill to his wants. These views of Channing have pervaded, if indeed they have not constituted, the atmosphere of liberal Christianity. They have been as the unseen and impalpable particles which are diffused through the fluid, as the elements of future crystals. There was only wanting the fragment of some German system to serve as a nucleus, and behold they are gathered and shoot out from it at once, and we have them polished and hardened in all the beauty and symmetry of a perfect philosophic system.

In this controversy, if it may not be too harsh a name to give to any discussion among our friends, both sides were right and yet both were wrong. Mr. Norton was right in contending that man was in desperate need of a revelation, and that to a revelation, the race of man owes all its definite conceptions and powerful impressions which it has had of religious truth—and that to miraculous messengers must we ascribe all the impulse onward which it has in fact received. Dr. Channing and Mr. Parker are right, in holding that men are godlike and divine in their capacities, that he might know God and his duty if he would. But they are both wrong in not holding that man is wilfully and wickedly blind—and cheerfully

ignorant and depraved—that he will not read his own thoughts and face his own conscience, and that in consequence, God must call up his nobler self, and wake the truths that he “holds in unrighteousness.” Had they both but believed that the Bible taught a little more sense and definite truth, and that Paul was a little more of a philosopher, they would have found the union of their apparently opposite positions in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans. “Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse.” Then mark what a deduction he makes. “For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.” And it is because man is thus guilty and thus condemned, the Apostle argues, that man needs the gospel, and a gospel in which God should be revealed as the opposite of condemning, and this gospel should be the power of God unto salvation.

We have however a good word to say for the spiritual school and their controversy with Prof. Norton. That school took its shape, if not its impulse, from Schleiermacher and the writers of his school, who have exerted an influence so powerful in Germany in turning back the course of rationalism. It of course adopted some of the peculiar doctrines of the German metaphysics. These doctrines, in their extreme form, were carried to their legitimate conclusions by Mr. Parker, as had been done before by some German reasoners, who if they have no other merit, have that of fearless and logical consistency, and seem destined to furnish the

world with specimens of all kinds of opinions worked out to their consistent results. Some of the other writers, are not to be identified with Mr. Parker. They seem not to have made their first principles so rigidly metaphysical. Certainly they have not carried them out as he did. They have rather dwelt in the sphere of the practical reason, and have used the moral rather than the intellectual arguments of their school. They contended, that the highest evidence for Christianity is its adaptation to the nature and wants of man, and that this is a higher evidence than that furnished by miracles. To this, Mr. Norton was of course opposed. According to him, all that revelation has to do is to establish to man *by miracles*, its meagre creed. Those who like him have leisure and libraries to study out the genuineness of the word, are to satisfy themselves that there is no mistake about the fact of their occurrence, and men are to hang on *their* testimony, their faith in God and immortality. To reject the call for the Bible to do this office, is the "latest form of infidelity." Against this view, the spiritualists have prosecuted their argument with manifest ability. Their great defect is in their views of Christianity itself and of the reason why men need it. It is the defect which is seen in every party of the liberal school, and which vitiates their whole theory of religion. We have considered it under several heads. We will now sum it up in a word. *It is the religion of the sentiments rather than the religion of the conscience. On the part of God, it is an administration to the sentiments. On the part of man, it is the culture of the sentiments. Christianity as a remedial system is the recovery of the sentiments, by addressing the sentiments rather than by re-forming the moral under-work, the responsible will. The arguments to prove Christianity from God,*

are derived from its adaptation to purify the sentiments, rather than from its fitness to convert and sanctify and save a sinner. It is this which gives dignity and grace to the lowest forms of this school. It is this which detracts from the promise and perfection of the highest. It is this which leads all forms to reject doctrines which we think plainly revealed, because they have no moral propriety, to them. It is this which has spoiled their interpretation of the Bible, and stripped that book of its authority.

It is a religionism most grateful to human nature, especially in its happiest circumstances, when refined by culture, and elevated by taste, and rejoicing in the kindly affections—but which wants the courage to search out the malignancy and power of the disease within and to tear off the veil, that its wishes hang on the face of truth. It reasons clearly and conclusively, but to wrong conclusions, because it is wrong in one of its premises; because it loses sight of the *element* in the case. It is too easy to do this—too easy to forget that we have to do with an earnest God; an eternity to be revealed in its tremendous issues. It is too easy to enshroud the naked grandeur of the unwelcome truth, by softening words and pleasant argumentation. But the truth we must meet, and discussions about our theories of religion, carry our thoughts to the time, when we shall know whether our theory was like fact, and the character formed by it in ourselves or others shall stand or fall.

Let our liberal friends put in the element which their theory lacks. Let the *moral* take its place in the government of God and the wants of man; and we are assured, that we and they can go to the Scriptures side by side, and that with the present aids of science and principles of interpretation, we can not fail of a substantial agreement in our conclu-

sions, and the establishment of them with a good degree of certainty.

We offer no apology for speaking thus earnestly and freely of the distinctive features of the liberal theology. It is not worth while to speak at all on themes like these, except in earnestness. Least of all is it worth while to speak of principles, except as one endeavors to know what principles are, and what is the end to which they lead. We have sought clearly to discern, what are the distinctive principles of liberal Christianity, and what are their natural and consistent results. We have seen that in using them, Mr. Parker is a consistent and logical thinker, and has carried them to no unnatural conclusions.

We have spoken of principles, not of men, except incidentally and by the way. We have said freely, because we think it true, that not all who are called liberal Christians, hold nothing beside liberal principles. Many, we would hope very many, hold them with larger or smaller admixtures from a better system. Many seem hardly to know what they believe. They vaguely and half believe many things, and their faith is, not that they do, but that they are ready to believe every thing that is true. Others believe in perpetual progress in faith; which if it mean the clearer apprehension of principles, and their wider application, is a sound rule; but if it mean that these principles are not and can not be fixed and clearly known, is dishonorable to God and disastrous to man.

We are not prepared to review the history of the discussions which first developed and defined liberal Christianity, and divided the Congregational churches of New England. The time has not come to write that history. It is not yet time for a man candidly to see and freely to say, wherein the Unitarians or their opponents had the advantage in the argument, or wherein

either party failed to do justice to the other. But the history of the past ought and need to have but little influence on the inquiries of the present, as to what is true and rational theology. Let it be granted that orthodoxy may to some minds, seem to have been largely seasoned with a mixture of sanctimony and craft. What has this to do with the question, What is the truth? Let it be conceded, that the honesty of its intentions and the beauty of its pious life have been marred and soiled, through defects in the culture and taste of some of its professors and its zealots. These faults should be laid to the want of cultivation, and to this only. Let it be allowed that it has thought too little of the gentle spirit, the kind and graceful courtesies, and the social amenities, which are the appropriate garb and ornament of true religious feeling. This does not prove that it has thought *too much* of the character and the heart within. Let it be conceded, that orthodoxy has seemed to utter principles offensive to the moral sense, and confounding to the reason. What does this make against the truth, as it commends itself to the conscience, and takes captive the honest mind? Let it be conceded also that its spirit may have been harsh, bitter and uncourteous. For this, let weak and imperfect man be held responsible, not the golden treasure which they bear and defend. Let it not be denied that it has been affected with the very bad and odious disease of cant. This is a too common complaint to be altogether surprising any where; and we observe that our liberal friends are slightly given to it, not indeed, to cant of the inelegant and unsentimental species, but to one more refined and therefore more offensive and less excusable. Let it be granted again, that liberal Christians have been judged as wilful and wicked and hopeless unbelievers, rather than

reasoned with, as those whose difficulties were understood and whose doubts were respected. What should this avail in respect to those who treat them as scholars and as men? earnestly but not indecently.

We make these remarks, because we observe even at this day, on the part of the liberal school, a disposition loosely to group together the views of all not numbered in their ranks, under the indefinite appellation of Calvinism, and often to make the most offensive and ultra form of Calvinism, the representation of the opinions of all but themselves. They argue against and concerning it, as though we could hold nothing beside. Against it they direct all their artillery, as though it were not a fiction of their own brains; or a man of straw for theological stripplings to shoot at. Or if they notice the fact, that these views are not held in precisely this form, they take it as an indication that there are some who are becoming *liberal*, and they condescendingly express the hope, that as their minds are enlarged by additional culture and knowledge of the world, they will be ushered into the full glory of the liberal faith. Thus all those called orthodox are grouped by them, as holding offensive and unreasonable dogmas on the one hand, and those who are becoming "*liberal*" on the other. Now this may be a very convenient way of fostering an intensely sectarian spirit. It may cherish the feelings of prejudice and contempt toward all beside themselves, and give them a very flattering sense of their own superiority in all that elevates and dignifies man. "The orthodox" too may have furnished some very bad examples of this way of doing things, but it is none the better for that, nor more excusable in those who count themselves more free from theological prejudice.

We say it in all frankness, but we have observed in our friends a provincial not to say a narrow

spirit, in their estimate of the other Christian sects, as well as a failure to appreciate the precise position of things in these denominations. Whether it is because Boston has so much literature, philosophy, and theology of its own, that it self-complacently thinks it has no occasion to look beyond its immediate circle, to satisfy all its wants, or whether because it lies so far away to the east, and is so often enveloped by its own fogs—or whether their peculiar position of the liberal Christian with respect to the great forces of Protestantism, disinclines them from studying them closely—or whether it is, that it is more convenient to despise them; whatever may be the cause, it has seemed to us to be a fact, that they have a little too much self-complacency to be exactly courteous, or betray it in ways too obvious to be altogether modest. We concede to them all which they can fairly claim, on the grounds of generous culture and intellectual acuteness and refinement; but we are quite certain that their claims on this score would secure greater consideration, if they did not talk so freely of other denominations as altogether in the dark, and of themselves as dwelling so nearly in the centre of all light, both actual and possible. We have sometimes heard them bewail over Connecticut, as destitute of the blessings of liberal Christianity, in terms so doleful, that we could not but smile, and pray in the stanza of Burns:

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see ourself as others see us,"

and this not more for our own benefit than for theirs, that they might know how they appeared to a dweller in this land so dark with Calvinism. Connecticut men are duly and humbly sensible, we presume, of their bearings and distance from "the city of notions;" but yet when they look at themselves "in the absolute," they may be pardoned in

the belief, that they are not altogether ignorant of the principles of liberal and rational interpretation, and perhaps not of the methods of a sound philosophy. It is only when they hear reports of themselves from Boston, as the valley of the shadow of death, over which broods the darkness of Calvinism and the stern rigor of religious dogmatism, that they suspect the sadness of their condition. They are not particularly sensitive however for themselves. They are somewhat so for their respected friends at the east. They would therefore respectfully entreat them, for their good name in Connecticut, that they would not be too hasty in crediting or heralding the reported progress of the liberal faith within her borders, lest perchance it may happen, that some miserable abortion from inflated ignorance, folly, and irreligion, may assume the name of liberal, to shine by its borrowed lustre—and the saying shall be brought to pass, that what smells rankly at home, becomes a perfume when scented from a distance. We speak with all due submission, but we can not but think it would do them good, to understand more fully the views of the orthodox, and occasionally to read their Bibles from *their* point of view, to see how it would sound, when read with other views of God and of man.

But whatever liberal Christians may think or say of the other sects, we are free to say of them, that, in their present position, they waken within us thoughts and feelings too many and too strong readily to be expressed. We can not think of them as inheriting and upholding so many of the religious and social institutions founded by their and our honored sires of the Pilgrim stock, without caring for them for *the fathers' sake*. We honor for its own, a religious communion that embraces so much that is noble in cultivated intellect; so much that is high and honorable in its noble spirit; so

much that is enlarged and generous in its social feelings. But we can not think, without painful feelings, of the many thoughtful minds within its enclosure, so earnestly engaged on themes so awful and inspiring as those of religious truth, and reaching conclusions so uncertain, so contradictory to each other, and so surprising to us. We withhold not the expression of our interest in Mr. Parker and those who sympathize with him in his audacious and fantastic conclusions. Their errors are the errors of noble minds. Their conclusions are the exaggerated or distorted perversions of lofty and important truths. Their aims seem to be in a degree religiously intended. They would elevate man to a high morality, make religion as perpetual as his being, and enrich him with high hopes concerning his existence and his destiny.

Nor do we refuse a measure of honor to those of the other extreme in opinion. It is true we reject their entire scheme of religious philosophy, in the warp and woof, as untrue to reason, conscience and fact, with respect to man and God. We are struck dumb at the cool precision and intellectual hardihood with which they march it through the Bible, and make it bend or break to their service. We are astonished that their literary and moral taste can give to its surprising merits no higher and heartier praise,—that its miracles of truth and piety, and its greater miracles of sublime conceptions of God and eternity, awaken no more glowing enthusiasm, even if its miracles of history and fact must be scanned with so cool and determined a scepticism. But we give even to these, as reasoners, the praise of caution, acuteness, discrimination and logic.

There is a still larger class than either of these, who have little sympathy with such extremes of opinion, and rather dwell apart from all discussion of doctrines as injurious or unprofitable. To these let all

honor be given, for elevated taste, for devotional sensibilities, and gentleness of disposition. We would not rudely assail their cherished convictions, or depreciate their acknowledged virtues. And yet, that their opinions should be so uncertain and shifting, that their tests of religious character should be so doubtfully and cautiously expressed, that such vagueness and impotence should pertain to all their views and doings on a subject which, if any thing, is every thing to man; these facts show clearly that there is something greatly in the wrong. We acknowledge that they think and speak seriously of the power of an endless life,—that the shadows of the unseen world seem to rest upon their spirits with an oppressive and saddening gloom. It seems to us that none have views of eternity and retribution so melancholy as they; and all because they have not the energy to look them in the face, and go with whole-hearted confidence to Him “who hath brought life and immortality to light.” By seeming to shun a bold and earnest converse with death, and a stern probing to the bottom of man’s wants, they dwell in an obscure and unknown dread. We are not insensible to the warm affection and grateful tenderness with which they think of Jesus,—that he is honored with no affected homage, and enshrined in their hearts by the sacredness of holy affections. But it would be weak in us, and unchristian, ever to be satisfied, till they shall see in him all the glory which we behold in him, and their present interest in Christ shall be no more remembered, as it expands and kindles into the rapture and grateful praise which inspire the songs of the redeemed in heaven.

But most of all do we think and speak with freedom of those who have openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the present condition of things, and ask for *life* and en-

ergy and *zeal*, in language not to be mistaken, and with an earnestness which is not to be suspected. We wait for the issue of their movement with some solicitude. We believe that they are earnest men. We trust that they are free and liberal thinkers,—so free, that while they will boldly bring out from the Scriptures all which they teach, though it may seem strange and new; so also none will be rejected because it is old and common, if it commends itself to the conscience and wants of man. And inasmuch as we believe that the gospel, as a system of truth and fact, is very clearly revealed, and the practical wants of man are very obvious, we are content to see them candidly and earnestly discuss the Bible and the wants of men, the more earnestly if it be but fairly, the better. We only fear that the truth as truth will not be discussed enough, and its importance in the promotion of life will not be esteemed as it should be. We therefore add, that no zeal awakened because there must be *life*; no properties or perfection in the manner of worship; no wisdom gathered by piecemeal, as shreds and patches from the other sects; no social devices or reformations; no *esprit du corps*; no fervent or pungent appeals from lay or clerical lips, can of themselves give life. Nothing but clear, grand, overwhelming views of truth concerning God and eternity, received as real, and with the whole-souled simplicity of a little child, has ever truly wakened the soul of man, or created life ‘neath ribs of death. Nothing but energy imparted from the living and holy One, ever induced man so to confer with truth and with God. We may never forget that “Religion is no *philosophy* of life, but a *life* or living process,” and that this comes not by speculating how it is to come, and trying one experiment after another, but by awaking to the world of truth about and within us.

JAMAICA; ITS PAST AND PRESENT STATE.*

"TURN all the slaves loose! Devote the South to blood, fire, and servile war!" Such are the exclamations which rise spontaneously to many lips, when they hear of emancipation: such the results, which in their view, must inevitably follow the liberation of the southern bondman. The objection comprised in these exclamations, has great weight, with many benevolent minds, and is sufficient as they suppose to demand the cessation of all attempts, or at least, of the present attempts, at emancipation. We think that a perusal of the interesting work which we have placed at the head of this article, would dissipate all such apprehensions. We might therefore simply commend the work to our readers, and leave the facts therein stated to do their own work of conviction. But as this subject has of late years assumed a new aspect, we intend in accordance with the original design of our work, to discuss this as one of the prominent topics of the day. We shall not however enter upon all the questions, naturally suggested by the work before us—much less, shall we defend all that is said or done for emancipation, but shall merely present some thoughts and facts, which the interesting statements of Mr. Philippo, have recalled to our minds.

Our views however will be misunderstood, unless we define at the outset, precisely what we mean by emancipation. For the objection and alarm which some feel at the bare mention of this topic, are evidently founded on entire misapprehension. The very phrase so familiar to alarmists, "turning the slaves

loose," indicates both the existence and nature of this mistake.

We mean then by emancipation, 1st, the entire cessation of the right of property in the slave; and 2d, the enactment and administration of impartial law, for the freedman. On each of these points, some additional explanations are needed.

Our definition assumes that the distinctive feature of slavery is "property in human beings." We are accustomed it is true, in figurative and popular language, to apply the term slavery, to a great variety of conditions. But while there are gross oppressions in many countries; while wrongs and cruelties are possible in all governments,—while some, in every community, are deprived of rights, which others enjoy—slavery, as we now understand and discuss it, is a peculiarly marked and definite thing, distinct from these other conditions of injustice. Southern law indeed defines slavery, with wonderful force and precision: "Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken and reputed to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners, and possessors, their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."** The condition herein described, is generally distinct from any other. The right to the services of a child, an apprentice, or a wife, to which slavery has sometimes been insultingly compared, is totally different from that defined with such sagacity and precision in the slave code. Emancipation, therefore, involves the entire cessation of this right of property.

But emancipation does not stop there. The condition to be substituted for slavery, is, subjection to impartial law: to law which gives

* Jamaica; its Past and Present State. By James M. Philippo, of Spanish Town, Jamaica: twenty years a Baptist Missionary in that Island.

** Laws of South Carolina.

him the same rights and facilities for redress which other men have; and which places him under no other restrictions, disabilities, or penalties, than those imposed on other men, of his character, property and education. Do this and emancipation is complete.

But is it safe and wise to do this? The book of Mr. Philippo affords demonstration strong in the affirmative, in the case of Jamaica. But, as even yet, the results of West India emancipation, are by some declared to be doubtful, or if good, yet insufficient to establish the general safety and expediency of emancipation; we propose to come to our conclusion from a somewhat wider induction.

We might indeed argue the safety of emancipation from certain indisputable data. We might say, that as emancipation does not increase the physical force of the freedmen, they have no more power to commit injury, than when held as slaves, therefore, emancipation is *as safe as slavery*. We might proceed to argue, that as emancipation confers an immense boon, and withdraws an immense wrong, therefore the grounds of hatred are taken away, and motives to kindness increased, and therefore, emancipation is *safer*, than slavery. But the argument we design to construct at the present time, is different. We intend to rest our conclusion on a somewhat wider induction of historical facts.

Slavery, under various forms, and with various degrees of severity, has existed for ages. Now we wish to show that great and imminent *peril* has always attended the existence of such servitude; that entire *safety*, with other good results, have been the consequences of emancipation.

Slavery existed in the Roman empire. In speaking on this subject Gibbon remarks*—"they [the slaves] were impatient to break and revenge

their fetters. Against such internal enemies, whose desperate insurrections had *more than once reduced the republic to the brink of destruction*, the most severe regulations," &c. were made.

In Sicily, the lands were distributed into immense plantations and cultivated by slaves, as in our Southern states. Ferguson remarks,† "they were ready upon every favorable opportunity to take up arms, against their masters, and *often* shook the state with a storm which was not foreseen till it actually burst." About ten years after the destruction of Carthage, the slaves revolted, "and in four successive campaigns, made prosperous war on the Roman prætors." After ruining the island by their devastations, they were at length subdued, and thirty thousand killed. In the year 650, U. C., "a slave in Sicily having murdered his master, invited the slaves of the island to assume their freedom, and acquired sufficient strength to cope with the Roman prætor, and was only defeated after a severe struggle of three years, by the Roman armies." As early as the Carthaginian war, "the number of slaves in Italy, was already become so great, as to endanger the state." In the year 680, U. C., the slaves in Rome revolted, and retired to the country around Vesuvius, "and harassed the country with robberies and murders." They repeatedly defeated the armies sent against them, with immense slaughter. Crassus raised an immense army, and Pompey was recalled from Spain to oppose them. They were at length subdued, with great loss to the victors. A distinguished German writer has remarked, "of the ruin of ancient Rome, *slavery was the chief and most direct cause*." Slavery existed in Sparta; yet even in that warlike community, slaves

* Chapter II.

† Book 2, Chapters I and V. Book 3, Chap. II.

were deemed so dangerous that their numbers were diminished by wholesale butcheries.

In the West Indies, slavery has existed. Their able historian, Martin, in his preface, remarks, "I have carefully studied West India history, and find nothing but wars, usurpations, crime, misery and vice. All is one revolting scene of infamy, bloodshed, and unmitigated woe. *Slavery* has been the curse of the West Indies."

In the year 1760, a desperate insurrection of the negroes of Jamaica commenced, in which the most horrible cruelties were perpetrated. Ninety white persons and four hundred negroes were killed. In 1649, a formidable insurrection took place at Barbadoes, and a general day was appointed for the massacre of all the white inhabitants. The plot however was discovered. In 1816, there were bloody insurrections in this same island. In 1761, the slaves in Bermuda rebelled, and declared their intention to kill their masters. Nearly *thirty* insurrections of the slave population of Jamaica, occurred within the period of its possession by the British. That, in 1832, involved the lives of seven hundred persons, an expense of £161,596, together with a destruction of property, amounting to £1,154,583, or in the aggregate, a loss of \$6,580,000. In 1729, the slaves in Antigua formed a conspiracy to destroy all the English, which was discovered two or three days before the intended assault. In 1763, the Dutch settlement at Barbadoes, was surrounded and cut off by the negroes. In 1767, there was a rebellion among the slaves in Grenada. In short, *several hundreds* of slave insurrections are recorded by the historians of the West Indies.

In our southern states slavery has ever been attended with the same perils. In the legislature of Virginia, Mr. Moore said—"the slaves will *always* be disposed to avail

themselves of a favorable opportunity of asserting their natural rights. It may be safely assumed, that whenever the slaves are as numerous as the whites, it will require *one half of the effective force of the whites to keep them quiet.*" Judge Tucker of Virginia says—"Whenever we are involved in war, if our enemies hold out the lure of freedom, they will have in every negro a decided friend." The editor of the Maryville (Tenn.) Intelligencer says—"We of the south are surrounded by a dangerous class of beings. A consciousness that a ten-fold force would gather from the four corners of the United States keeps them in subjection. *To the non-slaveholding states we are indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection.*" In the convention which formed the constitution of Virginia, Mr. Campbell said, "in the year 1813, all the militia east of the Blue Ridge were chiefly employed in patrolling the counties on the seaboard, and generally east of the Ridge, *to prevent insurrection among your discontented population.*"

Quotations of a similar nature might be multiplied without limit. These men affirm that whereof they do know. While at the north, or when in controversy with anti-slavery men, they stoutly affirm the safety of their "domestic institutions," and the contentment of the slaves; but among themselves they speak the truth, and utter the language of fear and painful apprehension. Indeed it is impossible, from the nature of the human mind, that slaves can be a safe and contented population. Habitually conscious, as most of them are, of suffering constant and gross injustice in the deprivation of their freedom; exposed, as all of them are, to personal abuse; and receiving, as the mass of them do, injurious treatment and capricious punishment; and enduring, as a portion of them

do, outrage, malice and torture;—they must feel a rankling hatred to the system which oppresses them, and to the masters who rule them. As well might one try to persuade us that the exiles whom Russian despotism has consigned to the snows and mines of Siberia were happy, as that a slave population ever was, is, or can be, safe and contented.

Our newspapers furnish a sad commentary on the truth of these remarks. Frequent notices, thrust into some obscure corner of miscellaneous matter, inform us that Mr. A. was barbarously murdered by one of his slaves, or that Mr. B. was killed by a black fellow while administering, in his capacity of overseer, a necessary chastisement. The slave perhaps is hunted down by bloodhounds, or savagely burnt alive by the neighbors, and the affair is forgotten. But facts of this kind, fearful in number and horror, indicate the deep and boiling volcano underneath the surface of southern society. Now and then this volcano gives out still more alarming symptoms. In 1728 there was an insurrection in Georgia. The design of the slaves was to destroy all the whites in order to obtain their liberty. In 1730 the slaves in South Carolina conspired to destroy all the whites. In 1730 there was an insurrection of the slaves in Virginia—five counties were in arms. In 1739 three bloody insurrections occurred in South Carolina; in one of them twenty five whites were killed, and some slaves *gibbeted alive*. In 1740 another insurrection occurred in South Carolina, and twenty whites were killed. In 1822 thirty five slaves were put to death in a revolt to obtain their liberty. In 1831 occurred an insurrection in Southampton, Va.—more than sixty persons lost their lives, and the whole state was filled with alarm. In 1800 an insurrection took place in Richmond and its

neighborhood. In 1816 an insurrection was projected in Camden, S. C., but was divulged before its execution. In 1826, near Hillsborough, N. C., was an insurrectionary movement among the slaves; the military were called out, and killed sixty armed negroes.

If we have any southern readers, we ask their particular attention to the following statement, fearfully ominous, as it is, of their present condition. Fugitive slaves in great numbers are weekly coming to us from the south, and these fugitives, for obvious reasons, are the most active and intelligent among their brethren. They assure us, that there is a deep discontent among the slaves; *that when there were recent difficulties between England and this country relative to the northeastern boundary and the imprisonment of McLeod, and there were strong probabilities of war, the slaves knew of it, and had extensively conspired to rise, the moment they heard of the commencement of hostilities.* They moreover assure us, that no one fact has such a tendency to keep the slaves quiet, as the fact, also extensively known among them, that there are abolitionists at the north laboring for their emancipation; that, hoping for deliverance through such exertions, they are kept back from insurrection, and that but for such hope there would be now frequent revolts at the south. Thus, were it not for the very northern "*incendiaries*" whom slaveholders denounce and curse, their own fields and homes would not be safe a single month.

Grant, then, if you please, that emancipation would be unsafe: it could not well be more perilous than slavery. But we are prepared to take much stronger ground. We are ready to affirm the entire and perfect safety of emancipation. For the liberation of slaves is by no means an untried experiment. It has been repeated again and again,

in different ages, under various circumstances, and in widely distant countries, yet, *invariably*, with entire safety and success.

Millions of slaves were emancipated in the Roman empire; but, while history records most terrible and bloody insurrections, as the result of slavery, it gives no account of the slightest disturbance originating in emancipation. The great mass of the population of England were once slaves. Emancipation, there, never produced even a riot, so far as records have come down to us. When Mexico and the South American governments threw off the Spanish yoke, they also took off the yoke from their own slaves; yet not a solitary outbreak, not a single instance of murder or personal violence has resulted. Wars indeed and commotions have succeeded each other with sad rapidity, but they have not in the remotest degree been connected with emancipation. On the contrary, the most authentic information assures us that the blacks are the most quiet and orderly part of the population in the South American republics.

In Colombia, immense numbers of the slaves were emancipated at once, and what was the result? M. Ravenga declares, "that the effect has been, *a degree of docility on the part of the blacks, and a degree of security on the part of the whites*, unknown in any preceding period of the history of Colombia." "In 1793, liberty was proclaimed to the slaves of Guadaloupe by the French government; and during their ten years of freedom, their governors bore testimony to their regular industry and uninterrupted submission to the laws. When Sir Stamford Raffles assumed the command of Java, slavery was instantly abolished. There was neither indolence nor crime as the result; and during his whole government, but four persons were tried and convicted of offenses against the laws of society.

When the island was handed over to the Dutch, slavery was again introduced, and within a short time, five hundred slaves were executed for rebellion." A somewhat more detailed account is given in the South African Commercial Advertiser of Feb. 9, 1831. "Three thousand prize negroes here received their freedom,—four hundred in one day,—but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred; servants found masters, masters hired servants, and at night, scarcely an idler was to be seen. To state that sudden emancipation would create disorder and distress, is most unreasonable."

Complete emancipation took place in all the West India islands on the first of August, 1838. Since that time, perfect quiet has reigned throughout them all; while in England, incendiaries have gone through the agricultural districts, destroying immense quantities of grain, and in Wales, the rioters for months bade defiance to the police and the military. And in America, some of our larger towns have been repeatedly disgraced by mobs, violence and bloodshed; yet among the emancipated blacks in the West Indies, the most profound quiet has prevailed. The only exceptions to this general statement are, a local disturbance near Kingston, Jamaica, and the present difficulties in Dominica.—The first was occasioned by some heathenish blacks, who persisted in observing some Christmas mummeries, contrary to the law, and were dispersed in the attempt, with great ease, and without the loss of a single white man's life. The second originated in the course of proceedings necessary to complete a census of the island. Some ignorant blacks, fearing an increase of taxation, as the consequence of the census, made some opposition to the officers of government, which, however, was speedily put down. But with these trivial exceptions, not a finger has been raised in violence

against a white man, since emancipation took place, and not a people in the world have been so quiet and obedient to law, as the freemen of the West Indies.

It may be said, indeed, that the events which took place in St. Domingo, from 1790 to 1800, constitute an exception to these sweeping remarks. "The horrors of St. Domingo," are uniformly asserted and quoted, as indisputable proof of sure and terrible consequences from emancipation. Yet, in fact, not a solitary act of violence was ever perpetrated in that island, in consequence of the liberation of the slaves. Those "horrors" occurred *before* emancipation. As this is at variance with the common belief, we must enter upon a further statement of facts, referring our readers to the various histories of that island, for more minute details.

Both before and during the French revolution, there had existed bitter feuds between the three classes of the free population of St. Domingo, known as the *planters*, the *mulattoes*, and the *petits blancs*. After many contentions and some bloodshed for their respective claims, a decree of the Constituent Assembly of May 15, 1791, conferred equal political rights on these three classes, leaving slavery just where it was before. Immediately, contentions amounting to civil war, arose between these factions. In the progress of these disorders, the slaves, *while sternly held as slaves*, conceived the project of self-emancipation. Accordingly, on the 22d of August, 1791, the servile insurrection commenced. The explosion was sudden and terrible. The island was covered with fires, and the negroes massacred their former masters in great numbers. Then ensued "the horrors of St. Domingo." But these were not the consequences of emancipation; they were the results of slavery,—of slavery enforced, and of emancipation withheld.

In November, 1791, the home government despatched three commissioners to the island, to mediate between the contending parties, and adjust some terms of peaceful emancipation. *While these terms were under discussion, the revolted slaves were peaceful.* But when no terms of accommodation would be accepted by the whites, but the return of the insurgents to bondage, the disorders were renewed with greater violence than ever. Young and old were butchered, females were ravished, and Cape Town, the finest city in the West Indies, was reduced to ashes. Thirty thousand persons lost their lives, and great numbers fled to the United States, from whom has come down the tradition of the horrors of St. Domingo. But again let it be remarked, that these horrors were the result of emancipation withheld, and of slavery enforced.

In June, 1793, the Commissioners published a decree, conferring immediate emancipation. *Atrocities ceased at once*, and the island began rapidly to regain its original productiveness.

In December, 1801, Bonaparte despatched a formidable armament, for the purpose of humbling Touissant, and of *reëstablishing slavery*. Then again ensued "horrors." The war was finally terminated by the destruction of the French army.

Such is an abstract of those events, which are usually alleged as a fatal and unanswerable objection to emancipation. But the horrors of St. Domingo were the *fruits of slavery*. We may challenge the production of one well authenticated instance of the loss of a white man's life, even in St. Domingo, as the result of emancipation.

While we are writing these lines, Providence is presenting in the West Indies, side by side, the fruits of slavery and the safety of emancipation. Over all the British islands, there reigns the most profound peace and uniform industry, with the triv-

ial exception already noticed. In the Danish islands, where emancipation is discussed and expected, not a note or a fear of insurrection is known. But in Cuba, where slavery reigns, guarded by troops, and rooted in the determination of the whites, there has just exploded one of those outbreaks which must occur in slave lands, as surely as the volcano must throw off its accumulated fires. Emancipation in the British islands asks nothing but to preserve the white man's life. In Cuba, the bayonet and cannon, burning and tortures, are in vain used to protect the white man from his incensed and outraged slave.

But we have detained our readers too long from the book of Mr. Philippon. This gentleman, after a residence of twenty years on the island of Jamaica, with every advantage for becoming acquainted with its population, and with the working of all the measures of the British government, has given us the results of his observations. Most gratifying are his facts to the friends of freedom and right.

Instead of indolence, so often alledged as the inherent vice of the negro, there has sprung up in the Jamaica freedman an industry unequalled by the toil which the whip of slavery could extort. Within six years, the emancipated blacks on that single island have purchased over 100,000 acres of land, and erected 3000 houses, and paid in cash for these properties £170,000, or about \$850,000. In what country have the same number of poor persons done as much? One of the magistrates remarks: "It is wonderful how much has been accomplished on the island, in building, planting, digging, and making fences, without a cessation of labor on the part of the population. The reason was, that the emancipation from bondage to new hopes, new desires, and new responsibilities, strengthened the exertions of the ne-

gro. In one parish, there are now (1840) 7340 persons—emancipated slaves—who have become freeholders, and pay taxes!" Could even Yankee enterprise have done more, in the circumstances?

While the freedmen themselves are thus improving their condition, the planters also reap the fruits of emancipation, and can actually cultivate their lands at a less expense with free labor than with slaves, and the lazy, thriftless system necessarily connected with slavery. The following calculation was made by the Earl of Elgin, at the estate of Joseph Gordon, Esq.:

	£	s.	d.
Cane hole moulding,	4	0	0
Planting, -	-	0	12 0
First cleaning, -	-	0	12 0
Second do. -	-	0	12 0
Third do. -	-	0	8 0
Fourth do. -	-	0	8 0
	£6	12	0
With free labor,			
Ploughing, -	-	0	5 6
Planting, -	-	0	12 0
First harrowing, -	-	0	2 0
First moulding, -	-	0	2 9
Second and third, -	-	0	4 0
Seven days feeding horses and cattle,	0	17	6
	£2	3	9

Saving, £4 8s. 3d."

Another important item in estimating the relative expense, is found in the diminished capital required by free labor. A sugar estate with two hundred slaves must have at least \$40,000 capital invested in that species of property, with all its attendant risk. Of course, the expense of manufacturing sugar on that estate must be enhanced by the amount of risk and interest accruing on that sum. With free labor, the whole of this enormous capital is saved, and the whole business conducted with \$40,000 less of capital and risk. This single fact throws

an immense advantage into the scale of free labor.

The value of the productions of the island, since the act of emancipation, will be found in the work of Mr. Philipppo, stated at considerable length, with tables, and extracts from parliamentary documents. For the sake of brevity, we omit all but the results. The average annual value of sugar—the great staple of the island—for six years preceding the commencement of the apprenticeship system, was £5,320,021; for the four years of apprenticeship, £6,218,801; and in the first year of freedom, was £5,530,000; in the second year, £5,424,000. This value has been obtained, too, notwithstanding the severe droughts with which the island has been visited. Mr. Philipppo proceeds:

“A surprising improvement is apparent in the manners and intercourse of the people at large, since emancipation. They are respectful to their superiors, and social in their dispositions, and are seldom known to offer an insult except under great provocation.”

“However justly the charge of indolence and improvidence was formerly brought against the peasantry of Jamaica, it is now no longer of general application. On returning from their daily labor, the men almost uniformly employ themselves in cultivating their own grounds, and the women in domestic purposes, until driven to repose by darkness. As to the great bulk of the people, no peasantry in the world can display more cheerful and persevering industry. These facts are confirmed by missionaries, by Messrs. Gurney and Candler, and other travelers; and by the public journals of the colonists themselves. The editor of the Jamaica Morning Chronicle, a high authority, of February 17, 1843, remarks: ‘The colony remains in that quiescent state so favorable to improvement. It is gratifying to observe the impetus given to agricultural societies, and the formation of literary ones. We do not recollect ever to have seen such vigorous efforts put forth for the improvement of the people and of agriculture, as within the last few months.’”

Sir Charles Metcalfe, in a despatch to the colonial secretary, March 22, 1842, says:

“The present condition of the peasantry of Jamaica is very striking. Their

behavior is peaceable; they attend divine service in good clothes, many of them riding on horses. They send their children to school and pay for their schooling, and not only attend the churches of their respective communities, but subscribe for their different churches. They are generally well ordered and free from crime, and have much improved in their habits.”

J. J. Gurney, Esq. after a tour through the island, remarks:

“The imports of the island are rapidly increasing, trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising up in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well managed estates productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labor adopted. Above all, education is rapidly spreading, the morals of the community improving, crime is in many districts disappearing, and Christianity asserting her sway with vastly augmented force over the mass of the population.”

Mr. Philipppo adds:

“The number of places of worship is greatly multiplied. The whole number can not, on the lowest calculation, be estimated at less than three hundred. The attendance at all places of worship is astonishingly great. On Sabbaths, most of the churches are filled with pious and attentive worshippers. In 1843, the whole number of emancipated negroes in connexion with the various churches, was full one hundred thousand, one third of the whole black population of the island.”

Our necessarily limited space excludes further extracts and historical illustrations. But the previous statements, enlarged as they might be to almost any extent, fully authorize the following conclusions: that a state of slavery is a state of peril—always attended with oppression and exasperation—and in all ages productive of insurrection and murders—that *emancipation is safe, having never been followed by civil war, or serious difficulties*. We may challenge the production of a solitary loss of life, in consequence of emancipation; and can, on our part, alledge industry, intellectual and religious improvement, good order, wealth, and general elevation, as its results.

We have then data on which to affirm with entire confidence, that emancipation in our southern states would be safe—alike useful to the bondman and the white. Let the force of the argument be tested by its application to another case. Let us suppose that as far back as we could trace any historical records, we found these facts; that whenever and wherever a republican government had been established, in whatever clime, age, or circumstances, that there, always and invariably, industry, good order, social improvement and wealth, had been the result; and that invariably and certainly, the establishment of a monarchical government had been

followed by war, insurrection, and crime and peril. Would not the argument be strong and even demonstrative, in favor of a republic? Would not he be considered as hardly less than insane, who should in the face of these facts, select or perpetuate a kingly government? Yet thus strong is the argument in favor of emancipation. Surely then, he who affirms the dangers and mischiefs of emancipation, in view of such an array of historical facts, must take counsel of his interest or his prejudice, and not of his reason.

We should like to add a variety of additional considerations, but our space compels us to postpone our remarks to a future time.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.

We have already exhibited the doctrine of Roman Catholics in respect to the church, the Scriptures, and the sacraments in general, with a particular account of baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist, as defined in their standards. Before considering the four remaining sacraments, and the important doctrines relating to the character of man and the way of salvation, we shall present one or two facts of recent origin, which exhibit more clearly the position of the Romish church toward the word of God. That word being, in our view, the only authoritative and infallible source of theological opinions, the position assumed toward it by any class of men, affords a fair presumption concerning the truth or falsity of their religious system.

We stated in our last number, that the indiscriminate reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue is prohibited by the rules of the "Congregation of the Index," and that Bible societies had been anathematized by the supreme pontiff. It

may gratify our readers to have a specimen of these prohibitions and anathemas. Ten rules respecting prohibited books were enacted by the fathers to whom the work of preparing the "Index" was committed by the Council of Trent, and sanctioned by Pope Pius IV, in a bull issued March 24th, 1564. The fourth commandment in this Romish decalogue is as follows:*

"Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is on this point referred to the judgment of the bishops, or inquisitors, who may by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by *Catholic authors*, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in *writing*."

* Harduin, tom. 2, p. 205.

But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use, and be subjected by the bishop to such other penalties as he shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offense. But regulars shall neither read nor purchase such Bibles without a special license from their superiors."

According to the *third* rule different "versions of the Old Testament may be allowed, but only to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the bishop; provided they use them merely as elucidations of the Vulgate version, in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, and not as the sacred text itself. But versions of the *New Testament* made by authors condemned in the Index (such as Luther, Calvin, &c.) are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them." And to cut off, as it were, the last hope of a correct interpretation of the Scriptures, by the *fifth* rule, lexicons, concordances, indexes, &c. edited or compiled by the same proscribed class, may be used only when duly revised and corrected by the bishops and inquisitors.

In accordance with these rules several popes in succession have anathematized Protestant Bible societies. Pius VII, writing to the archbishop of Gnezn, in 1816, calls the Bible Society a "most crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined," a "pestilence," and a "defilement of the faith, most imminently dangerous to souls." Leo XII, in 1824,

speaking of the same institution, says that it "strolls with effrontery throughout the world, contemning the traditions of the holy fathers, and contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, labors with all its might, and by every means, to translate, or rather to pervert, the Holy Bible into the vulgar languages of every nation, from which proceeding it is greatly to be feared, that what is ascertained to have happened to some passages, may also occur with regard to others; to wit, that by a perverse interpretation the gospel of Christ be turned into a human gospel, or what is still worse, into the gospel of the devil."

The present pontiff, Gregory XVI, determined not to fall behind his predecessors in his endeavors to suppress the word of God, within a few months past has issued an encyclical letter addressed to "all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops," throughout the world; in which, after enumerating the decrees of former popes against the general circulation of the Scriptures, he says, "*We confirm and renew* the decrees cited above, delivered in former times by apostolic authority against the publication, distribution, reading and possession of books of the Holy Scriptures translated into the vulgar tongue. . . . It is therefore enjoined upon you to remove from the hands of the faithful alike those Bibles in the vulgar tongue, which may have been printed contrary to the above mentioned decrees of the sovereign pontiffs, and every book proscribed and condemned, (by the *Index*), and to see that they learn, through your admonition and authority, what pasturages are salutary and what pernicious and mortal."

His "Holiness" then fulminates his anathemas against the Christian Alliance, (a society formed about a year ago for the promotion of religious freedom and the dissemi-

nation of religious truth in Italy,) which "strains every nerve to scatter corrupt and vulgar Bibles secretly among the faithful," together with "tracts designed to banish from the minds of their readers all respect for the church and the Holy See." This society, the fear of which this senile pontiff can ill disguise, he publicly reprobates "by name!"

Such then is the present attitude of the church of Rome toward the Bible. The same spirit which led the Council of Toulouse in the thirteenth century, in a decree against the Albigensian and Waldensian "heretics," to forbid to the laity the sacred books "translated into the vulgar tongue;" the same spirit which led Pope Gregory XI, in the fourteenth century, to issue his bulls against Wicliffe;* which in the following century dragged so many of the Lollards, both men and women, to prison and the stake, for "daring to read and keep God's word in their own tongue"—and which by decree of the Council of Constance, even violated the grave of the reformer, and burnt his bones and scattered his ashes to the waves; the same spirit which caused seven persons to be burned at Coventry, in 1519, for "having in their possession, copies of the Scriptures or portions of the same," and for "having taught their children and families the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments in English,"—of which they were convicted by the testimony of their terrified children,†—and which kindled the fires

of Smithfield, twenty-five years before, for Joan Boughton, a *Wicliffite*, then *eighty* years of age!—the same spirit which in the sixteenth century caused Tyndale's New Testament to be publicly burned at Paul's Cross, and which brought both Tyndale and his associate Frith to martyrdom; the same spirit which caused twenty five hundred copies of the "great Bible" then printing under Coverdale's supervision at Paris, to be consigned to the flames; the same spirit which led the British Parliament, in 1542, even after it was politically divorced from Rome, to prohibit Tyndale's or Coverdale's version of the Scriptures;‡ the same spirit which in the reign of Mary, of *bloody* memory, brought Rogers, and Hooper, and Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, and Bradford to the stake, and which in later times perpetrated all the horrors of the Inquisition; this old Romish spirit of hostility to the Bible, the *open* Bible, the Bible "without note or comment," the Bible *for the people*; the spirit against which *Luther* fought, and *Von Wesel*

this discovery, Mourtou said: 'Ah, sirrah, come; as good now as another time!' and then led her back immediately to the bishop, who at once condemned her to be burned with the six men who had been previously sentenced. They all suffered together, April 4, 1519, in a place called Little Park." (Bagster's Hexapla, p. 39.) For several of the facts referred to in this paragraph consult Fox's Book of Martyrs. Others like them may be found in "Rome's Policy toward the Bible," a spirited pamphlet by an "American Citizen."

* "The king and parliament, soon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the concession they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them." Hume, I, 573.

* Hume, I, p. 356.

† "One of them, a poor widow, was dismissed by the bishop, probably for want of evidence, and was led away by one Simon Mourtou, the bishop's summoner. Now as he was leading her by the arm and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve: 'Yea,' saith he, 'what have ye here?' And so took it from her and espied that it was the Lord's prayer, the articles of faith, and the ten commandments in English. On making

‡ Johan Von Wesel was a native of Wesel on the Rhine. "He was professor of theology in Erfurt, and afterwards a distinguished preacher at Worms. He regarded the Scriptures as the only guide of the Christian. He refused to accept even the interpretation of them at the hands of the church. The Bible must be its own interpreter. 'We have,' said

almost a century before him—this same spirit still lives in the Romish church. It shows itself here and there in the arrest of some unlucky bookseller or colporteur in Italy or France; in the condemnation of a helpless widow in Madeira for denying that transubstantiation is taught in the New Testament; in the *burning of Bibles* at Plattsburg; and (somewhat farcically, we own) in the thunder hurled from the Vatican against “the Christian League, and every other society which is or may be associated with it.”

But this spirit, whose horrid workings we have traced through six hundred years, knows how at times to be as gentle and accommodating as Charity herself. The church of Rome has discovered, that in spite of her anathemas, the common people will have the Bible. To meet this demand, she sometimes suffers an edition of the Holy Scriptures, in the common language, to go forth with her own imprimatur. But in that case she endeavors by mutilating the text, or glossing it over with bewildering notes, to secure the sanction of the word of God for her peculiar dogmas. The Vulgate is her standard, from which all other translations must be made.* A

he, ‘to demand of the pope, and the priests as successors of Christ and the apostles, that they give us the word of God. If they will feed us with that, we will listen to them as we would to Christ himself; but if they will not, we will disregard them.’ He flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century.” (Bib. Sacra, I, p. 434.)

*“Harduin maintained that the apostles and evangelists wrote in Latin,—that the Vulgate was the original, and the Greek New Testament a version, and that consequently the latter ought to be corrected by the former, and not the former by the latter. Cardinal Ximenes compared the Vulgate as printed in his edition (the Complutensian) between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, to our Lord crucified between two thieves, making the Hebrew represent the hardened thief, and the Greek the penitent.”—(Campbell’s Four Gospels, Diss. XI, Part 1.)

Harduin also pretended that Virgil’s

specimen of the Rhemish version of the New Testament, was given on p. 428. The publication of this version, in the sixteenth century, was an anomaly in the policy of the Romish church toward the Bible. “After persecuting men, women and children, for two centuries, on account of their determined zeal in reading and circulating the word of God in English,—after separating husbands and wives and brethren, and committing to prison, to the scaffold and the flames, as obstinate heretics, hundreds and thousands who persisted in searching the Scriptures contrary to her edicts, canons, decrees, restrictions, anathemas and excommunications, she suddenly changes her policy, meets her enemies with their own proscribed weapons, and publishes a version of the New Testament in *English*, by which she aims to supersede all existing translations, and to prove that all her doctrines are inculcated by the word of God.” The Rhemish Doctors justified this gross inconsistency by the state of the times. They say that this translation of the Scriptures was made, not because they “generally and absolutely deem it more convenient in itself, and more agreeable to God’s word and honor, or the edification of the faithful, to have them turned into vulgar tongues, than to be kept and studied only in the ecclesiastical and learned languages,” but merely “upon special consideration of the present time, state and condition of our country, to which divers things are either necessary, or profitable, or medicinable now, that otherwise in the peace of the church were neither much requisite, nor per-

Æneid was “a fable invented by a monk to exhibit the triumph of the church over the synagogue;” an absurdity happily ridiculed by Boileau when he said, “I should like much to have conversed with friar Virgil, and friar Livy, and friar Horace; for we see no such friars now.”—(Ib.)

chance wholly tolerable." It seems then that the Romish church consents that her children shall read the Scriptures for themselves, and even makes a translation for their benefit, "upon special considerations." Such considerations seem to exist at this "present time" in our own country, if we may judge from the following advertisement which recently met our eye.

"To the Catholic community. A new and finely illustrated FAMILY BIBLE, to be completed in twenty-four numbers, at twelve and a half cents per number! The Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate, diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek and other editions, in various languages; the Old Testament, first published by the English College at Douay, A. D. 1609; and the New Testament, first published by the English College at Rheims, A. D. 1582; with annotations, references, and a historical and chronological index. The whole revised and diligently compared with the Latin Vulgate. Published with the approbation of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New York. The publisher does not hesitate to express his belief that this edition of the Bible will prove in every way equal to the requirements of the Catholic body in America at this juncture, and he trusts that it will find among Catholic families, the clergy and the laity generally, that *extensive* sale to which only, it is obvious, at a price so very low, he must look for remuneration.

E. DUNIGAN,
151 Fulton-st. New York."

Now what are the "requirements of the Catholic body in America at this juncture," which call for a new edition of the Bible? Is it their degraded spiritual condition, which, in the judgment of †John Hughes, calls for the general circulation of the Scriptures among the laity? Or is Harpers' pictorial Bible finding its way into Roman Catholic families? Is the "school question" leading Roman Catholics to examine for themselves that Bible which their bishops forbid their children to read? Have the events of the last six months in Philadelphia awakened a spirit of inquiry among "the faithful," respecting that Bible which Protestants profess to fight for, and for which they have often died?

How is it, that the Bishop of New York, in full face of the Pope's encyclical letter, which commands him to "remove from the hands of the faithful (*all*) Bibles in the vulgar tongue," authorizes the publication of the Scriptures for the use of "the laity generally," and that too in a form so attractive, and at a price so low, as to ensure an "extensive sale?" Has not that "crafty device,"—the Bible Society, been "strolling with effrontery" into the very bosom of the Roman Catholic church? Is it not to counteract the known influence of the Bible among her adherents, that the Romish church thus wears two faces, and gives herself the lie? This confirms what we have already quoted from Dens, that "when Roman Catholics live among heretics, greater indulgence is allowed" them in reading the word of God. Finding that she can not hinder them from reading the Bible, the church, as a judicious *mother*, at once offers her children a Bible "in every way equal to their wants *at this juncture*," and fills it with pictures to please them, and make them contented.

Well, we are glad of it. True, this edition will be a transcript of the Douay Bible; it will teach that Jacob "*worshipped the top of his staff*," and that "the unwritten *traditions* of the Apostles are no less to be received than their written epistles;" but after all, such a Bible will be vastly better than none. Common sense will soon distinguish between the notes and the text, and the errors of the latter are comparatively few. We pledge ourselves as subscribers for this new edition, and shall do what we can to put it in the hands of Irish Catholics in our service, "with the approbation of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New York." If any trouble comes of this with "his Holiness," we will trust the bishop to "accommodate the difference." We moreover

give Mr. Dunigan the benefit of this advertisement gratuitously.

Nor is it simply in the United States that "special considerations" call for the publication of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, under the sanction of the church of Rome. In Piedmont, if we are rightly informed, a translation of the Vulgate has recently been published, at a price which puts it within the reach of the mass of the people. Italy, then, demands the Bible—demands it in her own tongue—demands it, not as a voluminous and costly work for the libraries of her scholars, but as a book for the use of the people; and the church is compelled to swerve from her policy to meet that demand. She can no longer satisfy her children with a "stone," when they are clamorous for "bread;" she must give them bread, though it be black and bitter. Does not this fact, in connection with the revival of an old law in Austria forbidding Roman Catholics to embrace the Protestant faith, under penalty of banishment, show that the influence of the Foreign Evangelical Society and the odious Christian Alliance is beginning to be felt where most it is feared? Does not the policy of the church of Rome toward the Bible prove her to be Antichrist? And must not that very policy lead at length to her overthrow?*

But we have been enticed into

* In Austria, it is unlawful to build Protestant churches with towers, bells, or an entrance from the street; in fact, with any appearance of a church. Protestants are obliged to pay the Romish priests not only tithes, but the dues for baptism, marriage and burial; and the Roman priests keep the official register of births, deaths and marriages. The Roman clergy have the right of intruding into the chamber of a sick Protestant, but Protestants are forbidden to converse with their Popish fellow-subjects upon religion. Unless there are one hundred Protestant families or 500 souls in a town, the erection of a congregation is unlawful. A melancholy picture truly; but suppose the Roman Catholic should point in turn to Ireland!

the discussion of these incidental questions farther than is consistent with our main design, and are in danger of making what is intended to be preliminary to other topics the substance of our article. In justice to those topics, we must forego any further comment upon the practical working of the antagonism of the church of Rome to the word of God. We therefore resume the discussion of

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

We have already presented three of the sacraments of the Roman Catholic church, viz. baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist. The sacrament next in order, according to most Catholic writers, is Penance.

This sacrament has its origin in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. If a man is regenerated, "freed from original sin" by baptism, then either he must continue in a state of sinless perfection, or if he falls into sin, he must be baptized again, or he must have recourse to some other rite which will restore to him the grace which he has lost. But the Romish church does not hold that those who are baptized are brought into a state of sinless perfection. However much she claims that perfection for herself as a church, she does not claim it for her individual members. Those who have been regenerated by baptism, may fall into sin. If they do, how are they to be recovered? Their baptism now avails them nothing. Its efficacy was exhausted upon the sins committed before it was administered; it has no influence reaching beyond that time as an antidote to future guilt. Can it then be administered again, and repeated as often as occasion may require? This the church does not allow. We have heard, indeed, of an infant being baptized a second time, because its parents became dissatisfied with the

name which they had given it; we have heard also of the anabaptism of a young "candidate for orders," who had been presented to the Lord, by godly parents, in his infancy; we have heard even of a second christening of colleges and churches; but these things have not taken place within the pale of the Roman Catholic church. She is too jealous of the dignity of her sacraments, to make them cheap by such "vain repetitions." She endeavors to make the sacrament of baptism as imposing as the meaning which she gives it requires. "Symbol is crowded upon symbol,—the clay, the lamp, the salt, the oil, the water, the white robe,—in order to express in the most significant manner the one idea, that a total, permanent change is to occur in the subject, and a new, higher and lasting existence is now to begin. For this, among other reasons, baptism is not repeated."

How then is the baptized person who falls into sin to be restored? There must be some provision for his restoration on the part of the church, which has already regenerated him,—some rite, the performance of which she shall acknowledge to be satisfactory. Says Dr. Moehler: "In baptism, the solemn vow is made by the believer, never to fall into any grievous mortal sin; but rather to grow more and more in holiness of life. If such a sin be committed, then the darkness and folly of the world, and the unsanctified life, again take possession of the soul, and thereby communion with God is broken off, and the baptismal grace is forfeited. Hence, if the transgressor desires to be converted from his evil ways, he needs a *new* reconciliation with God, and therefore another sacrament. Such a sacrament is penance conceived to be." (p. 296.)

Penance is defined to be "a sacrament of the new law, by which absolution is pronounced by an authorized priest upon baptized per-

sons, who, having relapsed into sin, are contrite, and have made confession."—(Dens, de Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, No. 1.)

This sacrament is known by various names. The Council of Trent calls it metaphorically, *a second plank after shipwreck*. It is commonly called *confession*, after its material part.

Penance is proved to be a sacrament, according to Dens, (No. 2.) 1. "From the Councils of Florence and Trent, by which an anathema is visited upon those who deny that penance is a sacrament." The anathema of the Council of Trent is as follows: "Whoever shall say that penance in the Catholic church is not a true and proper sacrament, instituted by Christ our Lord, for reconciling the faithful to God, as often as they fall into sin after baptism, let him be accursed." This argument is of course decisive with any Roman Catholic.

The second proof is derived from the words of Christ: "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.*"—(John, 20: 22, 23.) The authorized note upon this passage is, "See here the commission, stamped by the broad seal of heaven, by virtue of which the pastors of Christ's church, absolve repenting sinners upon their confession."

Says Dr. Wiseman, who is perhaps the ablest living Roman Catholic divine, "These words are the primary and principal foundation on which we rest our doctrine. Christ was not addressing his flock in general, but was giving a special charge to the Apostles; in other words, to the pastors of the church; because I have before shown you, that when a command was given to the Apostles, not of special privilege, such as that of working miracles, but one connected with the welfare and salvation of the flock, that was a per-

petual institution to be continued in the church. What does he tell them? 'Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.' Here is a power in the first place to forgive sins; and this expression, 'to forgive sins,' in the New Testament, always signifies truly and really to clear the sinner of guilt against God. . . . The Apostles, and their successors on earth, received this power; consequently, to them was given a power to absolve, or purge and cancel the soul from its sins. There is another power also given, that of retaining sins. What is the meaning of retaining sins? Clearly the power of not forgiving them. But then this implies, of course,—for the promise is annexed, that what sins they retain on earth are retained in heaven,—that there is no other means of obtaining forgiveness, save through them. For the forgiveness of heaven is made to depend upon that which these give on earth; and those are not to be pardoned then, whose sins they retain. . . . Not merely, therefore, a power to forgive sins is given in our commission, but such a power as excludes every other instrument or means of forgiveness in the new law."*

Here then we have the doctrine in all its length and breadth;—the doctrine, that he who sins after baptism is to seek forgiveness, not from God, whom he has offended, through the mediation of Christ, but at the hands of the priest, to whom he must make confession, and from whom he must receive the conditions of restoration. Need we take pains to refute it? Is it not too gross an error to call for argument? Yet it is set forth with no mean eloquence by one of the most gifted minds of the age. Quotations to the same

effect might be made from Moehler and Bossuet; but these are unnecessary, since we have the doctrine before us in the most explicit form, and from the highest authority. It rests entirely upon the misconstruction of a single passage in John's gospel. We say the *misconstruction* of the passage; for, in the first place, the words do not *require* the construction which is here put upon them. They may refer either to the miraculous faculty of discerning spirits, given by Christ to his Apostles, or, what is more probable, to the general power belonging to all his ministers, of declaring to what sort of *character* the favor of God will be granted, and from what it will be withheld. "Ye shall prescribe and publish the terms on which the sins of the whole human race shall be remitted or retained," i. e. the terms of the Gospel.

Secondly, there is no evidence that the Apostles ever *claimed* the power which is here ascribed to them. On the contrary, they always directed the sinner to repent and look to God for forgiveness, whether before baptism, as in the case of the jailer, or after baptism, as in the case of Simon Magus.

Thirdly, such a construction of the passage is *contrary to the whole tenor of the Scriptures*. They ascribe the power of forgiving sins to God, and in terms which show that he has never shared it with, nor deputed it to another.

The doctrine is a legitimate consequence of that false theory of the nature of the church, which we have already exposed. If the church, the visible organized church, by her sacraments, is the one only medium of grace and salvation to the soul of man, then of course she must have the power of absolving those who come to her confessional, as well as of regenerating those who come to her baptismal font. But if the church stands in no such relation, if it is merely "a company of pro-

* "Lectures on the principal doctrines and practices of the Catholic church," Lec. X.

fessed believers in Christ, associated together for the public worship of God, for the observance of Christian ordinances, and for mutual aid and encouragement in all Christian duties," then it neither has nor needs the power of forgiving sins. This power does not fall within its province; there is no use for it; there is no room for the officers of such a church to stand between the sinning soul and an offended God. In whatever mode that soul first obtained forgiveness and reconciliation, *before entering* the church, in that same mode must it seek forgiveness and reconciliation while *in* the church.

But we are getting before our subject. We have not yet defined with sufficient precision the sacrament of penance. This sacrament consists of three parts—contrition, confession and satisfaction. These are called by Dens "the *proximate* matter" of the sacrament; the "*remote* matter" comprises "whatever sins are committed after baptism." Upon this point, as usual, we have an anathema from the Council of Trent, for that "holy synod" was extremely liberal of its imprecations. "Whoever shall deny that three acts are required from the penitent for the entire and perfect remission of sins, constituting, as it were, the matter of the sacrament of penance, viz. contrition, confession and satisfaction, which are called the three parts of penance; or shall say that there are but two parts of penance, viz. the *terrors of a conscience* smitten with a sense of sin, and *faith* produced by the gospel or by absolution, whereby one believes that his sins are remitted by Christ, let him be accursed." This anathema was launched against Luther's views of conviction and conversion. The subject is brought thus clearly before us by Dr. Wiseman. "The Catholic church teaches, that Christ did establish on earth a means whereby forgiveness should

be imparted to wretched sinners,—whereby, on the performance of certain acts, all who have offended God may obtain authoritative forgiveness. It is generally said—I mean by those who preach and write against our doctrines—that the institution maintained by the Catholic church to have been established by Christ, is *confession*. This, at the outset, is an error; the Catholic church believes that the institution left by our Savior was the sacrament of penance, consisting of three parts, whereof confession is only one, and that one not the most essential. Here, therefore, is manifestly a misstatement or misrepresentation, however unintentional, of our belief. For I will proceed to show you, that the Catholic church teaches and urges the necessity of every thing that any other church requires, and that even in more complete perfection than any other system of religion. We believe, therefore, that the sacrament of penance is composed of three parts—contrition, or sorrow; confession, or its outward manifestation; and satisfaction, which is in some respects also a guarantee of perseverance in that which we promise."

Dr. Wiseman next describes true contrition, and shows that it is the most important element in penance,—so important that without it priestly absolution is of no avail, while in extreme cases, it is sufficient of itself;—"a fervent act of sorrow," in him who can not have recourse to a confession, being "equivalent to all that Christ instituted for the forgiveness of sins."

That we may do complete justice to him and his church upon this point, we will quote a few sentences. "The Catholic church teaches that sorrow or contrition, which involves all that any other religion means by repentance, of which it is only a part, has always been necessary on earth to obtain the forgiveness of God. It maintains, that

without that sorrow, no forgiveness can possibly be obtained in the new law; that without a deep and earnest grief, and a determination not to sin again, no absolution of the priest has the slightest worth or avail in the sight of God; that, on the contrary, any one who asks or obtains absolution, without that sorrow, instead of thereby obtaining forgiveness of his sins, commits an enormous sacrilege, and adds to the weight of his guilt, and goes away from the feet of his confessor still more heavily laden than when he approached him. Such is the Catholic doctrine with respect to this portion of the sacrament." All this is beautiful and true in theory; we ask for no better orthodoxy. But how is it in practice? Does the penitent who looks to a priest for absolution, attach the most importance to the exercise of genuine sorrow for sin, or to the outward act of confession by which he is to obtain forgiveness? We can understand, we think we know experimentally, how a heart-felt contrition for a fault is deepened in the very act of confessing it to God, against whom it was committed; but we can not see any tendency in the Roman Catholic scheme of confession and absolution, which puts a hired priest in the place of God, to deepen or ensure that sorrow for sin which is here declared to be its indispensable preliminary.

But let us attend more particularly to the second part of this sacrament, viz. confession. Confession is "a full, sincere and humble declaration of our sins to a priest, to obtain absolution."—(Douay Catechism.) Such a confession must be made at least once a year, and is commonly made at Easter, with reference to the sacrament of the Eucharist which is then received. "Every one of the faithful of both sexes, after he (or she) shall have reached the years of discretion, must faithfully confess all his (or

her) sins, alone, at least once a year to the proper priest."*

This requirement reaches to children eight or nine years of age, and to deaf and dumb persons, who are required to make confession by signs.—(Dens, Nos. 68 and 70.)

"Q. What is the third commandment of the church?

"A. To confess our sins at least once a year."—(Douay Catechism, p. 73.)

Every mortal sin must be confessed as distinctly as it can be remembered, together with the time, place and circumstances in which it was committed. The following lines express the various qualities of a proper confession:

"Sit simplex, humilis confessio, pura, fidelis, Atque frequens, nuda et discretæ, libens, veracunda,

Integra, secreta, et lachrymabilis, accelerata, Fortis, et accusans, et sit parere parata."†
(Dens, No. 75.)

The authority for such confessions to a priest, is found in the exhortation given to believers, "Confess your faults *one to another*!"—(Jas. 5: 16.) The authorized comment upon this passage is a curiosity in the way of exegesis. "Confess your sins one to another; that is, to the priests of the church, whom (v. 14) he had ordained to be called for and brought in to the sick."

Drs. Wiseman, Moehler and others maintain, that the institution of auricular confession is "conformable to the wants of our nature;" that the soul when burdened with a sense of guilt seeks relief in confession; and that the acknowledgment of sin to another is fitted to

* A particular class of priests are authorized to hear confessions.

† We put this into doggerel for the mere English reader.

Simple, humble, faithful, pure,
Let your confession be;
Frequent, open, frank and sure,
With prudent modesty;
Complete, while private; prompt, though
made with tears;
Strong, self-accusing, which no infliction fears.

subdue that pride which is the very essence of sin. True, very true. But to *whom* is this confession to be made, in order to relieve the burdened soul? To God—an offended, yet forgiving God—or to a priest who is paid for hearing it? How—where, is the soul to be humbled in the dust? At the throne of mercy, in the presence of infinite majesty—or in some little box on the cathedral wall, where the priest stands sentinel over the conscience? How tame, how heartless would have been an acknowledgment of his guilt to Nathan, by the royal adulterer, in comparison with that deep gush of penitence from a bursting heart—"Against **THEE**, thee *only*, have I sinned! and done this evil in *thy* sight."

Pascal has some specious declamation in the strain to which we have just referred. He represents the institution of auricular confession as an act of lenity on the part of the church, which might justly demand a more public and humiliating acknowledgment of sin. "The Catholic religion does not oblige one to uncover his sins to the gaze of the whole world: she suffers them to lie concealed from all, but that one man to whom she bids the sinner open the depth of his heart, and let him see just what it is. There is but this one individual in the world whom she commands us to deceive, and she obliges him to an inviolable secrecy, which makes the knowledge he possesses as though it did not exist. Can any one imagine any thing more lenient and kind?"*

But did it never occur to thee, O most excellent Pascal, how much more "gentle and kind" it would be in the church, to lead the penitent soul at once to its compassionate Redeemer,—to direct it to go and unburthen itself to him whose ear is ever open to our cries?

Didst thou never know by experience how sweet it was to pour thy sorrows and confessions directly into the ear of Christ, and to receive from him the assurance, "Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee?" Did it never cross thy mind, that the praise which thou hast here bestowed upon auricular confession is its very condemnation?—that a scheme which sanctions hypocrisy toward all but one individual, might sanction it also before God, and make that one individual the only object of fear to the soul, and his favor and absolution the only object of desire? Didst thou never think that God might regard a confession in thy closet, daily, as much as one in the confessional once a year,—and hear it from thy own lips as readily as from those of the priest?

But however plausibly it may be set forth by a certain class of writers in the Romish church, what is the system of auricular confession in point of fact? What are its effects on those who practice it? How is it regarded by the mass of Roman Catholics? Does not the ignorant Papist who goes to his priest at Easter, confesses such transgressions of the precepts of the church, or other mortal offenses, as he may remember to have committed during the year, pays a few shillings to receive absolution, and then goes away to sin again according to his means,—does not that man feel that the work of repentance is complete? Does *he* care any thing about that "godly sorrow" for sin, "without which forgiveness can not be obtained?" Does he feel the need of that sorrow? Is there any thing in the nature of confession as he understands it, which leads him to exercise such sorrow? Who does not see, that to the unenlightened multitude, auricular confession must become on one hand a thing of merit, and on the other an encouragement to sin?—that the practical workings

* *Pensées*, tom. i, p. 194.

of the system must be contrary to the gospel?

The third part of the sacrament of penance is *satisfaction*. To this the name "penance" is commonly applied. Satisfaction is defined by Dens to be "the voluntary endurance of punishment as a compensation for an injury offered to God." It is called voluntary because the subject acquiesces in it. *Sacramental* satisfaction is the voluntary endurance of the punishment imposed by the confessor for this end.

The custom of the church sanctions the refusal of absolution to any one who will not accept a reasonable penance imposed upon him by the confessor—"any *reasonable* penance,—for if it is unreasonable, the penitent may refuse both absolution and the penance, and go to another confessor;" i. e. the sinner may advertise for "sealed proposals" concerning the terms of absolving such and such offenses, and accept those which are most satisfactory to himself. A very accommodating system truly!—admirably fitted to restrain men from sin! "Satisfaction should be *vindictive* or *punitive*, *medicinal* and *preservative*."—(Dens, 172-6.)

As specimens of the modes of exacting satisfaction for sin, we subjoin the following, furnished by Dens for the benefit of novitiates in the office of confessor.

"Under the head of *prayers*, the following may be enjoined once or several times, or for several days or weeks:

"1. To say five *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in memory of Christ's five wounds, upon the bended knee, or with outstretched arms, or before a crucifix.

"2. To recite the rosary, or litanies of the blessed Virgin Mary, or of the saints, &c.

"3. To read the psalm *Miserere*, or seven penitential psalms.

"4. To hear masses, or lauds, or *preaching*!

"5. To read a chapter in Thomas à Kempis.

"6. To visit the churches to pray before the tabernacle.

"7. At stated times, morning or eve-

ning, or through the day, or as often as they hear the striking of the clock, to repeat orally or in the heart, ejaculatory prayers, expressions of contrition or of love; e. g. 'I love thee, O God, above all things,' 'I hate all my sins,' 'I will sin no more,' 'Jesus, crucified for me, have mercy upon me.'

"8. On the appointed day to confess again, or at least to return to the confessor.

"Under the head of *fasting*, may be arranged whatever relates to the mortification of the body; thus either a perfect or a partial fast may be enjoined. For example:

"1. Let him fast on the sixth day of the week, or oftener.

"2. Let him fast only till 12 o'clock.

"3. Let him not drink morning or afternoon, except at dinner and supper, though he may be thirsty; let him abstain from wine and strong beer. (A discipline which we hope is often enjoined.)

"4. Let him eat less; at evening let him take but half a meal. (These penances are to be imposed on laboring men.)

"5. Let him rise from bed earlier; let him kneel more frequently, and for a longer time; let him endure cold; at a certain time let him preserve silence; let him abstain from games, recreations, &c.

"Under the head of *alms*, is included whatever is expended for the benefit of a neighbor.

"1. Let him make presents of money, clothing, food, &c.

"2. Let him render personal aid, wait upon the sick, pray for the conversion of sinners, and any other deeds of mercy, whether corporeal or spiritual." (From this we infer that the "Sisters of Charity" in doing acts of kindness to the poor and sick, are only doing *penance* for their own sins!)

The necessity of such satisfaction on the part of the penitent, does not arise from any insufficiency in the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ, but from an ordinance of God, whereby, "when he has forgiven sin, and so justified the sinner, as to place him once more in a state of grace, he still reserves the infliction of some degree of punishment for his transgressions." Says Dr. Wiseman, (Lec. XI,) "We believe that upon this forgiveness of sins, that is, after the remission of that eternal debt, which God in his justice awards to transgressions against his law, he has been pleased to reserve a certain degree of infe-

rior or temporary punishment, appropriate to the guilt which had been incurred; and it is on this part of the punishment alone that, according to the Catholic doctrine, satisfaction can be made to God. . . . I wish to lay down the doctrine clearly and intelligibly; that it is only with regard to the *reserved degree of temporal punishment* that we believe the Christian can satisfy the justice of God. But is even this satisfaction any thing of his own? Certainly not; it is not one of the slightest avail, except as united to the merits of Christ's passion, for it receives its entire efficacy from that complete and abundant purchase made by our blessed Savior."

This view he attempts to corroborate by several familiar cases, in which some temporal calamity growing out of a particular sin, was inflicted upon an individual after the sin itself had been forgiven; as for instance, when David's child, the fruit of his iniquity, was taken from him after the Lord had "put away" his sin. But this evil was inflicted by God, and not by a *priest*, nor by David on himself. Besides, does not Dr. Wiseman here fail to distinguish between *penalty* and *discipline*? May not God as a kind and judicious Father, inflict wholesome correction upon his children, without inflicting on them strict *legal* retribution? And may not that correction be designed for other purposes than to exact "satisfaction" for the transgression of the law? The view which Dr. Wiseman takes of those temporal evils which befall believers, is derogatory at once to the atonement of Christ and the benevolence of God. It is based either on the supposition that Christ did not make a *complete* atonement for sin, so that there is yet need of human suffering to satisfy the law,* or that God while

professing to grant full and free forgiveness, remits a *part* only of the legal penalty and exacts the rest.

Bossuet, while seeming to discriminate between disciplinary and penal evil, confounds them in the inference which he draws from the infliction of the former in favor of the doctrine of satisfaction. He says,* "It is just and even salutary for us, that God in remitting our sins, together with that eternal punishment which we have merited, should exact of us some temporal suffering, to keep us in the path of duty; lest, breaking through too easily the restraints of justice, we should abandon ourselves to a rash confidence, abusing the facility of obtaining pardon. It is to satisfy this obligation that we are subjected to certain works of penance, which we ought to perform in the spirit of humility and penitence."

We can not see the use of penance even on the Roman Catholic theory. It does not remove the penalty of sin in the future world, for that is done by the death of Christ; but that death does not secure us against *temporal* evils, and it is quite plain that penance does not. These evils exist in spite of penance; and do not form a part of it. But it is a sufficient answer for a Protestant to make to this whole theory of satisfaction, that it is without the least warrant from the word of God. Nothing is there said of expiatory sufferings on the part of the believer, either for himself or others. The Rhemish New Testament, indeed, everywhere translates *μετανοεῖτε*, "*do penance*;" but the imposition is too flagrant to need exposure. There is a passage in one of the epistles of Paul which is supposed by Romanists to teach this doctrine; viz. "who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the

thing, it must mean satisfaction to the law.

* The term *satisfaction* as used by Dr. W. is ambiguous; but if it means any

* Œuvres, tome cinquième, p. 390.

afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church." (Col. 1: 24.) The Rhemish Testament here reads—"fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ." But what is taught here more than that common doctrine of the New Testament, that "all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution?" Are the sufferings of Christ here declared to be insufficient for the end for which they were designed? Not at all. Is it said that Paul's sufferings are of the nature of an expiation for his own sins, or those of his Christian brethren? No such thing. The simple idea is this; it is a part of the divine plan, that the disciples of Christ shall encounter trials and difficulties in promoting his kingdom; that they shall "suffer with him," (as he did,) before they "reign with him." "In the world ye shall have tribulation;"—"ye shall drink of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with." These and similar passages convey to our minds the same meaning as Paul's words in Col. 1: 24. There is not the least allusion to penance or satisfaction in the whole of them; nor is any such condition annexed to any promise of forgiveness in the New Testament. "When a man makes confession, severe penance is imposed upon him. He must perform a pilgrimage to Rome, or even further, must fast, and repeat many prayers. Not so did Christ teach; he simply said, *Go and sin no more.*"—(Von Wesel.)

The sacrament of penance in the Romish church is *opposed to the very genius of Christianity*. Christianity dispenses with every thing like machinery in spiritual affairs. It aims to bring the soul into direct contact with its maker, through the "one mediator." Having a "great High Priest who is passed into the heavens," and a sacrifice "once offered to bear the sins of many,"

it discards all priests and sacrifices upon earth. Man needs, indeed, the intervention of a priest between his soul and God. It was the complaint of Job, that he had no such mediator. "If I be wicked, why then labor I in vain?"—if I am a sinner, why should I undertake the hopeless task of making myself pure? "If I wash myself with snow-water, and make my hands never so clean, yet wilt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me;"—though I may flatter myself that I have washed away my sins, and am prepared to stand before thee, thou canst uncover still deeper pollutions within me, and show me that I yet am vile. "For he is not a man as I am that I should answer him, and we should come together in judgment;"—there is no common ground on which a sinful mortal can stand with a holy God,—"neither is there any days-man betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both."

What Job here expresses, is a universal want of the human soul. Guilt cries aloud for succor. She builds altars; she offers sacrifices; she seeks for one invested with a peculiar sanctity, to whom she may commit the task of rendering the Deity propitious. Every where this world of pollution is covered with altars, smoking with incense and bleeding with victims. Every where is heard the deep cry of sin-stricken nature for an atonement, a sacrifice, a priest, an intercessor, an advocate with God.

God has himself ordained that men shall approach him through sacrifices and a priesthood. The universal prevalence of sacrifices can be accounted for on no other supposition than that God revealed his will in this respect soon after the fall, and that this revelation was diffused by tradition among all the families of the earth. We know that God instituted sacrifices and a priest-

hood for the Jews, through the medium of which they were to seek reconciliation.

Christianity meets this first want of the sinful soul. It provides for it a priest, an intercessor, an atonement. It opens "a new and living way" of access to God—a far better way than any before devised; in short, the true and only way, whereby we may "enter into the holiest through the blood of Jesus." Did it not do this, it would fail of its design, and be unworthy of our confidence. The Jew might still boast of his law, and cling to the worship of his fathers. But how did Paul answer the sneer of the Jews, that Christianity was no religion, being without temple, ritual or priest? By showing that there was no need of a sacrifice or a priest in drawing near to God? No: it was by showing that Christianity has a sacrifice of such high and sacred import, that it needs not to be repeated, and that it has a priest whose glory far transcends that of all who ministered at Jewish altars; whose priesthood is perpetual, whose atonement is complete, whose intercession is always availing. It was by showing them that their own sacrifices and priesthood, with all their solemn pomp and splendor, were but a "shadow of good things to come," and were utterly without meaning and without power, except as they turned the eye of faith to Christ and his atonement. The argument was complete; it was unanswerable. It met the case. It showed that Christianity provides for man's greatest want,—provides for it fully,—provides for it as it never was or could be met by any other scheme. With such a sacrifice and such a priest, do we need any other? With a "days-man" between us and God, who unites in himself the human and divine natures, and who can therefore "lay his hand upon us both," as no other being can; with such a "great High Priest, who has

passed into the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God," do we need the sacrifices and intercessions of a fellow-mortal and a fellow-sinner? Shall we make "confession" to a hireling, and look to him for absolution?

No modern priesthood, surely, can lay such claim to dignity and divine authority as did the priesthood of the Jews. None even pretends to be any thing more than a copy of that. Yet that, with all its glory, was a "shadow," and has passed away; and what want we with the shadow, when we have the substance? Above all, what want we with the shadow of a shadow, when the glorious reality is within our reach?

"Oh, but it is so much easier to approach God through a priest, than to go to him alone."

But how can the priest, a sinner like yourself, draw any nearer to the mercy-seat than you? How can he intercede for you, and grant you absolution? Does God recognize him as your mediator? No: his prayers are heard no sooner than yours. You have a "great High Priest" in heaven, whom you only dishonor by acknowledging a priest on earth. A human priesthood is unknown to Christianity. There are no services under the Gospel for such a class to perform.

Another objection which we would urge against the sacrament of penance is, that *it is an instrument of spiritual despotism*. This objection lies particularly against the practice of confessing sin to a priest, receiving absolution from him, and submitting to such penalties as he may inflict. The soul of every Roman Catholic is at the disposal of his priest. If he sins after baptism, nothing can save him but priestly absolution. It is for the priest to "remit" his sins, or to "retain" them; and as the priest determines upon earth, so does God determine in heaven. It is for the priest to say on what conditions sin shall be

forgiven, and to fix the degree of self-inflicted penance for each transgression. What power so absolute, what engine of despotism so tremendous, as this! How it crushes the soul that falls beneath it! Once bring me to believe that my eternal welfare depends upon the favor of a priest, and there is nothing to which I will not submit to gain that favor. He may make any exaction, however severe; he may inflict any torture, however cruel; my helpless, enslaved, terror-stricken soul will endure it without remonstrance. Such is the power which the church of Rome wields through her confessional. It is by this that she retains her hold upon the ignorant multitude, and chains them down to a worse than Egyptian bondage. Did Christ appoint such an institution?

As a consequence of this, the sacrament of penance is *debasing to the soul*. How degraded must that mind become which is held in vassalage to a priest! One of the first steps of a Roman Catholic whose mind is becoming enlightened by truth, is to forsake the confessional; it is visited most by those who are sunk the deepest in ignorance and vice.

The influence of the system is no less debasing on the mind of the *priest* than on that of the "penitent." He becomes corrupt and venal. He sells his pardons to those who can afford to purchase them, and trafficks in the sins and souls of men. The history of indulgences furnishes the most melancholy illustrations of this debasing tendency of the system. So on the other hand, he who finds that he can sin for money, will measure his wickedness by his purse.

But there is an influence still more debasing. The confessional is made a *fountain of pollution*. Thoughts are suggested, words uttered, deeds committed there, which we can not here detail, but which have their parallel only in the ancient worship of

Venus, or in the pollutions of some modern heathen festival. We do not make this charge at random. Let any one read the list of questions furnished by Dens,* and other writers, to assist the confessor in

* We have hesitated between a sense of decency and a sense of duty in bringing such an iniquitous scheme to light; but we can not make a complete exhibition of what Romanism is, without showing how her priests are instructed to conduct an examination at the confessional. For once we feel grateful for the Latin language; but, though our specimens of "Dens' Moral Theology" are in that tongue, we wish to label them distinctly, *POISON*.

Modus examinandi penitentem prudenter circa cogitationes impudicas.

Pœn. Habui cogitationes impudicas.

Conf. An dedisti eis causam vel occasionem per aspectum, alloquium, &c.?

P. Non.

C. An conatus es eas rejicere?

P. Non.

C. Quamdiu in eis hesisti voluntariè?

P. Per quinque Pater et Ave.

C. Quoties id accidit?

P. Semel.

C. An in eis delectationem aliquam habuisti?

P. Ita.

C. An etiam præbuiisti consensum in opus malum, sive, an adfuit desiderium vel voluntas faciendi opus malum, sive, an adfuit desiderium vel voluntas faciendi opus malum, si occasio oblata fuisset?

P. Negativè, sed erat tantum delectatio morosa, cui consensum præbui.

C. Circa quod obiectum, et circa quod opus erat delectatio?

P. Circa copulam cum filia honesta libera, mihi nullâ cognatione vel affinitate juncta.

C. Qualis es tu, liber, conjugatus, an voto obstrictus?

P. Sum liber adolescens.

C. An inde secutæ sunt aliquæ commotiones carnales in corpore?

P. Ita.

C. An es conatus resistere illis motibus, eoque repellere?

P. Non, sed simpliciter permisi.

C. An secuta est pollutio?

P. Ita.

C. An deinde perrexisti in cogitationibus et delectationibus?

P. Negativè, sed statim exhorui, motus compressi, et cogitationes abjeci, meque converti ad Deum, et nomina *Jesu Maria* invocavi.

Thus much for the "modest" examination of a male penitent who confesses that he has had unchaste thoughts. Now

probing the conscience of the penitent; let him remember that these schedules were framed by men who, from their earliest years, had taken vows of celibacy upon them, and who lived secluded from the world; let him see how they have "studied all the forms of impurity, analyzing and classifying every variety of crime which the most brutal and sensual of mankind have ever perpetrated;" let him consider that such questions are to be put to females when alone with their confessors, and he will understand something of what we mean when we say that the confessional is and must be the veriest sink of pollution.

A writer in the July number of the *London Quarterly Review* says with truth, that "if it had been the intention of any body of men to corrupt the morals of the human race, to habituate children of both sexes to impurity, filth, and profligacy, it would have been impossible to have devised a scheme more completely adapted to produce that effect than the practice of the confessional, as it is now carried on in the church of Rome." He also informs us, that many even of the

ecclesiastics of Germany, the Tyrol, German Switzerland, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, are resolved to expose and break up this system of iniquity, and to make the frequenting of the confessional no longer compulsory. "Then said he to me, son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the earth. He said also to me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do." (Ezek. 8: 12, 13.)

There is another feature of the sacrament of penance more odious if possible than any yet presented. It is that *it makes the performance of religious duties a penalty for sin!* Prayer, instead of being the free offering of the heart to God, is a *penance*, the frequency or duration of which is to be regulated by the degree of the transgression for which it is to atone. To hear preaching is a penance; and we have no doubt it is often felt to be severe. Deeds of kindness to a neighbor are to be performed, not from the warm dictates of love, but as a "sacramental satisfaction" for sin. What sort of religion must that be which recognizes such a principle?

We have hinted at the practice of granting INDULGENCES as growing out of the doctrine of "satisfaction." What that practice is our readers need not be informed: every child who has heard the names of Luther and Tetzels knows full well. We will simply define an indulgence in the softest terms, and leave our readers to inquire what warrant is found for it in the word of God. An indulgence, according to Dr. Wiseman, "is no more than a remission by the church in virtue of the keys, or the judicial authority committed to her, of a portion, or the whole, of the temporal punish-

how to draw such a confession out of a female who is reluctant to make it:

Nota. Accidit aliquando, ut adolescentis filii aut filie, circa ætatem 20 annorum modo mundano et satie vano compti, voluptatibus et deliciis dediti, nihil confiteantur de luxuriæ tentationibus, quibus tamen ordinarie hujusmodi hominum genus solet impugnari. Igitur Confessarius, ut prudenter et à longinquo interroget, et à generalioribus incipiat, petet.

Conf. An aliquando frequentas personas alterius sexus vel consortia?

Pœn. Ita.

C. An aliquando ibidem miscentur sermones sive verba impudica!

P. Sic est; de concubitu et partibus pudendis.

C. Quas partes tu egisti?

P. Ego risi cum aliis, et quandoque verbum addidi.

C. Quoties id accidit? Coram quot hominibus? Coram quolibet personis? An subsequuta quedam desideria, commotiones carnales aut libertates actionum, ocula, &c.?

ment due to sin," i. e. absolution without satisfaction. Such a remission is made by virtue of the substitution of the superfluous merits of some saint for the satisfaction due from the sinner. But how have indulgences been regarded in fact but as licenses to sin? If the eternal penalty is remitted by the death of Christ, the indulgence is a virtual remission of the *whole* penalty, and is so understood. Indeed, this idea was distinctly held out by those who trafficked in indulgences in the days of Luther. Satisfaction was at first a species of ecclesiastical discipline, originating in asceticism; an indulgence was the relaxation of that discipline at first; afterwards a grant of pardon in anticipation of the offense. Dr. Moehler admits that the doctrine of indulgences has been greatly abused. "With the ecclesiastical punishments we have described as remedies and satisfactions, the doctrine of indulgences is connected, the abuse whereof, real and undeniable, led the Reformers into so many false steps, and would have furnished them with some excuse, were it not expected of great men, for which they wished to pass, and especially of a divine envoy, (and such Luther was inclined to regard himself,) that they should not take occasion from the abuse of truths, to reject those truths themselves. From the earliest ages of Christianity, indulgences were understood to be the shortening, under certain conditions, of the period of penance imposed by the church, and withal, the remission of the temporal punishment. The most important condition was fulfilled when the sinner furnished such proofs of contrition, and of newness and holiness of heart, that he seemed no longer to need the special ecclesiastical remedies we have described, and appeared worthy to be released from the temporal punishment.

"At a later period, many theologians gave greater extension to the

doctrine of indulgences; but their opinions, though very well grounded, have not been declared articles of faith in any formulary of the church, and therefore do not enter into the plan of this work. The Council of Trent, with wise precaution, decreed no more than that the church has the right to grant indulgences, and that these, dispensed with wisdom, are useful."—pp. 309, 310.

Intimately connected with the doctrine of "satisfaction" is that of PURGATORY. The latter is in fact a corollary from the former; for "the idea that God requires satisfaction, and will punish sin, (temporally,) would not go to its furthest and necessary consequence, if we did not believe that the sinner may be so punished in another world as not to be wholly and eternally cast away from God." It is not our purpose to enter fully into this doctrine here; we allude to it simply to show its proper place in the system. It may be enough to say of it at present, that its advocates do not claim for it the direct authority of the word of God. Says Dr. Wiseman, "I have more than once commented on the incorrectness of that method of arguing which demands that we prove every one of our doctrines individually from the Scriptures. I occupied myself during my first course of lectures in demonstrating the Catholic principle of faith, that the church of Christ was constituted by him the depository of his truths, and that although many were recorded in his holy word, still many were committed to traditional keeping, and that Christ himself taught in his church and secured her from error. It is on this authority that the Catholic grounds his belief in the doctrine of purgatory; yet, not but that its principle is laid down, indirectly, at least, in the word of God."

He then quotes from the second book of Maccabees, to show that the

doctrine is contained in the Scriptures; and meets the objection to the apocryphal character of the book by saying that "the church of England allows and even directs it to be read for instruction; whence one may conclude that she does not suppose it to contain doctrines opposed to the religion of Christ."*

We have dwelt at considerable length upon the sacrament of penance, because of the important place which it holds in the Roman Catholic system, and of the various fundamental errors which it involves. The remaining sacraments may be dismissed with a general statement of their nature and design.

The next in order is that of **EXTREME UNCTION**.

This is a "sacrament in which the sick man is anointed with holy oil by the priest under a prescribed form of words for the healing of mind and body." (Dens.) "It comforts the soul in her last agony against despair, it remits venial sins and removes the relics of sin, and restores corporeal health, if it be expedient."—(Douay Catechism.)

It is to be administered to believers in imminent danger of death. The oil which has been consecrated by a bishop is to be applied with the tip of the finger or a rod to the organs of the five senses, with a brief prayer accompanying each application.

There is so much disagreement

* The Protestant Episcopal church in the United States appoints lessons to be read from the *Apocrypha* on one third of the Holy Days throughout the year. (See the table of lessons in the Prayer-book.) We should like to know the "position" of the evangelical party in that church in respect to the inspiration and authority of the apocryphal books. Mr. Arthur Carey did not know but that they were inspired. Bishop McIlvaine commends the Homilies for sound doctrine, and these recognize the inspiration of the *Apocrypha* by quoting it as the "word of the Holy Ghost." Yet Bishop McIlvaine would not have ordained Mr. Carey. We confess we do not understand his "position."

among Romanists as to the time when this sacrament was instituted, that we will leave them to settle the controversy among themselves. The only passage of Scripture adduced to sanction it is James 5: 13, 14, 15, on which the comment of the Rhemish annotators is, "See here a plain warrant of Scripture for the sacrament of extreme unction;" as if the common practice of anointing among the Jews was any more a sacrament of the New Testament, having efficacious grace, than the ceremony of washing the feet. This sacrament furnishes occasion for that priestly jugglery which the Romish church dignifies by the name of miracles. For though it is commonly administered only *in extremis*, and so differs from the practice recommended by James, it is sometimes said to be efficacious in removing bodily disease. These five sacraments, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, and extreme unction, complete the *opus operatum* of the soul's salvation. By observing these, the soul gets safely to heaven with perhaps a little twinge of purgatorial fire. But these sacraments will be ineffectual unless duly administered. Hence we have the sixth sacrament, that of **HOLY ORDER**.

This sacrament appertains to the "rulers and ministers of the church, as bishops, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons." . . . "It gives spiritual power to ordain priests, to consecrate the body and blood of Christ, to administer the sacraments, serve the altar, and to preach."

It is not necessary for us here to discuss the subject of ordination, or that of grades in the Christian ministry. We may take occasion hereafter to exhibit in detail the polity of the Roman Catholic church. Besides we do not care, when wearied with our labors, to invoke on our heads the anathemas of prelatists by disputing their pretensions. Take this for a specimen.

Q. "What sin is it to oppose the *hierarchy* and *episcopacy*, either in the whole church or in particular churches?"

A. "It is a sin of rebellion and high treason against the peace and safety of Christ's spiritual commonwealth, the church." (Douay Catechism.)

Of course Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, figure here as a warning to all intruders into the sacred office, quite as largely as in any bishop's charge of recent times.

The seventh sacrament is MATRIMONY.

Roman Catholic writers seem to be much at a loss to show when marriage was constituted by Christ a sacrament of the new law. Some maintain that it was at the marriage at Cana in Galilee, and others when he declared the indissolubility of the marriage tie. That it is a sacrament, however, is made certain by the decree of the Council of Trent. Now we maintain that it is no sacrament at all; that although instituted by divine authority, it is a civil ordinance; and that clergymen derive their power to perform the marriage ceremony, not from the church, but from the state.

The list of prohibited degrees is more than ample enough to cover all the scruples of an Old School General Assembly; it extends to the fourth degree of consanguinity and *affinity* inclusive. The method of computing these degrees in the canon law is as follows. We begin at the common ancestor, and reckon downwards; and in whatever degree the two persons, or the most remote of them, is distant from the common ancestor, that is the degree in which they are related to each other. The common law follows in the main the canon law, but the civil law differs from them both. "The civil law regards consanguinity principally with respect to successions (to an estate,) and therein very naturally considers only the

person deceased, to whom the relation is claimed; it therefore counts the degrees of kindred according to the number of persons through whom the claim must be derived from him; and makes not only his great nephew, but also his first cousin, to be both related to him in the fourth degree, because there are three persons between him and each of them. The canon law regards consanguinity principally with a view to prevent incestuous marriages between those who have a large portion of the same blood running in their respective veins; and therefore looks up to the author of that blood, or the common ancestor, reckoning the degrees from him; so that the great nephew is related in the third canonical degree to the person proposed, and the first cousin in the second; the former being distant three degrees from the common ancestor, and therefore deriving only one fourth of his blood from the same fountain with the *propositus*,—the latter, and also the *propositus*, being each of them distant only two degrees from the common ancestor, and therefore having one half of each of their bloods the same."—(Blackstone, b. ii, ch. 14.)

The church may grant a dispensation in the first collateral degrees of consanguinity upon sufficient reasons; but even those who obtain such a dispensation "may deprive themselves of the blessings attending the marriage state, if the motives alledged be not well founded." The facility of obtaining such a dispensation depends very much upon the state of the Pope's treasury. The principal use of the elaborate table of degrees furnished by Dens, seems to us to lie in the mental discipline which it affords to those who trace it through its various ramifications and compare it with that of the civil law.

The church gives much salutary counsel to her children upon entering into the "holy state of matrimo-

ny," and to enable them the better to perform its duties, she authorizes her confessors (themselves vowed to celibacy!) to inquire with a disgusting particularity into its most secret and sacred affairs.

Every one knows that the ecclesiastics of the Romish church are forbidden to marry; though nothing is more certain than that Peter had a wife, (Mat. 8 : 14,) as did most of the Apostles. (1 Cor. 9 : 5.) But Roman Catholic priests, while denied the blessings of virtuous love, are often suffered to "lead about a *sister*," according to their vicious inclinations. We can not soil our pages with the recital of the deeds of licentiousness which have sprung from this single precept of the church. We rejoice to find that the more honest among the clergy, are growing restive under this unnatural restraint. The present Pope on his accession to the pontificate, found this uneasiness so general as to demand special notice in his encyclical letter of 1832. He says, "and here we wish to see your constancy ever watchful to defend religion from that most foul conspiracy against the *celibacy of the clergy*, which as you know, is daily extending its influence, and in which the ranks of the impious philosophers of the day, are swelled by the accession of some even of the ecclesiastical order, who, forgetful of their character and duty, and yielding to the allurements of passion, have been carried by their licentiousness so far as in some places publicly to solicit the intervention of their princes, and even to repeat their solicitations with them in order to abrogate this most holy branch of discipline. But why detain you with the recital of attempts so revolting? Having confidence in your piety, to you we commit the defense of a law of so much moment, against which the darts of the lascivious are directed from every quarter. Preserve the building *entire*; and in its

protection and defense, neglect none of those resources, which the sacred canons have in reserve for you." Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the old man is still compelled to see the "building" assailed at the same vulnerable point by the ecclesiastics of Bavaria, headed by the king. One of the demands of these new reformers, (the "disciples of Sailer,") is "that vows of celibacy shall not be obligatory on the clergy." It is remarkable that the same demand was made in Bavaria three hundred years ago. "There happened a great tumult and popular commotion in Bavaria, because the cup was not allowed, nor married men suffered to preach; which disorder proceeded so far, that, to appease them, the Duke promised in the Diet, that if in all June a resolution were not made in Trent, or by the Pope, to give them satisfaction, himself would grant both the one and the other;"* but this he afterwards retracted. We hope that the movement which was then defeated will now be successful. It is a significant fact, "that all the profligate clergy are strong in favor of the continuance of the law of celibacy, while all the moral clergy are for abolishing it." We doubt not that the repeal of this law would be followed by the abolition of that general appendage of a convent, the *foundling hospital*.

We are painfully conscious that Protestant clergymen are not always free from that licentiousness which we have charged upon Romish priests. But when a Protestant clergyman falls into any gross sin, are not his ministerial brethren the first to investigate the matter, and to express their abhorrence of his crime? Do they not cut him off at once from their fellowship and refuse to recognize him as a minister of Christ? But how is it when a Ro-

nish priest is known to be vicious? Does his bishop degrade him from office? Do his fellow-priests discountenance him? Is it felt to disqualify him at all for the duties of his office? No; he is permitted to go on almost without rebuke. The system with which he is connected both makes him vicious, and shields him from the consequences of his vice. This can not be said of Protestantism.

The celibacy of the priesthood is essential to the existence of the church of Rome. Once let the priest marry, give him a home, and he will be, not the subject of a foreign power, but a *citizen*, bound by a thousand ties to the community

around him. He will forget his allegiance to the papal see; he will understand the tyranny and corruption of the system with which he is linked, and soon break away from it entirely. Gregory foresees all this and therefore dreads the incipient movement. But the friends of virtue and of man must in the end prevail over corruption and despotic power, both in the church and in the state. As then we hope for the speedy downfall of the Papacy, we wish success to the reformation now in progress in Bavaria.

We must again postpone the consideration of several important doctrines in the Roman Catholic system of theology.

SHALL WE VOTE TO PERPETUATE SLAVERY?

In our last number, we inquired into the objects which the government of this country has sought to secure by the annexation of Texas to our territory and the incorporation of its inhabitants with our people. We proved from the public documents, and, as we conceive beyond any room for doubt, that these objects were, to prevent the possibility of emancipation in Texas; to promote the interests and strengthen the power of the slaveholding states; to extend the guarantees of the constitution to the perpetual maintenance of our slave system against every danger; and to place this nation in the front rank of the supporters of slavery against the moral influence of the civilized world. The southern statesmen, who negotiated the treaty, assume that slavery in this country is to be perpetuated for ever, and that the people are bound by the solemn compact of the constitution to defend it against the conscience of mankind and the providence of God. The conscience of the world is against slavery;

in the course of events slavery has been abolished in some countries; there is a fear it may be in Texas; that country, therefore, is to be annexed to this, both to prevent that catastrophe and to raise up an everlasting barrier against these influences. Nay, it is contended in an argument with the minister of a foreign nation, that we are compelled by the constitution of our government, to defend the southern institution by incorporating with ourselves every neighboring country where there is any reasonable probability of slavery being abolished; for, would not such an event jeopard the rights of slaveholders to their property? And are we not bound to maintain those rights?

But the government does not enjoy all the honor and glory of such opinions and arguments. The Hon. Senator McDuffie took the same position in a speech on the treaty, in the Senate of the United States, May 23, 1844. We quote a single passage. "Now, Sir, whatever oth-

ers may think, there is a deep and universal conviction impressed upon the minds of all the people of the southern and southwestern states, that the acquisition of a controlling influence over Texas by Great Britain—having the views she distinctly avows—will be imminently dangerous to these institutions. We ask you to give us nothing; we only ask you to protect the property we have, which we hold by a title derived from the ancestors of our fellow-citizens of the north, during our common dependence on Great Britain. They imported the slaves under the laws and auspices of the mother country, and against the protest of some of the southern colonies, and sold them to the ancestors of those, who now hold them, and *warranted the title*. And the solemn guaranty afterwards made by the federal constitution was nothing more than a confirmation of the warranty." If the guaranty of the constitution is nothing more than this, we would not give much for it. There is another "title," which we doubt not in heaven's chancery would stand paramount—the title of the slave to himself, of which he was robbed by those who sold him, and the stolen property received by those who bought him. But if this "warranty" compels us to take Texas because the influence of England there will be imminently dangerous to southern slavery, why not Mexico? and Cuba? and the other West India islands? Indeed, since an enormous crime committed two centuries ago has laid on us and our posterity, so long as the government exists, an obligation to maintain in this way the wicked system which it established, we see not but that we have before us a career of conquest which would satisfy the ambition even of South Carolina heroes.

In our former article, we sought to find out the objects of annexation, proposed by the government,

and through that, by the leading friends of the measure in the southern states. We did not discuss them. Indeed do they require it? Is not the wickedness of such avowed designs apparent on the face of them? Can any severity of language add to the universal scorn and detestation with which they have every where been received? Messrs. Calhoun and McDuffie and others, have taken from their opponents the necessity of reproach, by blazoning their own shame in the maintenance of opinions which are abhorred as soon as they are known. If the question of annexation could be decided on the grounds which they have assumed, Texas would be almost unanimously rejected. But it is contended by the great body of the friends of Texas in the free states, in opposition to the opinions of those leading statesmen of the slave states, who are the most interested in it and the most thoroughly conversant with the subject, that the proposed measure will not promote the interests of slavery. We purpose, therefore, to investigate, in the present article, the actual bearings of annexation upon the interests of our country.

We shall confine ourselves, however, to two inquiries, first, to consider the probable effects of the measure upon the slave system itself; and, secondly, to trace out the results which may arise from these effects viewed as causes acting upon the whole country. We make this limitation, because, in our opinion, it is its relation to slavery, which gives to this subject its great, its chief importance. If we could believe it would not affect the interests of slavery one way or the other, we should regard it as indeed a most important measure, but not of course as an unwise one. We would not tarnish the honor of the nation for it. We would not go to war for it. But we would accede, perhaps, to the conditions

of Mr. Clay, "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms"—with this addition—without the increase of slavery or the promotion of its interests.

What are the probable effects of the measure upon the system of slavery itself?

The first and most important effect, which we mention, is, *the increase of the number of slaves*. We are aware that this is denied. It is contended that as the number of slaves in the United States and Texas will be no greater after Texas is annexed than before, there never will be more slaves under the union with Texas, than in the United States and Texas as independent nations. This is the argument stated in its full force. Its fallacy is seen the moment the attention is directed to it. It is founded on the assumption that the rate of the increase of population is a fixed quantity; but it is a universally acknowledged principle, supported by common observation of facts, that the population of different countries increases in different ratios, after making allowance for emigration and immigration. We have to inquire, then, whether the annexation of Texas will not affect those causes upon which the rate of increase depends. It may not be possible to assign all these causes, but this may be stated with undoubted certainty, in relation to the increase of a free population, that a new country, where population is not crowded and large families can be well supported, is the most favorable to it. But will this apply to a slave population? We see not why the case is not exactly parallel, where there is a new country demanding large supplies of slaves, and an old country where the breeding of them has become a profitable business. We reluctantly soil our pages with this last expression, but we can not otherwise state the argument in its

true force. There can be no doubt then, on this point. We appeal to the acknowledged laws of population, and no cause can be assigned adequate to alter them in the present instance. We have, therefore, all the grounds of certainty which can exist in the operation of a law of nature. And it is a melancholy view which this fact in nature brings before our minds—our own native land turned into an Africa, to furnish from its bosom the bleeding victims of a cruel oppression.

But it will be contended that though the existence of slavery in Texas will have this effect—to increase the slave population by opening a new market and a new field of slave labor—it will have the same effect if Texas remains an independent nation. But we deny this. There will be less emigration of southern planters to it in this case. It would be a foreign government, the prosperity of which could not for a long time compete with the advantages which are here enjoyed. Besides, Texas would be a slaveholding government, unsupported by the energies of freemen. Slavery is in itself essentially weak. It is a problem of difficult solution; whether a purely slave government could, at the present day, stand firm enough and attain to such a degree of good order and prosperity as to invite emigration. At any rate, Texas independent, bearing alone the whole burden of slavery, will be a very different thing from Texas upheld and borne along by the general progress of the United States. Texas, therefore, would not stand to our upper slave states in the same relation as Louisiana and Mississippi. If we receive it into our Union, we give to it the energies of our Union, and subject it to the laws of a rapidly increasing population; but out of it, we leave it to its own weakness. Farther, while planters with their families of slaves might emigrate to Texas as a foreign country,

would this nation sink so low as to engage in a *foreign slave trade*, and enter into rivalry with the African traffick?

It is said that the destination of the African race is southward, and that no political causes can prevent it. But is it their destiny to be driven there as slaves? Can we believe it is the design of Providence that any country should be cultivated by slave labor? It may be true that those southern regions are destined to be occupied by the negro race; but shall we interfere with that destiny, and fill them with slaves?

Moreover, if it be true that such is the destination of the African race, and if it be furthermore true, that Texas, as an independent nation, will draw off just as many of our slaves, and will in time convert in this way the upper slaveholding states into free states, then, we say, let her remain independent. We should rejoice if she would take our whole slave population, and with it the curse of slavery. We should, then, be wholly a free people.

Whether, therefore, Texas as an independent nation will have the same effect upon the increase of slavery in the United States as if united with us, or not, we equally object to the union. But we must adhere to our own opinion, that the annexation will increase the number of the slaves in the two countries.

We mention, as a second effect of annexation, *the increase and perpetuation of the domestic slave trade*. We have been astonished at the flippancy with which the diffusion of slavery has been talked of. It will not increase slavery, it is said, it will only diffuse it. And what is it to diffuse slavery? It is to carry on the most abominable and guilty traffick on the face of the earth. It is, to fill the prisons of the slave-driver, and send forth that demon of terror, prowling for prey,

through the land! It is, to tear the husband from the wife, the child from the mother, the brother from the sister, and to separate them for ever!" It is to cut deeper and deeper every wound that slavery inflicts, and to uphold before those who have already suffered more than could be easily atoned for, the perpetual horror of exile, of suffering, of an early grave! It is, in short, to promote a business which finds its appropriate parallel only on the coasts of Africa. No man can think of the slave-trade of the United States, without feeling the deep degradation of his country. And yet we talk of the diffusion of slavery with perfect calmness! We know what is meant by the diffusion of a free population, by the emigration of families. We know how many alleviating circumstances there are, when the planter removes with his slaves. And we deny not there would be much of such emigration to Texas. But who can adequately describe the enormities of the diffusion of slavery by the slave-trader? Who can behold, without pity and indignation, the coffin of slaves, collected one from one family, another from another, one taken for his viciousness, another because poverty or worse has compelled the sale of the best, as they start on their long and painful journey, separated for ever from all the little happiness which has been theirs on earth? Who can think of the old Virginia planter, as we may have conceived of him in the early days of the republic, before the curse of slavery had wrought its vengeance upon him, and as he now is, making up for the failure of worn-out lands, by the sale of men and women, brought up with him on the same plantation, or of children, who have enjoyed the delights of youth under his own eye, and not blush for shame at the comparison? And yet, the annexation of Texas will perpetuate for gene-

rations this abominable business,—a business which brings upon us the reproach of the world, and exposes us, as we firmly believe, to the just vengeance of heaven.

The third and last effect which we shall mention, is, *that annexation will tend to perpetuate slavery.* We believe the number of persons to be very small, at least in the free states, who regard the system of slavery as a political institution destined to be coexistent with our government. There is a very prevalent conviction in the minds of men, that slavery, under the providence of God, will cease to exist. Persons may differ in opinion as to the causes and means by which this will be effected, but not as to the result. We can, however, fix upon some causes as having a tendency that way. We shall find, as we think, that the annexation of Texas will operate against every known cause which can be relied upon with certainty for its abolition. These causes may be reduced to two classes; *such as make the system undesirable in point of interest; and such as make it intolerable to the conscience.*

Slavery has the causes of abolition within itself. It is inherently weak, and, unless supported by foreign power, must die. Confined within given limits, and receiving no accession from abroad, it must become extinct by a natural process. For, as a system of labor, it impoverishes the soil, while it imposes upon the master the burden of supporting the increasing multitude, without the means of doing it, till at length it compels him to leave them to themselves, and that makes a free man of the master and free laborers of the slaves. Then the energies of freedom will spring up, and the life of the nation revive from within. The only life which the slave system has, is infused into it from without. Hence it is that every new country whose unworked

soil is given up to slavery, is a lease and pledge of its continued existence; for, while it opens a new field for slave labor, it converts the old and worn-out regions into slave grounds, for raising the necessary slave laborers. Slavery is like a poor system of farming: it must have successively new soils to work upon, or it will die of inanition. We believe if the Virginia planter had had no new slave lands to settle upon, and if there had been no market for his slaves, he would gradually have given up the system, and that Virginia would now be tilled by freemen, as prosperous a state as there is in the Union. When we reflect upon what Virginia and Maryland might have become, with a naturally emancipated peasantry, had it not been for the extension of slave territory, we can not enough abhor the system which our country has followed, of giving up such extensive regions to slave labor. The annexation of Texas will prolong for generations the existence of slavery in the upper slaveholding states, so far as its abolition depends upon the cause we have been examining.

It will be said, perhaps, that the annexation will abolish it in those states in another way, by drawing off all the slave laborers. This seems to us too absurd to be answered. The supply of a market will always keep pace with the demand, and the worthy slave-breeder would probably remember that he is a poor calculator who sells off his whole stock.

But it will be said that independent Texas would have the same effect to perpetuate slavery. Why, then, we ask, are the sagacious statesmen of the South so anxious to annex it on the sole ground that, united with us, it will perpetuate slavery, but as an independent state would be imminently dangerous to the southern institution? Besides, as we have already shown, Texas

without us, by itself, is a very different thing from Texas with us, supported by our power.

But, another cause of the abolition of slavery is, *the conscience of the slaveholder himself*. The whole world is against slavery, and slaveholders hear with trembling the voice of God speaking to them through the moral sentiment of the world. The conscience of mankind, like an embodied spirit, is ever before them. It confronts them every where. It presses upon them; they feel it; they can not escape from it. It awakes their fears, and arouses their slumbering conscience. The statesmen of the South see it and fear it. Every movement of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie shows how much they fear it. It is the moral influence of the world that disturbs their fears, and they wish to place this nation on their side by some new positive act in favor of slavery. We have already pledged ourselves to it in the constitution. We have done it in various measures of government. But they are anxious for their safety. Like persons in a vast solitude, they are alarmed at silence, and want to hear our government speak aloud in terms to be heard over the world, and pledge itself anew to slavery. Disguise it as we may, the annexation of Texas by this people will be regarded by the slaveholders as a new consecration of the energies of this mighty republic to the maintenance of perpetual slavery. It will quiet many consciences. It will be like a thick and black cloud to keep off from them the light which would otherwise dawn upon them from the moral world. We will here repeat an opinion which we expressed in our last number, that if the slaveholding states are determined to make slavery perpetual, then their leading statesmen, such as Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie, have truly comprehended the means of doing it. May God, in

his mercy to a down-trodden race, bring good out of the presumptuous intent! These means are, *first*, to indoctrinate the people of the South into the belief that the slave system is a wise and righteous "political institution," and thus to fortify them against the voice of God in the heart of man; *secondly*, to raise up this nation as a barrier against the moral influence of the civilized world, and thus by the solemn example of a whole country disregarding such influence, to confirm the enforced creed of the righteousness of slavery, and of the hallucination of mankind upon the subject; and, *thirdly*, to provide new territory for the extension of slavery, in order to open new fields of labor, and to "operate," in the words of Mr. McDuffie, "as a safety-valve to let off the superabundant slave population from among us." The annexation of Texas will of course furnish the necessary territory. It will also pledge the nation to the cause of slavery, and in a way it has never been pledged before—it will pledge it after discussion—it will pledge it in the light of truth—it will pledge the people individually. And, finally, this new guaranty of the free states will give the desired quiet to the southern conscience.

We have thus examined the probable effect of annexation upon the slave system. We have endeavored to investigate the causes which this measure will bring into operation, and the principles of human nature to which it appeals, and from these to deduce the just conclusions. Demonstration is not to be expected, but we have the same kind of confidence in the result which we ever can have in reasoning from moral or political causes to their effects. We are willing to submit it to our readers, whether we have not shown highly probable grounds for believing that annexation will increase the number of slaves, and augment the internal slave trade, and furnish the

only means which slavery possesses for its perpetual support.

And here we might pause. We have made out our case. We have given reasons enough for every lover of freedom to oppose this iniquitous measure. But we will go farther, and prove that these advantages of slavery are ruinous to the country at large. We have appealed to humanity and benevolence; we will now appeal to patriotism.

We have seen that certain effects favorable to the existence and power of the slave system will follow from annexation. But these effects are themselves causes, which must produce other effects, not merely upon the slave states, but upon the whole nation. This brings us to the second inquiry which we originally proposed. For the purpose of this inquiry, these effects of annexation may be summed up in two,—*the increase of the political power of slavery; and the augmentation of its moral enormities.* The question is, what are the natural results of these two classes of effects, viewed as causes acting upon the whole country?

The increase of the *number of slaves* will increase in the same proportion the political power of the slave system in the *House of Representatives*, and the increase of the *number of slave states* the same power in the *Senate* of the Congress of the United States. Now it is to be observed that the slave system as a political power in our government, is an anomaly. Its action is peculiar to itself. Although it is one of the bodies which move around our Union as their center, it is one which creates more disturbance than all the other bodies together. We must, then, examine the general influence of this peculiar power upon the whole country.

This we will endeavor to do with candor and fairness. We wish to look at the case just as it is, unbiassed by our hostility to slavery itself.

We are one people, bound together by strong ties, and having the most powerful motives to remain so. The union of the people of these states under one general government, is the only ground of hope for permanent peace in this country, and the strongest pledge of the establishment of civil liberty among mankind. We hold, then, that the constitution of government under which we are united as one people, is to be preserved and obeyed in all its parts. We believe it to be a moral duty for every citizen to observe in the spirit and letter, those conditions on the subject of slavery with which the union was founded. We utterly repudiate any technical, hair-splitting construction of those parts of our constitution. Let them have their full meaning. Our forefathers entered into the compact of union in good faith; we will maintain it in good faith. We do indeed believe that the slave system is a moral wrong and a great political evil. But we do not, therefore, hold it to be wrong to maintain our federal constitution with its guaranty of slavery. We do, indeed, believe that the conviction of the moral wrong of slavery is settling deeper and deeper in the minds of men; but we see nothing which leads us to fear serious danger to our constitution, so long as slavery is kept within constitutional bounds. But, while we thus state our confidence in the fidelity of the non-slaveholding portion of the people to the whole constitution, we can not blind our eyes to the fact, that if there is danger any where to our union as one people, the slave system is the chief source of it.

The slave system is a bond of united political action, which has no corresponding, counterbalancing force in the free states. There is not one single interest in the free states which can break up party divisions, and unite the people as one man; whereas in the slave states

there always have been some interests growing out of slavery, which have moved the community in one mass, and there always will be at least one such interest, namely, the preservation of the system itself. There is not a Northern or Eastern interest peculiar and distinct from the interests of the whole country, nor a Northern or Eastern party distinct from the parties which divide the whole country. But there is a slaveholding interest, and a slaveholding people, for we can hardly call it, party. Here, then, is a power of political action, arising out of the very system of slavery, which, in the hands of Southern statesmen, controls almost every other power of the government. We do not complain of it—we abide by the bond. We do not view its frequent exercise as indicating any peculiar selfishness in the Southern states. Far be it from us to say that we should not make the same use of it. We merely describe the fact, calmly, impartially. We would as soon trust them with this power as any portion of the people, and we believe that they exercise it with as little reference to mere personal ambition as any other statesmen would do. But the truth is, they will always have plausible grounds for employing it, not for the sake of the individual, but of the state—not for the interests of a party, but for their very existence. The dangers which threaten slavery, will always furnish occasions for this sort of action, and they will increase rather than diminish, with the increased hostility to slavery. The South must oppose the right of petition, for all their interests are staked upon the issue. The South must control the appointments of the Supreme Court of the country, for there is her security for the maintenance of her rights. The South must furnish the ministers to foreign courts, for the civilized world is against slavery, and she must have her friends abroad.

Nor can we say that Southern statesmen have not some plausible grounds for this. They doubtless have occasion for watchfulness, if they are determined to maintain for ever their slave system. At any rate, it is perfectly natural—it is what we are to expect of human nature—for them to use the power they have in their own behalf. We make no accusation—we take human nature as it is. It is what man will always do. It is on this very ground that we contend that this political action will always exist; and the result will be, it will give to the minority a predominance in the measures of government and in the appointment to important stations.

But while it is natural for the South to use the advantages they have, it is equally natural for others to be jealous of it. There is no principle of human nature more sure in its operation, than that which revolts at what is felt to be a tyrannical exercise of power. Now, whatever may be the excuse for it, the political action of the slave system is tyrannical. It is tyranny to exclude men of talents from honorable stations merely on the ground of their residence being above a given line of latitude. It is the worst kind of tyranny—tyranny over opinions, and opinions sanctioned by the world. Aspiring men, who are thus kept down, feel it. Their friends feel it; and as the free states increase in power, it will be felt more and more. Here is a source of rankling jealousies, of bitter animosities, of growing hostility between different portions of the country. Here, then, are real causes founded in human nature, which make the political action of slavery dangerous to our Union. Shall we then strengthen that power? But here we are brought to a serious subject, the dissolution of the Union. We have no sympathy with those who threaten this awful calamity, if Texas is annexed to

this country. We believe it will long survive the annexation. We have nothing ever to fear, in our opinion, from open threats of disruption. The Rhett's and Quattlebums, if there is a veritable Quattlebum, may explode all their ammunition, and the Union be as firm as ever. We repeat not here the threats which have been made by some individuals at the North, but we describe existing causes which have a tendency to make the people dissatisfied with the Union. These causes are the more dangerous, because they are not violent in their action. They are like a hidden disease, which corrupts the source of life. If this Union perishes, it will be dissolved, not broken—undermined, not overthrown. We ask, then, if there is any wisdom in giving increased energy to the only dangerous element in our government? Let the slave system have all the power which the constitution gives it, but no more.

It is worthy of observation, that of all the causes which were predicted as dangerous to the Union, slavery is the only one, the dangers from which have not been lessened. These have increased. They will go on to increase, and it will require all the forbearance and candor and patriotism in the land to defend our government from them. Let us not, then, augment our difficulties. Let us with a fair spirit, cherish our Union as it now is. We are safe with it. We are satisfied with it. We love it. The annexation of Texas will only involve us in new difficulties, and inflict, it may be, a wound that can not be healed.

It only remains for us to inquire, what will be the effect upon the people of the free states, of the fact that this nation has knowingly, by the annexation of Texas, increased the moral enormities of slavery. The moral feeling of the people towards slavery, as a sin which exposes the nation that upholds it to

the just vengeance of God, is a fact which deserves and will soon demand the most careful consideration of our statesmen. It is folly to shut our eyes upon it. Call it enthusiasm—call it fanaticism, if you choose; it is still a fact, a principle of action, an element of power. With a large and increasing portion of the community, slavery is felt to be not only a sin, but a sin of peculiar turpitude. This conviction is no barren, theoretical speculation, but an earnest, practical belief. It is founded upon sound reasoning and an unperverted conscience. There is no reason to believe it will cease to exist so long as slavery exists. It will rather sink deeper into the hearts of men, and influence them more and more. It is not confined to the church of Christ; there is an honest, deeply founded, well principled hatred of slavery, among the friends of freedom in the civilized world. For our own part, we believe that this Union has yet to pass its severest trial—its justification before the tribunal of conscience as a question of morality. We speak not as having doubts ourselves, but we describe an undeniable state of things, which will at some not distant period require all the wisdom and strong sense of the great and good, unembarrassed by any new efforts to increase the energies of the slave system. Is it wise to multiply the difficulties which threaten us from this source?

Are not the proceedings of the last General Convention of the Methodist church, serious and important facts, demanding the most careful *political* consideration? Is not the state of things in other denominations worthy the attention of every lover of the Union? We find whole denominations dissolving all connection with slavery, and striving to avoid every thing which might seem to countenance it. Let it be observed, too, that this state of things has not been brought about

by the clergy,—it has sprung up of itself from the people. It would be presumptuous to predict what will be the political results of this state of things in the church. We can see its tendencies. The conscience which can not endure slavery in the church, will sometimes feel a twinge at slavery in the state. The principle which is strong enough to burst the bonds of church fellowship, may not be satisfied without at least testing the rightfulness of our political fellowship. We trust that no such trial awaits us; but is it wise to augment those moral evils, which will call this principle into action, if act it should?

But even if this should not be the result, is there not serious reason to fear the alienation in feeling of a large portion of the community from the government? Such men will not make a rebellion; they will not threaten to dissolve the Union; they will retire as it were from their own country, and cease to cherish it in their bosoms with holy love. Who would not tremble for that country, in which the best and most enlightened part of the nation has withdrawn from all participation in the affairs of government on the ground of conscience? How dreadful the thought, that all those who pray for our country, should do it in doubt and fear, whether their prayers may not be answered in judgment!

We have thus gone over the ground which we marked out. We feel that this nation approaches an important crisis. The question to be decided is not for ourselves alone, but for posterity,—not for a party, but for the whole country,—not for the country alone, but for mankind.

"The whole civilized world," said Mr. McDuffie in the speech which we have already referred to, "is laboring under a perfect hallucination on the subject of negro slavery as it exists in the United States." The whole civilized world

then, is against Mr. McDuffie and those who agree with him. What he holds to be right, the world of mankind which has been instructed in the truths of Christianity and purified in morals and intellect by the light of civilization, holds to be wrong. What he regards as a good condition of society, it regards as the worst possible state—a state at war with the natural rights of man, with human happiness and with the moral nature and the revealed law of love which God has given to our race. And the whole civilized world will hold, future ages will hold, the God of justice and mercy who has never taken part with the oppressor, we deem it not presumption to add, will hold any movement of this nation in behalf of perpetual slavery, should it be successful, to be a still more outrageous wrong. But for what else is Texas to be annexed to this country? Military defenses, commercial advantages, English interference, are mere after thoughts brought in to palliate the enormity of the evil and to furnish a pretext to the conscience which can not endure the unmitigated wickedness. President Tyler, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. McDuffie have all said that slave interests are the paramount interests to be secured by this measure. The annexation would never have been sought, had it not been supposed that Texas would open a new market for slaves, that Texas might give predominance to the slaveholding interests in the councils of the nation, and that Texas would raise up a barrier which the whole civilized world would in its hallucination assault in vain. This is what the southern originators and patrons of annexation call upon northern free-men to vote for, and they do it with the confession upon their lips that the whole civilized world will condemn the act. Shall we respond to the call? Shall we join with Mr. McDuffie and spurn the spontaneous feelings and the well settled opin-

ions of the best and most enlightened portion of mankind? The reverend clergy, who have been set apart to preach the everlasting gospel of good will on earth towards men, of every civilized nation and of every diversity of name, are opposed to the extension and perpetuation of slavery. The church of Christ, which has been redeemed from sin by his precious blood and instructed by the Holy Spirit in the great commandment of loving our neighbor as we love ourselves, is opposed to it. The wisest and most philanthropic statesmen of every civilized country, who have studied profoundly every state and condition of society, and the people at large, whose instinctive feelings and common-sense decisions rarely fail of being right, are opposed to it. The civilized world is unanimous here. Shall we pronounce all these to be under "a perfect hallucination," and bow down before Mr. McDuffie, and the South Carolina synod of moralists and statesmen as the only sane persons in the civilized world? But we thank the honorable senator for his confession. It has been substantially made before; it is now made on high authority. The civilized world is against slavery, and against every scheme to perpetuate it. Is not this enough to settle the question with every considerate freeman? Is there any known cause sufficient to warp the judgment and to mislead the conscience and pervert the instinctive feelings of mankind? But there are causes of self-interest and pride adequate to blind the vision of Mr. McDuffie and his friends, and make them mistake their own hallucination for the madness of all others. But "I am not mad most noble Festus," the civilized world can say, "but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." To us this universal decision of the most enlightened and virtuous portions of the world, seems to be a plain in-

dication of the will of God, and the attempt of slaveholders to perpetuate slavery like an interference with the designs of divine Providence.

Never was a greater responsibility placed upon any nation than is placed upon our own at the present crisis. Spain in the sixteenth century unconsciously encountered the heavy responsibility of introducing slaves into the New World, and there is nothing either in her past or present state which should make us emulous of her example. England trod in her footsteps and went beyond her in the traffick of human beings, and we ourselves alledged it as one of the causes of that war which cost her the fairest portion of her possessions, and if by a tardy repentance she has done what was in her power to repair the wrong, it was at immense expense and trouble. Shall we in the nineteenth century imitate the fatal example of Spain in the sixteenth, and commence at this day the career of spreading slavery over the whole southern part of North America where it has been abolished? That is the question now before the people of this country. Its decision rests with each individual voter. It is this which gives its peculiar characteristic to the present contest. It was the Spanish government and a few of its favorites that involved Spain in this guilt; it was the English government and the commercial community that aggravated the evil; but if we annex Texas to our country to perpetuate slavery there, it will be the *people of the country* who do it. If made, it will be the most extraordinary decision that ever was made in favor of slavery—a vote by a whole people in its behalf.

Upon every individual voter rests ultimately this decision. It is a case of conscience to each individual. Each freeman, as he drops his ballot into the box actually votes for the perpetuation of slavery or

against it. There is no dividing the responsibility. The majority can not apportion the guilt of supporting slavery equally among its members, so that each individual shall have but a small share. The enormous guilt of the whole rests upon each voter. The individual does not vote for it a little, and thus throw in his fraction to make up one vote, but if he were the sole arbiter he would decide the same. He has the heart to do the whole, and this is the reason that in voting to perpetuate slavery, his responsibility is the same as if his own vote should decide the question. It may be difficult in many cases to determine how far the voter is responsible for the measures of the party to which he belongs, but surely where a particular measure is directly brought before the people to be decided by their votes, each

voter is responsible for the entire result. What man would dare, against the wishes and opinions of the whole civilized world, *by his own act*, to spread American slavery over Texas and make it perpetual there? And yet a vote to annex Texas virtually does this.

It may be thought, perhaps, that we are taking a party stand. But we can not regard the question of Texas as involving any political principle upon which the two great parties are divided. We but follow the lead of some of the most distinguished writers of both parties. We view the subject as they do, that it has been made, without any necessity, a party measure, and it is on this ground, that we have concluded, after looking deliberately at the difficulties in the case, to speak out plainly our sentiments.

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN AS A GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED.

To roll a snowball and to grow an oak are not the same thing. Enlargement of volume is a result in both cases; but beyond this, they have nothing in common. In one, the result is wrought by an external force; in the other, by a vital force within. In one, the swelling bulk receives all that will adhere to it, snow, mud or gravel, as it may happen, forming a promiscuous conglomerate mass; in the other, the new matter is carefully selected, taken up internally, digested, assimilated, and built into an organic, vital whole. In the snowball, there is, at no time, any internal power of production or self-enlargement. Not one of the particles in its cold body can it quicken or fructify; whereas, in the tree there is a vital, self-active power, which can work, feed, and send out the extensions of growth, as long as it lives.

The same distinction holds in reference to every organic and vital being; it must have its increase by a law peculiar to vital beings, i. e. by its own internal activity and a development from within. Nor is this less true of the mind, or intellectual life, than of animal and vegetable natures. There is no true enlargement of the mind, no increase of intellectual stature, save that which is wrought in and through the internal activity of the mind itself. To be a receiver only of the world's knowledge, to pile up the treasures of libraries in the memory, to overlay the soul with borrowed ornaments, and crowd its capacity with borrowed opinions and arguments, is no better than to swell the body and shape it into proportion, by laying on muscles of cloth or of clay. The creative and mercurial energies of the soul itself must be called into action, the

man himself must grow. He must learn to think, to wrestle with difficulties; his inventive and critical powers must sharpen their action. What he receives, he must receive as by digestion, and build it into the body of his intellectual being, by a process of internal assimilation. Otherwise his soul will only lie entombed in its knowledge.

So also with piety or Christian character. It must be a growth. Its increase and beauty must be wrought by the activity of spiritual life. Fires will not burn it into the soul. Statutes and penalties will not force it. Self-tortures and penances will as little avail. Sacraments and formal observances will not of themselves accomplish more. Its being is its life as a spiritual creature of God, quickened by his light and warmed by his love. Its volume is in its exercise, its aims and objects, its internal struggles and conquests; by which it grows up into Him in whom it lives, showing first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear.

Thus far we have spoken only of those vital natures which are individual. But the same law holds in respect to society, at least in many of its forms. Society is vital and organic. The family, for example, is a living creature, an organic whole, having a power of unlimited increase in its own vital and prolific nature. A single family, proceeding thus from one parent stock, will suffice to people a nation,—nay, it has sufficed to people even the world itself. It is not like a foundling hospital, which is peopled from without by inmates gathered from the streets, and by no laws of production within its own nature; but it is one regular coherent growth, a vital organism, unfolding itself till it fills a nation or a world.

The same truth holds, with suitable modifications, in the civil state. The true increase of a nation is not that which is made by conquest and

plunder, but that which is the simple development of its vital and prolific resources. Two centuries ago, there came over to these western shores a few thousand men. These were the germ of a great nation here to arise and come into the public history of the world, possibly as a leading member. Potentially speaking, these men had in themselves, i. e. in their persons, their principles, their habits, and other resources, all that now is or is yet to be of power and greatness in our republic. They went to work with a degree of spirit and energy never before exhibited. Habits of virtuous and frugal industry were unfolded by a wise and careful training. Simplicity of manners, for the first time, appeared, not as a barbaric virtue, but as the proper fruit of simplicity in religion. The mental vigor, produced by the same causes, was yet further sharpened by the necessities of a new state of existence. Population multiplied, wealth increased, the forests fell away at the sound of their axes, the natives retired before the potent and prolific energy of Saxon life, as before the Great Spirit himself. Cities rose upon the shores, the waters whitened to the sun under the sails of commerce, the civil order unfolded itself, as it were naturally, from the germ that blossomed in the May Flower, and, behold, a great, wealthy, powerful and free nation stalks into history, with the tread of a giant, fastening the astonished gaze of the world,—all in the way of simple growth. We have made no conquests. We have only unfolded our original germ, the mustard seed of our first colonization. There is no other kind of national advancement which is legitimate or safe. The civil order must grow, as a creature of life, and unfold itself from within. If a nation will suddenly extend its boundaries and build up its splendor by conquest, as in the case of the Roman empire, or in the

subjugation of Mexico by Spain, how different is the spectacle. The elements of the civil order, being piled together by mere accretion, are without coherency or unity. The public life does not fill the public mass, and, without the organic power of life, it is ready to fall to pieces at the earliest moment. Wealth itself is poverty; power is weakness; breadth is dissipation; numbers, discontent and anarchy. A nation built by growth is as different from a nation built by conquest, as the tree that stands erect, filled with vital sap, covered with joyful verdure, and, when the winter comes, tossing its bare arms victoriously to the storm, from a pile of drift-wood which the floods have heaped upon the shore to rot and perish. Accordingly the very word *nation* implies a nascent order and growth. It is no such pile of ruins as the external accidents of force and conquest may construct; but it is a birth, the unfolding of a vital germ through population, industry, art, literature, law and religion.

These illustrations bring us to the church of God. They are offered with no other design than to show forth, in a clear, intelligible manner, and, as far as their analogy will go, to substantiate a great and momentous truth, in regard to the increase of the church and the spread of the gospel, of which the church is the embodiment. According to the opinion of Christ himself, the church is as a grain of mustard seed, and its future spread is to be as the growth of a tree. It is a creature whose vitality is spiritual life, and it can have its increase only by the same law which pertains in all organic living bodies, *i. e. by development from within, not by external accretion.* It must be not as the snowball, not as the foundling hospital, not as the empire hewn out by conquest, but as the tree rather, the family, the nation, growing by its own internal life.

There is no truth, which the church has, in all past times, been so prone to overlook, or in the neglect of which she has suffered so many and terrible disasters. In fact, almost all the desolations which have befallen the purity and success of the church, have been wrought by attempts to propagate religion and extend the reign of Christ, by forces and instruments that were really external to the church, and not by virtue of spiritual life in her own bosom. And if other desolations are hereafter to follow, as we have too much reason to fear, these also will flow from the same fountain of mischief. And therefore it becomes the church, now that she has undertaken in earnest to achieve the universal reign of the Redeemer, to inquire most carefully whether she is expecting to succeed by the vital power of her piety and by unfolding her own internal growth, or by the clumsy expedients of mechanism and by instruments that are carnal.

That we may have our eyes opened to the fearful dangers that beset the church, in her proneness to go after external means and instruments, let us glance a moment at some of the mischiefs she has suffered from this source.

First of all, she was seduced from her purity by an expectation of the splendid results to be secured by a union with philosophy. Christianity, the doctrine of Christ and him crucified, was true indeed,—a good and heavenly truth; but it was too naked and bald, too destitute of learning and philosophy, to command the respect of the world. And what might not be expected from a union of the Christian doctrine with the wisdom of the schools? Then it would be both true and wise together—both pious and profound; and the whole world would be obliged to accept it speedily. "We must give to the Greeks," says Clement, "who ask for that

wisdom which is in esteem among them, such things as they are accustomed to." Actuated by the same general design, the church was moved to interweave her doctrine with all the various schemes of philosophy current in the world. She went out unto the world, to borrow the world's wisdom, that so she might gain the world. One teacher led her into the embrace of Gnosticism. Another wove her a dress out of the shreds and patches of the Greek wisdom. The Alexandrian teachers toiled with incredible industry, to melt her doctrine into harmony with all the wisdom of all the schools of the world, promising thus to evolve, as the result, a scheme of universal truth. Nor is it to be denied that the church thus drew to her bosom many nominal converts. The snowball rolled up rapidly, and became a tumid mass, amid the applauses of courts and schools; till, at length, it was found that Christianity was perishing under the very means that were extending her nominal dominion. Interpretation was become a jingle of conceits, truth a bundle of metaphysical vagaries, and the church naught but a monstrous aggregation of scholastic rubbish, without spiritual life or unity—a conglomerate mass of dead and putrid members.

Next the church, as if she had no power to live in herself, courted the alliance and protection of the civil state. Princes and thrones became her patrons, parliaments the guardians of her orthodoxy, tithes and excises the resources of her existence, prisons and tortures and fires and chariots of war the instruments of her power. Here again, she spreads her empire, and enrolls nations as her disciples. Only it is proved in the end, that she herself has no existence save her name, no organic life of her own, no power, no purity, no fructifying element. The hand that molds her is not her own. The strength that maintains her is

external. If indeed she has become a great tree, there is yet no internal sap in her trunk; her branches are stuck on by civil enactments, her leaves made to adhere by the screws of torture, her flowers the garish, artificial ornaments of state formalities.

In connection too with these endeavors to find a power out of herself, whereby she might strengthen her dominion, the church has also courted an influence which is mechanical. We speak now of her endeavor to fortify the power of religion by forms. According to the true idea of Christ in the economy of the gospel, the church is to unfold herself outwards from the principle of spiritual life within. Forms reverse the order. They are resorted to as an extraneous power, which is to react on the religious spirit of the world, and build the church inward, as it were, from without. First the forms are established, set up as an outward shell; then the world is to be taken within this shell, to be wrought upon by the external influence by which it is invested. The church is thus to be built, not by a growth outward, but by virtue of instruments on the outside which are purely mechanical—bows, crosses, pictures, penances, vows, sacraments of a physical power, washings, and other carnal ordinances. Here again, as before, the effort is to make the church powerful, by virtue of something external to the church—by instruments as purely mechanical, as thumb-screws or prisons. The church in fact becomes a great ecclesiastical factory, running its thousand wheels to shape and polish and rub and grind the people into Christian disciples. The work is to begin on the outside, and it is expected to operate inward, and form, in this manner, a spiritual church of God. The result we know,—darkness instead of light, credulity instead of faith, penance instead of repent-

ance, superstition instead of piety, pride and bigotry instead of benevolence to man, the keeping of saints' days instead of the spirit of saints, triumphal pomps instead of spiritual liberty.

We see in this brief glance, how it is that the church has been trying in all ages to increase, not by internal growth, but by conquest and external accretion. She has gone after philosophy, after the civil and military power, after mechanical forms and instruments, after any thing and every thing external, by which she could hope to advance her dominion.

Nor is the reason difficult of discovery. How could she grow by the simple development of spiritual life, when spiritual life was extinct or nearly extinct in her bosom? How could the sap of the vine feed and extend the branches, when they themselves were not connected with the trunk? Man is naturally disinclined to faith, and therefore the church, as the life of God abates and the carnal spirit enters, is ever flying to the senses to seize upon external aids and instruments, and commence building on the outside. Nor is it any matter how spiritual are the doctrines and religious tests held by the church; we need only be sure that her piety wanes, to be also sure that, if she does any thing for the cause of her Master, she will do it in some work of mere outside industry. For she can not exert more of spiritual life than she has. The error may change its forms, but its mischievous presence must continue as long as the spiritual deficiency which creates it. Nay, she is the more exposed to this error, in proportion as she is more active for the truth without the spirit of action. Hence the necessity of a thorough intellectual conviction of the great truth we are now asserting—a necessity which is rather increased than mitigated, whenever she is engaged, as now,

in great enterprises to extend her dominion.

But it may be suspected that our doctrine is one which really cuts off all such enterprises, that if the church is to have her increase only by a vital growth or development, there is no longer any room for the employment of aggressive agencies. We must therefore go into some illustrations, to show the true meaning and exhibit the spirit of our doctrine.

Do we then maintain that the church is simply to stay within herself and grow? Is she never to go forth to them that are without, to make no converts, traverse no seas, go not near the temples of the idols? Is she to light her lamp, retire within her bushel, and stay there till the bushel itself takes fire from the intensity of the inward blaze, and the parts adjacent are illuminated by a spontaneous combustion that can not suppress itself? We need not be reminded that this was not the manner of the Apostles. As little need we be informed that it is the genius of Christianity itself to go about doing good. Nay, it is the genius of the trees also, that they go after foreign matter in the earth and air, by the reduction and assimilation of which, they fill out their volume and put forth their extensions. So far even vegetable growth is aggressive. When therefore, we maintain that the church has no legitimate increase, except by a vital growth from within, we do not say that she is to be inactive, or that she is never to act aggressively. We only say that all activity or aggression which exceeds the measure of spiritual life is fictitious and dangerous; that whatever attempt she puts forth without life or beyond the compass of her own piety, is really not put forth by the church but by a body external to the church. She is not to deceive herself by such efforts. They

are forced and spasmodical, like the galvanic grasp of a hand that is cut off from the body. But spiritual life is not restrained within local boundaries. Its only limit is its degree. It quickens activities that reach beyond the ocean, or across empires and continents, as easily and as naturally as those that range within parish limits, or within the disciple's own bosom. Whatsoever man or church is alive unto God, is alive unto all that God has made. In fact, nothing is necessary, nothing is now so much wanted to increase and energize the activity of the church in her aggressive plans, as more of spiritual life. Hear, O ye people of God—this is the language of our doctrine—think not that ye can do in the flesh what belongs to the spirit. The kingdom of Christ is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, how then will ye roll it onward with your hands. Quit all formal charities and efforts that outreach your love. As your first offering bring your heart to your Redeemer. If your work is holy, let your spirit be gracious. If it be a work of love, let love animate the work. Be no more alienated from the life of God. The life is more than meat, and the body than raiment.

Under the pretext that the church has no legitimate increase except by a law of growth, some have maintained, we believe, that our missionary expeditions are inconsistent with the true economy of the gospel. The church, they say, must grow so as to roll over her boundaries, and thus have her extension only as she acts by her virtues and her spirit on the neighborhood adjacent. But we must not imagine that the church has any boundaries. God has given her the world. All that Christ her divine Head reigns over and claims for his own domain, is hers also. She never goes abroad, except as loco-

motion is predicated of her members. Locally speaking, there is no external region into which she may sally after conquests. The world is all her own. She is every where at home in it, as a nation within its boundaries, and her only problem is to unfold her resources on her own proper soil, and, by the activity of her heavenly life, assimilate all that live to the person of her Redeemer. She is not a crusader because she endeavors to fill her own domain. The very endeavor, if actuated by spiritual life, is in the nature of growth.

At the same time, it must not be withheld, that the great law of Christian advancement we are asserting, is of a nature to suggest some uncomfortable, though we trust, salutary suspicions, in regard to our present movements for evangelizing the world. The church can not be too fully aware that this new era of missions portends some serious result. If it is begun and actuated by a true apostolic piety, it will triumph. This we verily believe, though in spite of many discouraging symptoms that fill us with uneasiness and profound anxiety. If it be otherwise, if the work is begun by a mere sally of impulse and prosecuted only as a dull mechanical labor, apart from any real union to God, and without any sober apprehension of its agreement with his heavenly designs, not only will it fall to nothing, but the churches engaged will either be prostrated or effectually revolutionized. The old vegetable, or rather mineral habit of the church, which preceded these efforts, is already broken up. Piety has now become more nearly, perhaps too nearly, synonymous with action. In the endeavors to persuade ourselves that we exist only for the accomplishment of benevolent works, we have at least learned to shape all our views of God and divine government by this principle. Theolo-

gical changes extensively imputed to other causes, have been really due, in the remoter sense, to a change in the practical habit of Christian life. If now our missionary enterprises fall to nothing, where will they leave us? We have swung our anchor, and the quiet narrow bay that lies sheltered between original sin and divine efficiency, headed by Mount Predestination, is already so far behind us that only the top of the said mountain is visible. We can lie there on deck basking in the sun no more—that day is over. Our practical and theological habits are already changed, and if changed by efforts that must fail because there is too little of spiritual life in them to suffer their success, what shall be the result? Some new era of darkness, doubtless, analogous to that which an alliance of the church with philosophy and the civil state and mechanical forms produced—a dark age of Protestantism. And what more appropriate or likely, than that our speculations concerning God's benevolence, separated by a failure of our plans from all vital benevolence in ourselves, should bring us to our theologic and moral level, in that sea of water-gruel philanthropy, sometimes called Universalism.

Furthermore, is it not an appalling fact, that while the church of God has been launching forth into undertakings so vast and holy, it has, at the same time, manifested so little corresponding growth in spirituality and faith in the Redeemer. How many of those who contribute to missions, and perhaps even bountifully, do it only as paying a church rental to the kingdom of heaven, without any earnest prayerful desire for the Redeemer's triumph. How few practically live for this object? In how few minds is the power of the world practically relaxed? In how many Christian bosoms has this work of mis-

sions lost all impulse, save that of mere engagement itself, and degenerated into flat formality? We have great societies on foot to prosecute and direct these undertakings. They were founded, we believe, in a spirit of faith. The new desire to propagate the gospel, in which they sprung, we believe was kindled from above. The blessing of God has visibly rested on their plans. But how manifest is it that these societies become mere dead machines outside of the church, unless they are filled and penetrated, through and through, by the life of the Christian body. A mere society engine fed by money, is as truly external to the church, as the Parliament of England or the Germanic Diet; and it is an instrument as irrelevant to the extension of the church, as any of the human expedients by which it has hitherto been corrupted. How often too, and how earnestly, do the conductors of these societies testify the anxiety they feel, lest the inconstancy experienced in the flow of their resources, may indicate the fact that they flow from no settled principle of love to the cause engaged in. Nor is it an auspicious sign, if the church, as we often hear, has reached her highest point or maximum, in the scale of her contributions. This apparent fact may be due to commercial causes. If not, the sign is a bad one. It indicates a want of spiritual life; for life will never suffer a stand. Its very instinct is growth and extension. To be stationary is to die.

Is there not also much of very idle declamation on the subject of the press? As if God would offer to man a mechanical engine for converting the world with the least possible expenditure of piety; or as if types of lead and sheets of paper may be the light of the world. The press is a new tongue given to the church. But if she talks more, she must for that reason live more;

for talk, without the life to give it power and unction, degenerates into empty noise and clatter. The press, therefore, in order not to be another external instrument, as mischievous as state patronage or the mechanical forms of prelacy, must be attended in the church by extraordinary gifts of holiness and self-denial, and worked, if we may so express it, by spiritual life. To hang any the least expectation on the press, as a substitute for piety, or a piety-saving machine, is an egregious delusion.

We offer these suggestions, not to create discouragement, but to show the scope and spirit of our doctrine. It is much that we find nothing wrong in our objects, or in the means devised for their attainment. They only cease to come within the principle of growth by a deficiency of vital piety and faith in God,—a deficiency that unmakes or vitiates every thing, even the sacrifices of God's altar. And is it not time for the church to receive this lesson, to assure herself in every member, that if she extends her domain, she must grow, and that if she grows she must live? Is it not time for the ministers of religion to preach despair and a curse to all dead charities,—to tell their flocks that this gift of power can not be bought with money, that the church is in jeopardy through her very efforts, and that all attempts to push her forward without piety or beyond it, must end in disaster?

Some persons may be apprehensive that the spirit of our doctrine of internal growth is adverse to all suitable efforts to secure the conversion of those who are without. Rather is it the only sound law of such efforts. If they may not be actuated by a vital Christian love, or if they expect to prevail by other influences than those of Christian truth, they ought to be withheld. No one can doubt that instruments of bribery or torture, to gain men to Christ, are external to the church,

and essentially spurious. There are other instruments that are not more to be commended. If a great scene must be compassed; if a preacher who is noted as having a wondrous faculty to convert men must be sent for as indispensable; if a mill of mechanism must be planned, it would not seem that the church has much to do with the contrivance in any way. So of all efforts to bring men to Christ by means and instruments not included in Christian truth and the persuasive power of holy living. So again if the whole attention of the church is bent to this one object of making conversions, and there is no endeavor to cherish them after they are made; if nothing is valued but conversions, and these are taken as the measure of all good; if revivals of religion are sought, not for the reviving of piety, but for the subjugation of the unbelievers; then is it clear, that the idea of growth is lost in the idea of conquest. It is not spiritual life that prompts such efforts; for, if it had its presence in them, it would also move the Christian body in its own inward experiences and struggles, and make it something to have graces and attainments of its own. Rather must we judge, in such cases, that the church wants some easier work than to grow herself unto God, and prefers to see a prodigious slaughter among them that are called sinners. Furthermore, in these scenes of mere conquest, there are commonly found too many signs of a ferocious and fanatical spirit, to suffer the conviction that spiritual life, with its holy calm, its peaceful elevation, its genial affections, actuates the movement. We seem to look not upon the burning bush where Jehovah dwells, but on a mere human conflagration, roasting and consuming all whom it reaches. Contrary to all this, when simple love to God is breathed out in love to men, and efforts to convert those without receive a strenu-

ous and persuasive character from the fervor of this Christian love, the object here is not conquest, but assimilation, which is itself a function of growth. Or, if we call it conquest, it is such only in that milder and more figurative sense, which consists with a true Christian zeal. This is that conflagration which reveals the true presence of God, which burns and consumes not.

Our doctrine of growth excludes all efforts to reform the world by the mere force of public opinion. How many Christian reformers, for the want, shall we say, of a living piety and a confidence in truth, fly to the help of public opinion, as a shorter method, and one that lies within their range. Public opinion is their argument; to array public opinion against the practices they combat, their chief hope, and the main effort of their industry. But if it were possible to make public opinion the law and sanction of virtue, how does it appear that an alliance of church and state is any more adverse to the purity of the Gospel, than an alliance of the church with public opinion, or a submission of the church and of God's laws to its patronage? And why may not the moral duties of life as well be enforced by the sword, as by public opinion? No instrument of moral reform surely can be more essentially external to the church, or foreign to its spirit, than the public opinion of the world. In the same view, all reliance on the progress of society as a ground of hope to the cause of Christ, is vicious and deceptive, except as God is supposed to be the directing law of society.

By these illustrations, the spirit of our principle is sufficiently displayed. It forbids all substitutes for piety, and all hope of success without or apart from piety. It requires every activity to proceed from within. It commands the church first of all to live,—de-

mands of every Christian, who will add strength to the cause of Christ in the world, that he contribute first of all a holy life. It declares that bustle can not save the world, represses all flippant zeal and forwardness, distinguishes the money giver from the Christian, and warns the church that she is about to perish by the magnitude of her schemes, if she can not sustain them by a proportional measure of holiness and faith in God.

But we need to see the power and the animating grandeur of our principle, as well as its spirit and its lines of application. When we say that the church is to have her extension by a law of growth, it is supposed that she has within herself certain prolific resources waiting for their development. It is with her as with a nation. As then we might show a foreigner the resources of future grandeur possessed by our republic, in our climate, our soil, our mines and forests, our rivers and ports, our constitutions and laws, our schools, the spirit of our people, the health and vigor of our stock; so, in like manner, we may lay open the resources of the church—the heavenly nation—and show its capacity to fill and sway the world.

To begin with those least spiritual, there is, in the church, we affirm, a much greater capacity to generate wealth, than there is in the world external to the church. True piety is itself a principle of industry and application to business. It subordinates, according to its measure, the love of show and all the tendencies to extravagance. It rules out those licentious passions that war with order and economy, and hurry so many thousands into profligacy. It excludes those vices which prey upon the health and substance of their victims. It moderates that exceeding haste to be rich, by which so many overreach

themselves, and even make shipwreck of their character. Piety is itself a basis of credit, and credit is capital. Transplant a Christian church into the wilderness, without money or resources, other than what they have in their own persons, and it will not be long before you shall see them in a condition of comfort, and displaying all the ordinary tokens of substantial opulence. A band of adventurers, thrown together in the same place, would soon be involved in scenes of violence and disorder, and, having no industry or laws to secure the rights and gains of industry, would probably perish. Nor is this a mere theoretical opinion, or one that we draw from our fancy. The history of our own New England yields the same lesson. Whence comes it, that upon her rocky and stubborn soil, under harsh and frowning skies, we behold so much of high prosperity and substantial wealth—so much of physical well-being and ornament? The fact is attributed, by some, to our sharpness and parsimony. But the real sharpness of which we hear is in the church of God, which has cast the habits of our people, made them patient in their industry, given them character and credit, cut off profligacy and profusion, sent up its warmth into the frigid skies, and won from Him who is throned above them, smiles of plenty, more genial than our niggardly climate seemed to offer. And, as to the parsimony, it is enough to ask, in what part of the world only equal in ability so much is given, with so free a spirit, to every rational object of public beneficence and Christian charity? There are then mines in the church of God, that can never fail. A law of production is discovered, under her divine economy, which pertains no where else; and it is clearly seen that she can never want resources for any undertaking it is in her heart to attempt. The wealth of

the world runs towards her, by a fixed ordinance of heaven. Wealth too is power. So that she is set on high, by her piety, to work her beneficent will and extend her holy principles, by means of that which her principles have created, till she has both enriched and regenerated the world.

The same general principles and habits that secure a more rapid development of wealth, make it also sure, that more of personal talent will be unfolded in the church than out of it. Furthermore, Christian piety is the friend of mental liberty and of education. The very principles of religion, too, require every man to educate himself as long as he lives,—to make his ten talents twenty, his five ten. He can not discharge himself to Christ, except as he multiplies his abilities. It will also be found, that Christian families abound with influences specially favorable to the awakening of the intellectual principle in childhood. Religion itself is thoughtful. It carries the child's mind over directly to unknown worlds, fills the understanding with the sublimest questions, and sends the imagination abroad to occupy itself where angels' wings would tire. The child of a Christian family is thus unsensed, at the earliest moment, and put into mental action; this, too, under the healthy and genial influence of Christian principle. Nor should we omit to notice how the soul of every disciple is, of necessity, exalted and empowered by union to God. There he begins to partake the elevation of an angelic nature. All that is neglectful, low, passionate and brutish, in his make, is refined away. His judgment is clarified, his reason put in harmony with truth, his emotions purified and increased in volume, his imagination fired by the objects of faith and hope. There is, in short, more of talent in a man, more capacity to think high thoughts and burn with

great emotions, simply for being brought unto God. Nor would it be difficult to show, by a comparison of Christendom with the other parts of the world, and the more spiritual parts of Christendom with those that are less, that the church, as a fact, has unfolded more of talent than the world external to it, and more in proportion to its spirituality. The church is God's university, and it lies in her foundation as a school of spiritual life, to energize all capacity and make her sons a talented and powerful race. And talent is the greatest of all merely human gifts. A great man has more of power over the world than a great army. He can march through obstacles, that no army can force. If then we find that the church of God has it in her nature to unfold double the talent unfolded without,—to produce, out of a given number of persons, a twofold proportion of able and great men, it requires no special power in arithmetic to make it clear, that she has such an advantage over the world, as to make her ultimate triumph certain.

We find a third resource of the church in the fact that she has, within herself, as a spiritual nation, a peculiar and distinct law of spiritual population. We verily believe that it is the plan of God, in the household covenant, to bring the law of family increase directly into the church, and make it also a law of spiritual increase. Though we are painfully aware, that the views of this covenant and of Christian education, current in the church, have no practical agreement with our own. Indeed, if we advance our subject by this head, we not only need to cite but to make the material of our argument, by first revolutionizing that unbelief or misbelief, through which, as it seems to us, the opinions of the church, in reference to Christian childhood, are so injuriously preoccupied. This we can not do, by any discussion

within our present compass. And, therefore, we will only state or suggest our views of the subject, leaving it to our readers to weigh our suggestions by themselves.

We reject the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, as held by Episcopalians; first, because it makes nothing of faith in the parents, thrusting them away by the interposition of sponsors, and assuming that the priest may take any child and translate him at once into the kingdom of heaven by his own act; secondly, because there is no evidence that any child is or can be spiritually regenerated, in the moment of baptism, and by virtue of that ordinance. In place of a doctrine so false and pernicious, we hold that children are, in a sense, included in the faith of their parents, partakers with them in their covenant, and brought into a peculiar relation to God, in virtue of it. On this ground, they receive a common seal of faith with them, in their baptism; and God, on his part, contemplates, in the rite, the fact that they are to grow up as Christians, or spiritually renewed persons. As to the precise time or manner in which they are to receive the germ of holy principle, nothing is affirmed. Only it is understood, that God includes their infant age in the womb of parental culture, and pledges himself to them and their parents, in such a way, as to offer the presumption, that they may grow up in love with all goodness, and remember no definite time when they became subjects of Christian principle. Christian education is then to conform to this view, and nothing is to be called Christian education which does not. As Baxter, who was long perplexed with suspicions, that his piety was only his education, because he could remember no time when he began to be exercised with right feeling, removed his difficulty by the happy discovery, "that education is an ordinary way for the conveyance of

God's grace, and ought no more to be set in opposition to the Spirit, than the preaching of the word."

We think it is no objection to this view, that the children of Christian families so often grow up in sin, and die in manifest impenitence. For it is nothing new that Christians fail of their duty and cast away their privilege. At the same time, we may safely enough indulge the suspicion, that a large share of those who seem to be renewed at a later period of life, only experience a resuscitation of that holy principle, which was planted in their childhood; for if a child only receives the law of the house as good and right, it is difficult to conceive that it does not involve the germ of a right character. The Moravians too have very nearly realized our doctrine. As many as nine out of ten in that most interesting church, we are assured, have no conception of a time when they entered on the Christian life. Besides, the practical disbelief of our doctrine is itself a good and sufficient reason why our Christian families do not realize its results. It vitiates the whole spirit and aim of their education. It leads them even to discourage every ingenuous effort of holy virtue in childhood. They take their own children to be aliens, even under the covenant,—train them up to be aliens, and even tell them that they can do nothing right or acceptable to God till after their hearts are changed; assuming that they are not and can not be, till after they have come to some advanced age. They are thus discouraged, and even taught to grow up in sin; which if they fail to do, it is because a bad education is not able to accomplish its legitimate results.

Nor is our view any infringement upon the doctrine of depravity, in whatsoever manner it may be held. It only declares that depravity is best rectified when it is weakest, and before it is stiffened into habit.

Neither does it infringe at all upon the doctrine, that spiritual agency is the operative cause of Christian piety. Whatsoever the parent does for his child, is to have its effect by a divine influence. And it is the pledge of this, which lies at the basis of the household covenant, and constitutes its power.

As little does it falsify the oft repeated text, which declares that all are not Israel who are of Israel. This declares a fact, and the fact is, alas! too true. Or, if it be supposed to speak of an electing purpose of God, God has no such purpose, irrespective of means and conditions; and the question is still open, whether parental misbelief and a failure of duty are not the reason why the offspring of Israel are aliens.

On the other hand, it is the express direction of God, that children should be trained up in the way that they should go,—not that they should be trained up in the wrong way, which afterwards they are to repent of and forsake. Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, not in evil and graceless impenitence. Faith too is to be an heirloom in the family, and descend upon the child; the faith that dwelt first in his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice, is last of all to be in him also.

This view, too, is the only one that gives household baptism any meaning, or any real place in the Christian system. We admit, in words, that baptism introduces the child to membership of some kind in the church; but we see no place for him there, any more than for a vegetable. We thus stand for a rite that is insignificant, or even absurd. Or if we call it a dedication of the child, the child is only dedicated to our own unbelief, not to the grace of God; for we do not really suppose, that the grace of God can have any thing to do with it, till after it is of an age to dedicate itself. Is it not more reasonable, to receive

the rite as a seal of faith, a token of spiritual renovation,—understanding that God has graciously included him in the covenant with us, given us the helm of his moral existence, authorized us thus to ask a rite for him before he is of an age to ask it for himself, and empowered us, by virtue of His own coöperation, so to guide him that when we give him over the helm, we shall give it to him as a Christian youth. This is Christian education,—not that Baptist scheme of individualism, which conceives it to be absurd for the parent to work any thing spiritual in his child's infancy, lest he should not believe for himself; which tells the church that after she has given existence, and the egg of immortality is produced, her motherly duty is, withholding incubation, to copy the instinct of the Nubian ostrich, and leave it hidden in the sand.

If too our view is false, or the current opinion is true, how miserable is the age of childhood! If it may not grow up in holy virtue,—if it must grow up in sin, till it comes to some definite age, before it is a candidate for repentance and a new life, then, during that interval, is it seen to lie under a doom more dismal and hapless than any other we are acquainted with in this world. Capable of sin—incapable of repentance! This too of an age most amiable and lovely and nearest to innocence! Might not the church better say, in her Savior's name, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," and clasp it to her arms.

If our views on this head are admitted,—if it is God's design in the household covenant, that the children shall grow up to be Christians, and this result may and ought to be realized, then, most clearly, is it seen that there is a law of spiritual population in the church, analogous to the law of physical population in states. This we verily believe, and we consider it to be one of the

mightiest elements of growth and power in the grand economy of the church; for it is demonstrable, that by virtue of this simple element of internal growth, the church of Christ would soon fill the world. As the Saxon race, when they came to these western shores, lived down the native inhabitants, and rolled the tide of population over them, so if the church were fulfilling the design of God in the household covenant, and training up the generations of her children in piety, she would, by this simple law of internal increase, and without a single conversion from without, overlive the world and make it her own. For it will be observed, that a large proportion of the world without are continually perishing by vice and extravagance, and, when they do not perish themselves, are entailing the effects of their profligacy on the diseased and half-endowed constitution of their families. This is not true in the families of the church. Habits of holy virtue too, as we have already shown, would secure the means of living in greater abundance, and thus make the Christian families, on the average, more vigorous and healthy. And thus, by a stronger law of increase, the church must, at some day more or less distant, overmultiply the world, and take possession of the whole planet. What but this is the promise of the covenant itself, "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heavens, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed?" The family of Abraham was identical with the church, and the promise is, that it shall over-populate and fill the world.

A fourth resource of the church, lies in her capacity to unfold more of character than the world without. We here speak of character, not in its most internal sense, or as related to God, but of character as a pow-

er over men, to influence their feeling and command their homage. Christian character, in this view of it, is that which by principle and worth and beauty of feeling in one man, approves itself to another, and becomes a controlling and assimilative power over him. It is no easy thing to beget, in minds not brought up in society, even a sense of character. The million live and die without once conceiving it. But no man, however dull or rude, can become a Christian without, at least, having some conception of character awakened. He must know himself and God, and himself as morally related to the moral goodness and excellence of God. He can not smite upon his breast, like the publican, without a painful discovery of himself to prompt it; nor, without so much as daring to lift his eyes to heaven, can he cry, with the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and not have felt, in some degree, the greatness and purity of God. Behold a vile, brutish person, bowed in tears, and trembling with inward horror, before the tremendous majesty and glory of God! Some elementary notion of character is there descending upon him, in that shuddering before Jehovah; it is the sense of character that makes him shudder. And how can a life be spent in holy communion with God, the infinitely perfect,—how modeled after Christ, the only perfect life ever displayed in humanity, without attaining to a nicer and more heavenly sense of character, and receiving its impress. The principles of religion too, truth, justice, rectitude, benevolence, are all such as need to lie at the basis of a good and great character. The feelings and manners of Christian piety, courtesy, gentleness, condescension, pity, gratitude, forgiveness, charity, are all such as can not be dispensed with, in the construction of a worthy and beautiful character. Then consider the whole dis-

cipline of a Christian life, as a perpetual exercise in character. No sooner does one become a disciple, than he is put upon it as a study, how to honor his calling, to be neither too much nor too little, to be just and yet merciful, to be charitable and yet judicious, when to resist enemies and when to suffer them, to be cheerful without being light, serious yet not morose, when to argue and when to be silent, when to forgive and when to bring to justice, when to feel and when to reason, to have high emotions and not be a framist, to hold independence without obstinacy, to believe against the jeers of the world without falling into credulity, to have high experiences without advertising closet transactions, to have a speech seasoned with salt yet clear of cant, to be united to God and not disunited from man. How can a disciple be drilled in such exercises, all his life long, without becoming more or less expert in discriminating character in himself and others?

The church then is to her disciples a perpetual school of character. We by no means affirm, that all who take the Christian name become examples of moral excellence and beauty. Many seem never to have a thought about character after they have become satisfied of their conversion. We say of such, when they die, perhaps, that in the judgment of charity they were Christians, and truly our charity covers a multitude of sins. At the same time, there are unfolded in the church innumerable examples of character from all the walks of life, such as can not be found elsewhere—examples which dignify eminence and power, cause obscurity to shine and make adversity smile—the gentle, the pure, the good, the upright, the firm, the heroic, the holy.

And how great a power is character! Out of God's own person and his truth, there is no other so mighty and persuasive. It is that

eloquence which man least knows how to resist. It provokes no resistance. Being itself only truth in the life, it suffers no answer. If the beholder turns away to escape the homage he feels, its image still goes with him, to reprove his evil deeds and call him every hour to God.

Truth is another of the resources of the church, a power that God has deposited in her bosom to be developed there. Having the Christian Scriptures, she may therefore boldly say, what is denied to all the schools of philosophy, that she has the truth of God. Hence it comes to pass that, while they are ever deceiving each other, and after their short day of splendor is over, retiring into oblivion, the church still holds her place, gathers new strength from every assault, and stands erect as the pillar and ground of the truth. The great masters of philosophy and champions of infidelity die, by turns, into glimmer and darkness; but Christ the Messiah is the sun of righteousness rolling up into noon and the fullness of day. Already has it been proved, by an experiment of eighteen hundred years, that the church's truth is invincible. It speaks to man, and its words have their own evidence in them. If reason reels away from its mysteries, reason yet returns dissatisfied without them. If human wisdom invents a better God, and a government more according to its mind, human wisdom is soon frozen by its own meager truth and returns to Christ for warmth. Such is the Christian truth, the virtues it teaches so excellent, the hopes it offers so definite and so consonant to human wants—it brings God so near and displays the divine feeling so attractively, it paints human character so truly and offers a remedy so adequate, that if spurned or rejected, it will yet be sought.

We do not say that all the points of Christian doctrines are settled,

or that nothing remains to be done to unfold their relations, and set them forth in the harmony of their reasons. Neither do we say that there is no disagreement about the essential truths of the Christian scheme. That were to maintain that its victory is already complete. We only say that God's everlasting truth is now in the bosom of the church. There is a process going on too, in the church, from age to age, whereby her views of the Christian plan are being filled up, rectified, and systematized in their reasons. She is instructing herself also, by her own lapses and apostasies. Almost all the possible errors she has invented and tried out. Those bold extravagances of human learning, now so prevalent, and by which so many are perhaps unduly frightened, are among the last and, we trust, not least fruitful efforts of aberration. Taken in the larger view, she is, in all these, only making her experiments to settle the truth, unmasking her artillery, drawing it forth into ranks and orders, and preparing by her lines of battle encircling the globe, to complete her warfare against unbelief, by a universal and sweeping defeat.

But the greatest of all resources possessed by the church, to be developed by growth, is drawn from her internal union with and participation of the divine nature—greater than either wealth, talent, internal population, character, or truth—greater than all together, and that, because it includes them all. The church of God is a habitation of the Spirit, the body itself of Christ, and so the fullness of him that filleth all in all. Let it not be deemed an irreverence, if we speak of a progressive development of this divine element in the church.

The piety of the church is itself such. The life of Christian piety is the life of God; its growth a development of that life. When the

holy life begins, in a renewed mind, whether infant or adult, it is only a capacity or seed of future growth; that growth but a fuller participation of the divine nature, in its power, goodness, and beauty. The same is true of the church in its collective capacity. The amount of her existence is measured, not by her numbers or the noise she makes, but by her participation of the life of God. According to her measure in this, is she clear in understanding, benevolent in emotion, self-denying in action, patient in suffering, powerful in example. Additions of grace are indispensable to all increments of power. A small root can not support a large tree. An army of spiritual invalids can not vanquish the world. Union to God is the soul and success of all good efforts. Without this, we only drag the church on painfully after us, as if it were an idol car, by the pull of many hands; and well is it if we do not drag it backwards, when we seem to ourselves to advance. But if we are filled with holy piety, and earnest practical love to the cause of salvation, then the church has liberty and inspiration, becomes itself a creature of life, like the wheels of Ezekiel, because the spirit of the living creatures is in it.

There is also another aspect to this growth of piety. Not only does the internal life of the tree extend its reach, but the outward bulk manifests the fact. The church in like manner is to the world's eye a development of God. Being the body of Christ, she is, in some sense, though not in the sense of Mr. Brownson and the Papists, a perpetual Christ in the earth—in the sense, we mean, not of her political organization, but of her practical or internal spirit. By this she becomes the light of the world, as her Savior was—a perpetual manifestation of the Spirit, or what is the same, of the divine nature. This too is the main source of her power over the

world. It is not because she runs to and fro, because she strives and cries, but because she lives a life above nature,—herein lies her capacity of impression. Without saying, 'this is God,' the world is moved as by the presence and power of God. Her Christ-like graces of love, purity, truth, and beneficence, are a divine atmosphere about her, and her atmosphere enters the breath and the blood, while her arguments only play about the head. To approach her is to be convinced of sin, righteousness, and a judgment to come. To be thus, in her Christian growth, a demonstration of the Spirit, to have the divine nature flowing out thus impalpably but really on the world, gives her an assimilative power in the nature of vitality. So that if she gains a convert, whether at home or in the ends of the earth, (for place is nothing,) it is not by external conquest but by virtue of her own internal life—the life of God.

Furthermore, there is, we apprehend, a certain fixed relation between those exertions of spiritual influence which are immediate, and those which flow mediately through the church; else why has not the Spirit left the church behind and poured itself, as a rushing mighty wind, into the bosom of the whole world in a day? There needed to be an objective influence, as well as one internal; else the subject of the Spirit would not know or guess to what his internal motions are attributable, and might deem them only nervous or hysteric effects, or possibly, if a heathen, the work of some enchanter or demon. But the objective influence of a holy life coupled with holy teachings from the church, starts the contemplative powers, occupies the knowing principle, explains the immediate influence and its object, offers to view in its own holy exercises the molds of exercises to be wrought, and, by its own assimilative and persuasive

sympathies gives to the new feeling its own heavenly type and form. If we are right in this view, if there is a fixed relation between the mediate and immediate influences of the Spirit, such that one measures the other, (and we could urge many additional reasons for the opinion,) then are we brought fairly out upon the sublime conclusion, that the growth or progress of Christian piety in the church, if it shall take place, offers the expectation of a correspondent progress in the development of those spiritual influences that are immediate. The mediate and immediate are both identical at the root. If therefore the church unfolds her piety as a divine life, which is one, the divine life will display its activity as much more potently and victoriously without, which is the other. And as the kingdom of heaven, which was first as a grain of mustard seed, advances in the last days towards the stature of a tree, the more it may advance; for the Holy Spirit will pour himself into the world, as much more intensely and profusely. Grant us, O God, that we may not disappoint ourselves of a hope so glorious, by attempts to extend thy church without that holy growth of piety on which our success depends. Pour thyself in thy fullness, and as a gale of purity, into our bosom. Expel all schemes that are not begun in Thee. Let there be good desires in us, that our works may be truly good. And that Thou mayest do thy will in the earth, do it in us perfectly.

We offer these thoughts to the public, not without having duly considered their import. We commend them to the special regard of all thoughtful Christians. Do we not give utterance to a great and salutary truth—one that ought to pre-empt over all Christian plans and efforts, one that is a necessary guard against all Christian dissipation, and one that is specially needed in this

day to stimulate that measure of piety which our undertakings presuppose and require? If what we have said throws a heavy shade of discouragement over all dead works and formal charities, can it be too heavy? At the same time, could we offer a truth that is more cheering to all that is worthy of encouragement?

It would be well if we might recur, in closing, to all the points presented in our enumeration of the resources of growth in the church, and rectify some deficiencies and errors that are frequently noticeable in regard to them. We hope we have left an impression that more piety, a closer and more practical union to God, is indispensable. If we might speak of the talents of the church, we would say, read the parable of the talents. It is the duty of every Christian, as he hopes to be accepted of his Judge, to take his mind out of the napkin, to double all his powers by cultivation,—a duty that is grievously neglected, and one most intimately connected with the triumph of the Gospel.

There is a great and lamentable deficiency of what we have called character. We have much to say (not too much) of the heart, the internal principle of religion, and the state of the disciple as related to God. But we either say too little, or what we say has far too little effect, of those charities, those duties of society, of good neighborhood and good citizenship, in which human life is spent,—the kind and graceful feelings, honesty, mercy, generosity,—every thing that is necessary to outward dignity and beauty,—in one word, character. Many Christians seem never to attain to a proper sense of character. Indeed the attainment is a somewhat difficult one, to those who have not been trained to it in their early education. The church suffers an immense loss of weight and influence from this source. Those who are

called Unitarian Christians, it will be observed, on the other hand, have much to say of character, and less of the distinguishing principle of piety, as internal. Nor is what they say without effect. If they encourage or leave room for the error of supposing that the substance of piety is made up of those individual acts, which are properly only so many manifestations of it, and not of internal principle as related to God, they do at least secure, in many cases, acts and manifestations that extort praise and respect. We have sometimes thought, that if a practical Unitarian and an orthodox disciple could be melted into one, they would make a Christian. This at least will do to illustrate our meaning. There needs to be more done for character—to produce a sense of character, what it is, what is necessary to it, and why it is necessary. A rude, graceless piety, a zeal that hurries by things that are of good report, is needlessly odious. If it be a well tempered, it is yet an awkward instrument, wherewith to convert the world. Should not the preachers of Christ have more to do with his external life, which is itself the model of Christian beauty and goodness? Might they not often instruct themselves as well as their people, by this model of character? If they had a nicer sense of character themselves, might it not add much to the dignity and power of their ministry, as well as to their personal acceptableness?—moderating austerity, softening hardness, expanding contractedness, making the unworldly spirit amiable, assisting them to be accessible with dignity, and dignified without distance, and preparing them to be pastors, not drivers of their flocks—or in failure of that, driven by them.

In regard to family training we have more to say. We have spoken of the immense resource, the fertile capacity of internal growth

possessed by the church in her children, if trained up in piety according to the intent of the household covenant. By the prevalent misconception of this covenant and of Christian education under it, we suffer manifold and grievous mischiefs. First of all we lose our children, which is too great a loss. Next, what is scarcely less deplorable, we pervert the style and habit of our piety.

One principal reason why we are so often deficient in character, or outward beauty, is, that piety begins so late in life, having thus to maintain a perpetual and unequal war with previous habit. If it was not true of Paul, it is yet too generally true, that one born out of due time will be found out of due time, more often than he should be afterwards—unequal, inconsistent with himself, acting the old man instead of the new. Having the old habit to war with, it is often too strong for him. To make a graceful and complete Christian character, it needs itself to be the habit of existence;—not a grape grafted on a bramble. And this, it will be seen, requires a Christian childhood in the subject. Having this, the gracious or supernatural character becomes itself more nearly natural, and possesses the peculiar charm of naturalness, which is necessary to the highest moral beauty.

It results also from our mistaken views of Christian training, that we fall into a notion of religion that is mechanical. We thrust our children out of the covenant first, and insist, in spite of it, that they shall grow up in the same spiritual state as if their father and mother were heathens. Then we go out, at least on certain occasions, to convert them back, as if they themselves were heathens. Our only idea of increase is of that which accrues by means of a certain abrupt technical experience. Led away thus from all thought of internal growth

in the church, efforts to secure conversions take an external character, which is not proper to them. Accretion displaces growth. The church is gathered as a foundling hospital, and lest it should not be so, its own children are reduced to foundlings. Immediate repentance proclaimed, insisted on and realized in an abrupt change, proper only to those who are indeed aliens and enemies, is the only hope or inlet of the church. We can not understand how the spiritual nation should grow and populate and become powerful within itself;—nothing will serve but the immediate annexation of Texas.

Piety becomes inconstant, and revivals of religion take an exaggerated character from the same causes. If all Christian success is measured by the count of technical conversions from without, then it follows that nothing is done when conversions cease to be counted. The harvest closes not with feasting but with famine. Despair cuts off Christian motive. The tide is spent, let us anchor during the ebb. It is well indeed to live very piously in the families, still there is nothing depending on it. The children will be good subjects enough for conversion without. The piety of the church is thus made to be desultory and irregular by system. The idea of conquest displaces the idea of growth. Whereas, if it were understood that Christian education, or training in the families, is to be itself a process of domestic conversion, that as a child weeps under a frown and smiles at the command of a smile, so spiritual influences may be streaming into his being from the handling of the nursery and the whole manner and temperament of the house, producing what will ever after be fundamental impressions of his being; then the hearth, the table, the society and affections of the house, would all feel the presence of a practical re-

ligious motive. The homes would be Christian homes, and life itself a stream of genial piety.

Here too is the greatest impediment to a true missionary spirit. The habit of conquest runs to dissipation and irregularity. It is as if a nation, forgetting its own internal resources, were scouring the seas, and trooping up and down the world, in pursuit of prize money and plunder, forsaking the loom and the plow, and all the regular growths of industry. Whereas, if the church were unfolding the riches of the covenant at her firesides and tables—if the children were identified with religion from the first, and grew up in a Christian love of man, the missionary spirit would not throw itself up in irregular jets, but would flow as a river. And so much is there in this, that we do not believe it possible to produce a steady, patient, practical spirit of missions, except through the education of childhood.

We ask then of every parent, that he will seriously review his impressions on this subject. Let him study the ductility of childhood to parental influence, and observe how easily religious impressions are excited, and all the prejudices of the soul turned on the side of religion. Let him try the conjecture, how far God has made, or will by his presence, make what is lovingly exhibited in his own life, communicable or translatable to the childish mind. Dropping the idea of a technical experience, as proper to older persons, let him see how far by the divine aid, really good and right dispositions toward God and man may be called into exercise. And if he has hitherto considered Christian education to be synonymous with lecturing and reproof, let him consider the text, *Fathers provoke not your children to wrath lest they be discouraged*. Let family religion be a domestic miniature of heaven, not a dull for-

mality. Let him be there, as the gardener among his opening flowers, expecting their fragrance and beauty, not that they will all be thistles—expecting it, because God hath promised, and the dews of his grace are perpetually felt.

But we must not leave our subject in words of reproof and correction. The truth we have endeavored to set forth is one of high promise to the church. To see its whole import at a glance, imagine the church of God to be a spiritual nation, founded or begun by a colony descended from the skies. It alights upon our globe as its chartered territory. Can this spiritual colony spread itself over the whole territory of the planet, and absorb all the human races in its dominion? You find that it can unfold more of wealth and talent, by far, than the present living races of inhabitants. It has within itself a stronger

law of population, as well as a mighty power to win over and assimilate the nations. Its people have more beauty and weight of character, to exalt their predominance. They have great truths for their armor of assault and defense, which the world can not match or parry, and the superior wisdom of which they must ultimately yield to. And what is more than all, they are found to be all partakers of the divine nature, which they have brought down with them to be unfolded in their history and make it powerful. Having in itself elements of power and precedence like these, not to believe that the heavenly colony will finally overspread and fill the world, is to deny causes their effects and pronounce a sentence of futility on the laws of nature themselves. God too has testified in regard to this branch of his planting—
THEY SHALL INHERIT THE LAND.

EPISCOPALIANISM IN MASSACHUSETTS.*

ON reading this document for the first time, we were at a loss what to make of it. On the one hand it has the characteristic signature of "a Catholic Layman," and is dated in due form on "the Festival of St. James, 1844." And yet it is hard to believe that a man could be so simple as to think that he could get anything but contempt for his "Holy Mother," by defending her in this way. Was it written by a "dissenter" in the way of pleasant irony? This could hardly be. A man who would be bright enough to conceive such a thought, could hardly display

so much "greenness" in the execution of it. We are forced to the conclusion, that it must in very deed be the production of some devoted Episcopalian of Massachusetts. As we have been somewhat in doubt as to what *is*, and *is to be* the type of Massachusetts 'churchmanship,' we suppose it should receive a moment's attention.

There is a going for the whole in this pamphlet which is very pleasant. The reader is left in no doubtful state as to what his author thinks of baptism, the eucharist, dissenters and his Holy Mother, as he so devoutly calls her. He calls things by their right names, and has the twofold merit of being consistent enough to take all the consequences of his system, and honest enough to avow them. He reminds us of a very

* A Letter to Professor Edwards A. Park, Bartlett Professor, Andover Theological Seminary, touching his late sermon before the Pastoral Association of Massachusetts. Boston: Charles Stimpson. 1844.

worthy Episcopalian of whom we have heard, as living in the valley of the Housatonic during and after the war of the Revolution. He was a staunch high churchman and as staunch a tory, and retained his reverence for the king, long after there had ceased to be any king over these colonies. He was a simple and harmless man, though none the less devout in his allegiance to church and throne. His brethren at the bar, used occasionally to test the strength of his principles of passive obedience by teasing questions. "Suppose my dear sir, that your dread sovereign, his majesty the king, should issue his royal mandate, duly signed and sealed, commanding and requiring that on the reception of the order, you should fall upon your knees before his representative the royal officer, and suffer him to take your head from your shoulders—what would you say to it?" "Impossible!" was the reply, "the supposition itself is dishonorable to the king's most excellent majesty." "But let us for a moment suppose the case, what would you reply?" "Why if the supposition is to be tolerated, of course I should say, Let his majesty's gracious will be done." Even so it is with our author. He talks and writes like a "John Bull in America," like some third or fourth rate English traveler, who sees no beauty in our scenery because it is not modeled after the grounds of the nearest lord of the manor, and dogmatizes of our manners because they are not after those of his provincial circle.

But to the letter. It is a running criticism on the sermon of Mr. P. in the order of its several heads. Of the first head, he says—"Under the first head of your discourse, I am arrested by your distinctions and differences, your limits and bounds for cleric and laic, and I have to confess that in listening to your words, as those of a *Congregationalist*, they sound strangely, and

scarce suffer interpretation." And why? Because according to Congregationalism any set of godly men may elect a pastor, and yet you Prof. Park "acknowledge and go on to demonstrate the unfitness of the very men who themselves are judges of the soundness of your doctrines and the correctness of your views of things, which are all-important—of soul-saving efficacy." Now what did Mr. P. say? Simply this, that the laity *are* competent to decide on the doctrinal truths of theology, but not on its philosophical theories. Our Layman quotes his very words—"that our private Christians are well disciplined in practical theology," "that they must not imagine that they are *as* competent to pronounce a decision on the philosophical theories as on the doctrinal truths of theology," and yet on the same page records before and after his strange conclusions. We acquit such a man entirely of "deliberate perversion." He can be capable only of "unconscious stupidity." We should think that there might be the very best of reasons why such a man should think and say, "There are many questions which our priests alone should deal with, and which should never be referred to the laity for jurisdiction. For my own part, I wish that I had been born in a better and happier age, when I might have left the questions so often forced upon us to those whose education and office entitles them to authority."

We pass the second head, on conditions of church fellowship. Here too there would be reason to rebuke disingenuousness were there not more manifest occasion to be patient with simplicity. Mr. P.'s words and reasoning both speak of fundamental truth as essential to fellowship. Layman reasons as if he had said the contrary; and what is more preposterous, sets his own church as the only reliable defender of the faith.

The third head is of unnecessary government in the church. Of this he says—"Your theory may serve for yourself, but your brethren have often practically felt the inconvenience of such a system of government, and have rued the want of one a little more 'suited to the necessities of the times,' more suited to the increase of reliance upon private opinion, and of the usurpations of ten-penny intellects, magnified in these days of self-glorification into acute thinkers, profound theologians." So again under the head of "simplicity in the mode of divine worship," he says, "For my own church, did I feel that she wanted a defense upon this point, I should appeal not to the host of writers within her pale, but to your own familiar friends and brethren, and point to the sly innovations and furtive *liturgettes* that they are endeavoring to introduce into their religious exercises." Who and where are these brethren? If there are such, Mr. Park's sermon may be as well fitted, and possibly may have been as much designed, to meet their case, as to inflict sarcasms on the Holy Mother of our Layman. To quote the opinion of such brethren, if such there are, against an argument so well fitted to rebuke them, is no very strong rejoinder.

On page 12, Layman waxes grave. "There is one passage which I regret exceedingly. I regret any thing that lessens my esteem for a fellow Christian—that increases the debit side of the awful account against poor humanity." "Repent, my dear sir, and pray for forgiveness for having spoken words so unworthy you, as professor in your institution—so derogatory to you as a Christian." And for what great sin? "I allude to your mention of the circumstance of the visit of sixty clergymen to Bishop Onderdonk, and their 'kneeling down in bodily presence' before him." And why is this a sin? Because it is false? Oh no, but be-

cause Mr. P. did not *also* say, when a man of his standing could not be ignorant, "that we of the church do at the end of every service kneel down and *receive the blessing of the priest!*" O, rare simplicity!

On page 15, notice is taken of the objection to the Episcopal services as not making "the doctrines of the Gospel prominent above every thing else." Mr. P. did not object thus to them, but that being stereotyped, general and heterogeneous, they must be equally suited to all doctrines, and therefore *especially* suited to no one above another. But what is Layman's answer to the charge as he understands it? "This seems a strange charge against a ritual that appeals oftener to Scripture than that of any other sect; that it embraces whole chapters of it in every science, besides embodying scriptural language and sentences, in every part of its liturgy." Then follows the enumeration of the order of daily morning service. But what has all this to do with doctrinal preaching or making the services to be full of one specific doctrine? We have heard sermons and prayers too that were very full of "Scripture," in which there was but very little doctrine; sermons and prayers, which reminded us of the punctuation of Mr. Dexter's Biography, in which all "the stops and marks," were printed at the end of the volume, that the readers might distribute for themselves. Under this head, the *doctrinal* merits of the liturgy, he quotes the testimony of two celebrated divines whom he has the grace to call John Calvin and Mr. Robert Hall, the last of whom he tells us "speaks very decidedly in favor of our admirable liturgy," but what their testimony has to do with the point in question, we are at a loss to see. But again he tells us in italics—"The churchman that follows the course of reading his Holy Mother has appointed him, reads the book of Psalms through every

month, the Old Testament through every year, the Gospels twice a year, the Epistles three times. And will you tell me that with this allowance 'prominence is not given to doctrine.'"

"Now for the Michaelmas, St. Stephen's days, &c. Do you object to celebrating the Fourth of July?" &c. "But alas! why should I talk thus to you, when we ourselves care as little for these things as you do? We kept last year two St. Marcus' days, (not of Arethusa,) and this year one St. George's day, (of Massachusetts,) because a proclamation of the governor of the commonwealth appointed these days to be kept; whilst the voice of the church, the governor of Christendom, is utterly disregarded, and some of our children do not even know what Lent is." The unlearned reader will doubtless be glad to be informed that saints thus enigmatically alluded to, we have at length discovered to be none other than Marcus Morton and George N. Briggs, "the lawful governors" of Massachusetts, and that "the lawful governor of Christendom" has as yet succeeded in reducing to her allegiance but about a score of thousands of the citizens of the Bay State.

Our author is very hard upon the church architecture of this country, first upon that of the "Protestants," and then upon that of "the Reformed Catholics." A church of the one, as he represents the case, is "a large weather-boarded, white painted house," with seven windows on a side. "On the basement floor on one side is a fashionable hat store, on the other a confectionary. Rum, tobacco and black pepper, is stored in the cellar." A church of the other species is Gothic, with a granite front, but the sides are of brick. "To leave no doubt of the Gothicity of the edifice, most probably every style of arch ever used is introduced." "A drip-stone, of course, must be placed over each door and

window, but by way of novelty it may be upon the *inside*," &c. &c. "Such is the church in which we Catholics may have to worship." The private judgment of every reader will decide how well this corresponds with the facts. On the whole, we esteem it the most sensible passage in the pamphlet.

But mark the sublime conclusion. "I have taken my shoes from my feet to enter the Moslem's mosque; I have stood in a monolithic temple of India, and gazed upon the colossal beauty of the Hindoo Trimurti; amidst a thousand Chinese, I have breathed the incense offered at the dazzling shrine of Fo; I have seen pious Armenians in a land of heathenism, gathering around the fragments of their once pure faith, and amidst the worship of a hundred idols chaunting forth the praises of the one true God. Wherever I have been, amongst civilized or savage, I have found the temple dedicated to the worship of God inviolably sacred to it alone," &c. Mark you, dear reader, the astounding fact contained in these words. Catholic Layman is a traveled gentleman; yes, he *has* traveled.

It will be remembered that Prof. Park, in his sermon, dreamed a dream. As it was somewhat ominous, Layman too has tried to dream. Inasmuch as we gave our readers the first dream, it is no more than fair that we should give them the other also.

"By day and by night I have ever before me the holy catholic church. Founded upon the Rock of Ages, she rears her awful form, crested with the moss and mould of eighteen centuries. In earnest piety each massive block was hewn by chosen apostles of old; a martyr's blood cements each firm-knit seam. Unnumbered saints, with prayerful hearts, but oft with aching limbs and bleeding hands, have built her mighty walls and piled her solid buttresses. Her tapering pinnacles, stretching heavenward, proclaim the Christian's hope, the Christian's aim. Her lofty spire, raised like a warning finger to the guilty world, holds on high the symbol of that death by which we all

live, that the fainting wanderer on the waste of worldly life may see it from afar, and catch new hope from its gleam, remembering that as freely as that cross is given to the winds of heaven, so freely is rest offered in the sanctuary below to all who 'travail and are heavy-laden.' *Within her ever-open portal stands a laver, whose heaven-blessed waters can cleanse the foulest stain that mankind ever bore. Myriads, through ages past, have assembled beneath her wide-spread roof; all humanity may have refuge within her courts. Along her solemn aisles, the litanies of nations roll unceasingly, and from her spacious choir a countless sainthood chaunts its eucharistic hymn. On her altar lies a bloodless sacrifice, and in mystic form upon the patten and in the chalice, for our soul's meat and drink, she offers that body that for us once hung upon the cursed tree, and that blood that, to wash our sins, flowed from a Savior's wounded side.* Again, the Shekinah is on earth, and from her chancel pours its bright effulgence, whilst ever and anon, through the vast pile, with trumpet's tone, the Holy Spirit's voice proclaims, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your Lord.' 'Ho, every one that thirsteth!'" &c.

This is enough to show that our author has had his brains a little turned with the Oxford theology. He has certainly some Oxford books in his library, and they have wrought upon him the same effect which the reading of books of chivalry did on "the knights of the rueful countenance." We recommend to his female relations to look into the matter. His mother or sister—a wife is out of the question—would do well to toss out of the window every book printed at Oxford which they find in his chamber.

Is this the Episcopalianism of Massachusetts? Our friends who live near Boston sometimes tell us that it is a token of great simplicity in us to suppose, that the Episcopal sect with them is the same thing that it is in Connecticut; they even insist that there is no Puseyism in it at all. We have never been convinced by their testimony. We

more than suspect that the simplicity is on their side. Undoubtedly it is very much for the interest of that sect just now, in Massachusetts, to represent itself as exceedingly evangelical. And if the pastors of Puritan churches, and theological professors in orthodox seminaries, will testify to the correctness of such a representation, and will at the same time talk mournfully about the "defects" of the Congregational system, it is very possible that Episcopalianism in Massachusetts may become strong enough to show the same aspect there which it shows in the city of New York. This pamphlet may perhaps be a fairer specimen of Massachusetts Episcopalianism than some readers in their simplicity might suppose. This Catholic Layman is evidently a weak vessel, and therefore a leaky one. He writes frankly and consistently, and with no apparent suspicion that his views differ in the least from those of the clergy who have been and are his teachers. And yet the system of religion which this pamphlet betrays, as held by its author, is not a jot more evangelical, not a hair's breadth nearer to the system which Paul and Peter preached by inspiration, than that held by the New York Churchman. Is this the Episcopalian religion in Massachusetts?

We hope that Bishop Eastburn or the standing committee of the diocese will settle this question, and if the Episcopal authority is not stringent enough to send Catholic Layman out of the diocese, that he be kindly advised that his zeal would do the church better service under the Lord Bishop of New Jersey, or the hero of the New York Convention of '43. At all events, let us know what is the type of Episcopalianism in the Bay State.

THE PHILADELPHIA RIOTS.

WE are sorry to have such abundant materials for another article under this head. Scarcely had we chronicled the events of the "three days" in May, before the southern section of Philadelphia became the scene of disturbances far more appalling in their character and results, than those which had already filled the public mind with astonishment and grief. After the Kensington riots had been quelled, the belief was entertained that the reign of anarchy was over, and that the law, once prostrate, had risen to assert its power, and to preserve the peace and safety of the community against any combination of wicked men. Still there were anxious forebodings in many minds, of worse evils yet to come. It was felt that the tumult had subsided only on the removal of the exciting cause, and not at the bidding of a power which had but to awake from its slumbers to make the winds and waves obey it. It was felt that the same discordant elements still existed, and that occasions would not be wanting to bring them again into conflict. It was seen too, that the law having "aggravated its voice," and shook its mane, did not mean to "play the lion" very long, or to be too rough with those who had fallen in its power. These forebodings therefore were not without cause.

Arrangements were made by the Native American party, for the celebration of the fourth of July on a magnificent scale. When the day arrived, an imposing procession of thousands with music and banners with various devices illustrating the principles of the party, not excepting the *tattered flag*, paraded through the principal streets of the city and districts, to a place selected in the suburbs for a rural festival. They

even passed by the scene of the late riots, the band playing the solemn march for the dead, and the vast body moving in measured cadence to the muffled drum. All this was done without molestation from any quarter,—partly because the movement was conducted on the principle of total abstinence; partly because the numbers in the "Native American" ranks overawed even the Irish bullies of Kensington; and partly because the police had taken extraordinary precautions to prevent an outbreak. Late at night indeed, when the festivities were over, a band of ruffians attacked a few individuals who were left upon the ground to guard the tents and furniture; but there was no evidence that these were Irishmen, and the affair though it produced some excitement, led to no serious results. The citizens of Philadelphia were beginning to rejoice that a great crisis had been passed in safety.

Meanwhile a Romish priest was secretly plotting mischief, or at least incautiously laying the train for another explosion. By referring to the plan of Philadelphia on p. 471, the reader will observe a district marked S, beginning at South street, and extending down along the bank of the Delaware. This district, called Southwark, is without the limits of the city proper, and is under the jurisdiction of the sheriff of the county and a local board of aldermen. It is two or three miles distant from Kensington. The Navy Yard is within this district. It is compactly built, and inhabited to a considerable extent by the lower classes of population; and it has often been the theatre of popular tumults. In Queen street in this district, between Second and

Third streets, stands a Roman Catholic church, known as the church of St. Philip de Neri. The priest of this church, a Mr. Dunn, under pretext of having received an anonymous letter threatening the destruction of the building, caused several stands of arms to be carried into it for its defense. These muskets were obtained in part from the State Arsenal, with the consent of Governor Porter, his Excellency thus preparing the way for a second visit to Philadelphia in the capacity of commander-in-chief. How the chief magistrate of a great commonwealth, who from his position might be presumed to have at least an ordinary degree of prudence and foresight, after having been called in person to quell a riot occasioned by the brutal assault of Irishmen upon American citizens, could furnish those Irishmen with deadly weapons to be used in future conflicts, no one unaccustomed to the obliquities of Governor Porter's administration could possibly understand. It is said that a military company was organized for the express purpose of guarding St. Philip's church, of which a brother of the priest, as yet *unnaturalized*, was chosen captain! The arming of a church in the midst of a dense population, in open day, when no danger was apparent, produced of course a very general solicitude as to its design. It was an impolitic, if not an illegal act. The common law indeed allows every man to defend his property, person or habitation to the last extremity, against a felonious assault. This right of defense necessarily involves the right of making suitable preparations for defense. Judge King (in his charge to the grand jury in the Court of Quarter Sessions, September 2d) extends this right of defense to "corporations and other lawful associations of citizens." But this right, as we understand the common law, is guaranteed only in extreme ca-

ses, where it is plainly necessary to resort to it. Did any necessity exist for converting St. Philip's church into a fort? Was there any commotion in the neighborhood threatening the building with destruction? Was there any more reason for apprehending an assault upon it because priest Dunn received an anonymous letter to that effect, than there was for apprehending the assassination of John Hughes because some unknown individual threatened to take his life? Why was not St. Philip's church put under the protection of the civil authorities, if it needed protection at all? There can be no justification of the course adopted by the priest and his brother; it but provoked the assault they professed to fear. It has been affirmed that the arming of the church was a scheme to excite disturbance; but we can not take up with a mere conjecture. Whether designed to do so or not, it did excite a very general commotion in the vicinity. Numbers gathered around the building on the afternoon of Friday, July 5th, to inquire into the cause of a movement so strange. At evening the crowd had become so large, that violence was apprehended, and the sheriff was sent for to disperse them. After searching the church, he brought out a few muskets, which he delivered over to the authorities of Southwark, and having appointed a committee of citizens to guard the building, he exhorted the multitude to retire. They did not finally disperse, however, till the appearance of a military company upon the ground toward midnight. This company (the City Guards, Capt. Hill) took possession of the church, and continued on duty through the night. A second search of the church, made under their supervision, resulted in the discovery of several additional muskets and fowling pieces, some of which were heavily loaded, together with a keg of powder and a box of cartridges.

On Saturday, the crowd reassembled, and increased through the day, as the news of the last night's transactions spread over the city. The chief object of the multitude seemed to be to gratify curiosity, though many doubtless were bent upon disturbance. No violence occurred, however, during the day; but at evening, as some signs of turbulence became manifest, both the civil and military forces were increased, for the purpose of preserving order. After several vain attempts to disperse the assembly, Gen. Cadwallader, whose promptness and energy we have had occasion before to commend, gave the word to his troops to fire. But this was not done, till the greatest forbearance had been exercised, and every attempt to clear the thronged streets peaceably had failed, nor till the soldiers themselves had been subjected to repeated insults from the mob. The word, however, was not obeyed. Just as it was given, Mr. Charles Naylor, an ex-member of Congress, stepped forward, and exclaimed, "No, don't fire! don't fire!" Gen. Cadwallader immediately had Mr. Naylor arrested and confined under guard, in one of the basement rooms of the church. Mr. Naylor has published a letter, in which he attempts to justify this interference, on the ground that there was no necessity for firing, that the sheriff had not authorized it, and that Gen. Cadwallader was intoxicated. We can not enter into the merits of his defense. Gen. Cadwallader may have been intoxicated, or he may simply have been excited at the new and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed. We regret that he exhibited so much of that common vice of military men, profanity. Gen. Cadwallader may have transcended his powers; it may have been difficult for him to determine exactly what his powers were; he may even have manifested an overbearing spirit; or he

may simply have felt the necessity of strong and vigorous action, and have exhibited the decision which the occasion required. It would seem from Mr. Naylor's own admission, that the sheriff, to whom the general was subordinate, had sanctioned his determination to fire, by telling him to "fire low." Mr. Naylor claims that he, as one of the sheriff's posse, had equal authority with Gen. Cadwallader, and that, knowing the sheriff's will, he countermanded the general's order. But there is one feature of Mr. Naylor's defense which strikes us unfavorably; we mean the peculiar stress which he lays upon the danger to which the sheriff would have been exposed from the fire, as he had gone on before the troops with his civil posse, to endeavor to disperse the crowd. Mr. N. alludes to this circumstance several times with emphasis. He endeavors to show also how highly his services were appreciated by the sheriff, and by this sort of special pleading, to secure himself from odium. We hope the whole affair will have a strict legal investigation. As to the necessity for firing, we believe that it did then exist, and that if Gen. Cadwallader's order had been obeyed, the awful scenes of the succeeding night would not have transpired.

Mr. Naylor was confined in the church, a close prisoner, till Sabbath noon. The mob without became clamorous for his deliverance, and resolved to rescue him by force. For this purpose, they procured one or two pieces of cannon, which they loaded heavily with slugs, and pointed against the building. Not succeeding in making a breach with these, they constructed a rude battering-ram, with which they assailed the principal door of the church, and they would soon have forced it open, had not the officer in charge concluded to release Mr. Naylor from custody. The appearance of Mr. N. in front of the church was greeted

with loud and prolonged applause, and he was followed to his residence by thousands, who cheered him at every step. Mr. N. deprecates the violence of the mob, in seeking his deliverance, though he maintains that his confinement was unlawful, and attributes the excitement of the populace solely to the arbitrary proceedings of Gen. Cadwallader.—There is no doubt that in countermanding the order to fire, Mr. N. acted from the impulse of humane feeling at the moment, and not from any wish to interfere with the duties or authority of others; but it is plain that if the necessity for firing existed, so that Gen. Cadwallader was fairly authorized to give the command, such an interference was an act of presumption which deserved to be severely reprimanded. Neither Gen. Cadwallader nor the sheriff were on the ground when Mr. Naylor was released.

The mob were not satisfied with the deliverance of Mr. Naylor. It did not suit them, that a military force should be stationed in the church to overawe the sovereign people; especially as that force consisted in part of a company of Irish volunteers, the Hibernia Greens. After some parley it was agreed by those having charge of the building, that the Hibernia Greens should be dismissed and should march from the ground with their arms reversed and unprimed. Some collision took place between them and the mob, which resulted in the serious injury of several individuals on both sides. But when will a mob be satisfied? The more they gain, the more will they demand. Not content with the surrender of Mr. Naylor and the withdrawal of the soldiers, they now meditated the destruction of the church which they had solemnly promised to keep inviolate. By the firing of a cannon and the strokes of a heavy piece of timber, they made a slight breach in one of the

walls, through which great numbers entered the building. An attempt was soon made to set it on fire; but through the vigilance of a number of the Native American party, who volunteered to protect it, the property was saved from destruction. Intelligence of this outrage having been conveyed to head quarters, the first brigade of volunteers under Gen. Cadwallader, comprising some fifteen or twenty companies then on parade, was ordered to repair to the scene of tumult. Gen. Cadwallader arrived on the ground about 7 P. M., took possession of the church, and arranged the various artillery companies with their field-pieces so as to command the adjacent streets. As the alarm bells had been sounded, an immense concourse from all parts of the city and districts had been drawn together by curiosity, a much greater number probably than could have been assembled on any day but the Sabbath. Orders were given that Queen street should be cleared from Second to Third street, and military companies were posted at each of those streets to overawe the multitude. So large a mass, however, could not be moved by a word. Resistance was offered to the troops stationed at the corner of Second and Queen streets (the City Guards, Capt. Hill;) their guns were seized by the mob; their officers were severely injured by blows and missiles; their line was about to be broken when they discharged their muskets and killed or wounded seven or eight persons. This unexpected result greatly exasperated the hitherto fearless and triumphant mob. An eye-witness, who himself narrowly escaped a death wound from the first fire, informs us that it was succeeded by the most intense excitement—men running in all directions and calling for guns, and the most respectable citizens of Southwark joining in the cry for revenge. The citizen soldiery who

had been severely censured for not firing upon the mob in Kensington, were now regarded as assassins for having performed their painful duty in the last extremity. The rioters soon procured fire arms in great abundance, among which were two or three cannon taken from vessels lying at the wharves. With these they returned the fire of the soldiery, taking advantage of the increasing darkness, or secreting themselves in the neighboring houses or alleys. What a Sabbath was this, for this land of the Gospel! This civil war raged till after midnight, when it was terminated by the capture of the cannon from the rioters by a troop of cavalry. It was an awful night!—a night long to be remembered in Philadelphia. The first roar of the cannon was responded to by shrieks and groans from a thousand habitations. None knew on whom the murderous iron had executed its fatal commission. A husband, a father, a son, a brother, a friend, drawn thicker to witness the contest, might even now be weltering in his blood. Those residing near the scene fled precipitately from their dwellings, or took refuge in the cellars beneath them;—one man looking from his window was instantly killed! The heavy booming of artillery as it broke upon the stillness of the night, was the knell of death to many a distant household. The streets leading to the hospital were sprinkled with the blood of the wounded and dying. When we consider that this was not a battle with a foreign invader, nor between two classes of citizens, as in Kensington, but between the officers of the law and the population, we shall search in vain for a scene so appalling in the annals of our country.

It is with gratitude that we record the fact, that this terrible conflict resulted in the loss of but few lives. A declivity in the street caused the grape shot from the field pieces of

the artillery companies to range above the heads of the distant crowds, while the cannon of the rioters being poorly mounted, often missed its aim. A most cruel design on the part of the rioters was providentially defeated. Ropes were stretched across the street in front of their cannon to intercept the cavalry. These were not seen in the darkness and several horses were thrown down. The gun was pointed at this confused and helpless mass of men and horses, but “hung fire,” and was soon after seized by the troop.

The events of the night were of course the topic of anxious and excited conversation the next day. The tone of public opinion was at first unfavorable to the military. The proclamation of the sheriff, summoning “every able bodied citizen to aid in restoring the public peace,” was feebly responded to. It seemed for awhile that anarchy would engulph the entire population. The rioters met in open day as an organized body, and sent a deputation to the sheriff demanding the withdrawal of the troops from Southwark. The demand was not complied with *as made by them*, but upon the representation of the magistracy of the district, that they could preserve order, *on that condition*, the military were withdrawn. We fear that after all, this was an unfortunate compromise; we fear that the point has been fatally conceded to the inhabitants of Southwark, that riots within their district shall not be quelled by force of arms, however necessary. That district was in a state of *rebellion*; that rebellion was subdued by compromise, i. e. it was not subdued at all. We fear that Southwark will hereafter be the *rendezvous* of disorderly and factious spirits, not only from all parts of Philadelphia, but from neighboring cities, and will be the seat of anarchy and frequent civil war.

But though public sentiment was at first condemnatory of the military, as the circumstances in which they acted came to be better understood, a gradual reaction took place in their favor, and they were sustained by the great body of their fellow-citizens. The tardiness of many in properly appreciating the services of those who hazarded their lives for the support of law and order, is to our minds one of the most unfavorable features of this whole transaction. It is manifest that the soldiers performed their painful duty with extreme reluctance, and only for the public good. Shall they be reproached for that which entitles them to lasting honor?

Troops now came pouring in from all parts of the State, till they could be numbered by thousands. The Governor again took up his quarters in the city, which wore the appearance of a garrisoned town. The maneuvering of the troops by day, the relieving of the guard, the passing of the watchword by night, made Philadelphia appear more like Quebec or Montreal, than the staid city of Quakers. Under cover of this imposing force, several important arrests were made and general quiet was restored. In the first excitement, a messenger was even dispatched to the President to obtain the aid of United States troops, but as the request did not emanate from the Governor of the State, it was very properly refused. Had it been necessary however, the whole available force of the United States could have been brought in to suppress the insurrection. This shows us that the resources of government may be adequate to any emergency.

The Court of Quarter Sessions began the investigation of the Southwark riot or rebellion on the 2d of September. It remains for that tribunal to vindicate the outraged law by prompt and decided action.

If we seek for the cause of these melancholy disturbances, we find it

proximately in the arming of St. Philip's church. In the inflamed state of the public mind, this act was well fitted to provoke fresh deeds of violence. There was good reason to fear and to complain of the organization of a large number of Irish Catholics into a military company well furnished with arms, in view of the belligerent spirit exhibited by the same class in Kensington. Much indignation was aroused by the deception practiced by the priest during the searching of the church. This deception, it is said, was connived at by the sheriff; but this accusation rests partly on the testimony of that ubiquitous, *John Smith*, whom the police have most preposterously attempted to *identify* as one of the rioters. It is due to the sheriff to say, that he discharged the duties of his office much more promptly and impartially in Southwark than in Kensington.

Southwark was in a state of entire peacefulness during the Kensington riots. No disposition to molest the Catholics had been evinced in that district prior to the 5th of July. The Catholics brought these evils on themselves and the community.

Several ill-advised movements, or unfortunate occurrences (which could not perhaps have been foreseen) contributed to heighten the turbulence of the mob. For example. An *Irish* company were appointed to guard the church; the troops generally were summoned from the city proper, and as the political character of Southwark differs widely from that of the city, it was an additional cause of irritation, that the *aristocracy* of the latter had come to teach the democracy of the former to keep the laws, by sword and cannon. This feeling was heightened by the decided and perhaps arbitrary tone and proceedings of the Brigadier General. Then too, the first fire

of the soldiers unfortunately took effect on some popular leaders of the Native American party, who had rendered essential service in preserving the church from destruction through the day. But who could foresee or provide for these things?

Among the remoter causes of these disturbances we notice first, the recent triumph of the mob in Kensington and in the city proper, their successful resistance to the authorities, and the dilatory progress of justice against the offenders. Had the mob been fired upon in Kensington, had an example been promptly made of the leaders in the riot there, the Southwark rebellion would never have been known.

Still farther back, however, we find the cause of this rebellion—the worst feature of it—in erroneous views of the constitution of society, and the value of law. Law is looked upon by many as being opposed to freedom, instead of being its strength and stay. We must have government in order to be free, for there is no freedom in anarchy. Now the people of Southwark felt themselves aggrieved by the measures adopted by the civil authorities to preserve the peace. They preferred as the “sovereign people” to meet in mass and agree to keep the peace on their own terms. They attempted to dictate to the constituted guardians of the law. Their only duty was submission; their insubordination was rebellion; when persisted in against the supreme authority of the state, it was in every individual case no less a crime than *treason*. The principle assumed by them tends only to anarchy; it would subvert the foundations of society, and demonstrate to the world the impossibility of sustaining a republican government. Our constitutions, charters, laws, are the bulwarks of freedom against the waves of popular or party tumult. If the “people,” i. e. the majority

of to-day, may sweep away these ancient landmarks, bid defiance to the existing government, abolish law at their caprice, and on the ruins of experience, order, truth, justice, faith, erect their own rude and hasty structure, to be overthrown by the majority of to-morrow,—it were better to live under the iron rod of despotism than in such a chaos of conflicting elements. Yet the doctrine has been broached even in New England, not that the people in their sober judgment, expressed through the appropriate channel, may revise their constitution and laws, but that the uncertain, fluctuating majority, may at any time take the power in their own hands, and regardless of constitution or laws, administer the government to suit themselves. The advocacy of such a doctrine betrays an utter recklessness of moral obligation; a disregard of those solemn and sacred compacts, without which society would be a bedlam, and government a nullity. We must check this licentious spirit or it will prove our ruin.

The recent riots have aroused the citizens of Philadelphia to the necessity of strengthening their government. A thorough reformation has taken place in the police department. A complete civil and military organization exists, adequate it is hoped to the preservation of the peace in any emergency. Yet every such organization must be defective *till all the local governments are consolidated in one*. This needful reform we fear will always be defeated by sectional jealousies.

Whether there will be a repetition of these disgraceful riots we can not foresee. Now that it is known that a mob will be put down by force of arms, that blood has been seen to flow in the enforcement of the laws, we think that there is less danger of their occurrence than heretofore. The court now sitting in

judgment upon those implicated in the riots, can do much to inspire the populace with a salutary dread. Yet after all, we apprehend at no distant period, perhaps at the next general election, a bloody collision between the Native American party and the Irish Catholics. Meanwhile

we wait for further developments of divine Providence. We doubt not that God has some deep and wise design in these events; a design momentous in its bearings on the welfare of our country, and on the state and prospects of Romanism here and throughout the world.

PLUTARCH ON THE DELAY OF THE DEITY.*

PLUTARCH deserves to be counted among the best moral writers of antiquity. For this eminence he is indebted partly to his lively moral feelings and his habits of self-inspection, and partly to his learning, which brought him into acquaintance with the ethical writings of earlier philosophers, and supplied him with a vast mass of historical illustrations. He is far from being a very profound philosopher, nor is he a very exact historian. The rhetorical tendency is quite as apparent in his writings as the philosophical one; and if an anecdote can be made to play a good part, its accuracy is not very strictly inquired into. But on the other hand, he is always entertaining and instructive, more practical in the aim of his writings than most of the ancients, and excelled by few or none of them in a certain religiousness of mind. This trait of his character, and the age in which he lived, will explain his relations to philosophy. He was inclined to believe in the gods of his country, purified of course of those gross stains which the fables of the poets had attached to them. He lived before the orientaling tendency had given birth to the new Platonism, or rather at a time when the germs of the new system were beginning to appear at Alex-

andria. Hence though, as might be expected from his character, a Platonist substantially, he partakes in some degree of the spirit of the age, and stands between the founder of the academy and the superstitious transcendental philosophers of the second century after Christ.

The short treatise "on the delay of the Deity in punishing the wicked," is one of the most practically useful among the numerous works of Plutarch. It is an attempt to vindicate the ways of God to men—to show the reasons for a system of things under which, according to a Greek proverb, "the millstones of the gods grind slow, but grind fine." It opens as if in the midst of a discussion. An Epicurean had just left the company, after discharging his bolts at divine Providence, and had filled the minds of Plutarch's friends with perplexity and scepticism. The slowness with which divine justice strikes its victim, was the point where the objections against Providence were strongest and most distressing. Such delay, if the sufferer from other men's crimes is considered, only depresses him, and makes him feel that there is no power above, ready to take his part. An immediate vindication of his rights would keep him from being trampled upon in more than a single instance. But of what consolation or use is it to him, if, after a long time, nay, perhaps after his death, his oppressor is overtaken by

* Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked, with notes. By H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Seminary. Andover, 1844.

what may be the punishment of sins? Such delay it is that emboldens evil men in their career of guilt; for the fruit and advantage of wrongdoing is ripe, and lies before their feet, while punishment comes up slowly and far behind the enjoyment. And if the effect on the worker of evil himself is considered, such delay prevents the recognition of divine Providence. He disconnects his sin and suffering, on account of their separation in time, views what befalls him as calamity rather than as punishment, and thus receives no profit. How would a horse learn to correct a trick of stumbling, if the check or the stroke of the whip should be used long after the wrong step was made? So too the check upon wickedness, to be effectual, must be immediate; otherwise, that will be referred to chance which was due to divine foresight, and there will appear to be no evil attendant on transgression at all.

Plutarch sustains the part of defender of Providence against these objections. He begins with alledging the ignorance of men in divine things as an excuse for what may appear not sufficiently certain in his argument. If it is difficult for one who is not of the faculty to understand the measures of a physician, much more must it be for a mortal to affirm aught else of God, save that, knowing best the fit time of administering the medicine for iniquity, he uses punishment like a drug in different doses and at different times, according to his knowledge of the case.

After this argument from the weakness of the human intellect, Plutarch advances the main considerations upon his side of the question. And *first*, one chief object, says he, at which God aims in the arrangement of things, is to present his own actions as a pattern to men for their imitation. Were he to punish workers of evil at once,

he would of course make no mistake, or feel no regret; but how sadly would men go wrong, if, in imitating such conduct of the Deity, they should avenge themselves on the spot, without reflection or examination! It is to prevent this wild and savage violence of self-vindication, that, in the management of the world, a contrary course has been pursued. God is slow to punish, for one reason, among others, to make us forbearing,—to separate in us the feeling of being injured from the punishment of the injurer, by an interval of time. If examples of philosophical mildness in curbing the temper, when narrated, have an effect, how much more ought the example of God to establish the conviction in men's minds, that mildness and long-suffering are truly divine virtues!

Plutarch next vindicates the delay of divine justice, by considering the variety of characters among the wicked, and the opposite ends consequently to be reached by punishing them. Some are beyond the reach of cure and reformation: these are cut off, and hurried out of life. To others, who have sinned "from ignorance of good rather than preference of evil, he gives space to change. But if they persist in wrong-doing, he visits them with vengeance also; for he has no fear that, owing to his delay, they will escape from his hands." And with this it is to be taken in connexion how many changes of life there are. Even tyrants have left their first courses and become just rulers. Great minds, if they go wrong at all, are apt to go greatly wrong at first; but if, like the richest wild land, which bears the thickest underbrush, they are once reclaimed, they furnish the strongest soil for every virtue. And to this it should be added, that such men, by being spared, are often most serviceable to others. Sometimes this service consists in their being instruments

of wrath upon guilty nations, used by God to correct the vices of others, and then punished for their own. Sometimes their lives are needed by their country: their position or talents are such as to render them indispensable in securing liberty or opposing an armed enemy. And often this benefit is first rendered by their descendants, who would not have existed if the Deity had been quick to punish.

This delay again often enables the Deity to choose a time and way of punishing, which produces the greatest and most desirable impression. How striking a display of divine retribution, that Calippus, whose

—"horror-striking blade
Drawn in defiance of the gods, had laid
The noble Syracusan low in dust,"

should die by the same weapon, wielded too as he wielded it against Dion, by a pretended friend. History is full of such instances, which make themselves remembered by the divine *lex talionis* which they imply. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth, when the foot of the wicked is taken in the net which they hid.

All this is said on the supposition that there is delay in punishing the wicked. But in an important sense, and according to the truest way of looking at the thing, there is none. The wicked are punished as soon as they begin to do evil. Their suffering is not the follower, but the companion of their faults. As a malefactor bears his cross* upon his body to the place of execution, so evil "a skillful contriver of a miserable life" devises for itself and out of itself its instrument of vengeance, which the wicked man thus carries with him. We are like children who admire the kings on the stage in robes of gold tissue or purple, until they see them dying by the poniard or the flames.

But this outbreking of justice is not punishment, but only the last stroke of punishment. The wicked live in pain all their days. They suffer, "not after a long time, but during a long time, longer but not later punishment. Nor are they smitten when grown old, but grow old whilst smitten.* And all this while too they are in a prison from which they can not escape. As we should not say of a malefactor shut up for execution, that he is not punished until his head is cut off; so we should not say of them that all the fears and regrets and other painful emotions which they feel, are only precursors of their doom, but rather that they are part of that doom itself. Hence, if the soul ceased to be after death, it should be thought that those among the wicked who are speedily punished and cut off in the act of crime, are more kindly dealt with than those who are reserved for the slow and lingering torture which an evil life brings with it.

Such is the refutation of a part of the charges against the system of Providence. There is another remaining—that the sins of parents are visited upon their children. If the parent has already suffered his deserts, why exact the debt a second time from his posterity? If he has not, why spare the guilty, and put the innocent in his place? Such imputation has indeed been the practice of the Greek race, and has been sanctioned by the oracles of the gods; but its justice does not appear.

In reply to this charge, Plutarch observes, in the first place, that all feel pleasure and approbation when a man's good deeds redound to the advantage of his posterity. But if the consequences of meritorious actions can thus pass over from one

* This is one of the few allusions in the heathen writers to the custom of the criminal bearing his own cross.

* The greatest excellence of the Greek language, the variety and power of its participles, appears here in the original. οὐδὲ γηράσαντες ἐκλάσαντες ἄλλ' ἰγηράσαν κολαζόμενοι.

person to others connected with him, why may not those of bad actions? Again, this system of things ought not to excite greater wonder than we feel upon observing other remarkable powers and influences in nature, whose causes lie hid from us. It is no less strange that the plague flies from Ethiopia to Athens, than that a remote ancestor brings evils on his race. We are startled by intervals of time, by the lapse of generations, but not by distance of place, when sickness spreads itself from its fountain head to far countries.

But, besides this, there is a real unity in nations and races, which renders it proper that in regard to punishment they should be treated as wholes, and a running account of justice be kept up with them. You might with more reason deny the identity of a man, and say that he is one person in boyhood, another in youth, and a third in old age, than the unity of a nation, until at least that kind of society which constitutes the nation be dissolved. The changes of individuals, outward and inward, are much greater than those to which states are ordinarily subject. A state, then, must be treated as one, in a system of rewards and punishments, or else all things must be divested of reality, and an uncertain* flux take the place of stability and permanence. The same unity is, with even greater reason, asserted of a race. For the ancestor and descendant are not related to one another as the fabricant and his work: the offspring arises *out of*, not merely *by means of* the progenitor, and carries down a part of him

after he dies. If this is true, successive generations may be treated as one in a system of rewards, without impugning divine justice. And indeed, says Plutarch,—making his own certain incorrect Platonic views of the end of punishment,—if what is useful be just, and punishment be remedial, what is more just than to cure one part by the suffering of another, as when a physician opens a vein to cure the ophthalmia? What is more likely to deter a bad man from doing evil, than the dread of entailing calamity upon his posterity? Or what better discipline can there be for that posterity, than, when they have inherited the evil of their ancestor, to be sobered and amended by eating the fruit of the curse which he brought upon them. This inherited evil is often stemmed in its immanent state by the Deity, while we, who look at and punish what is obvious in actions, would wait until some manifestation of iniquity had done harm to the individual himself and to others. And if thus a person sprung of bad ancestors is reformed, the curse stops with him; he passes by a kind of adoption out of the family of sin, although not so entirely but that, if the qualities running through him break out again in crimes among his descendants, they may still feel the influence of a remote ancestor's transgression.

To enforce these views, Plutarch introduces, at the close of his discourse, after the manner of Plato, but without his elegance, an account of a reprobate who was stunned by a fall from a high place, and supposed to be dead, but who recovered about the time of his funeral. Meanwhile the man's soul passed into the invisible world, and saw the various conditions of the wicked, and the punishments which they there endure. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this mythical narrative, which was probably intended by Plutarch himself to set forth his views in an-

* Plutarch had not the light which irradiated the mind of the apostle of democracy, who thought that the forms of government ought not to be considered binding upon a people more than about a score of years, at which time the majority of those who framed the government would be extinct; thus making, as some one has well said, the life of a nation a few years shorter than that of a horse.

other form. We will only add, that of all transgressors, those who brought harm upon their posterity fared the worst. After enduring a term of punishment for their own crimes, they went through a second, for the ill they had handed down. As for the man himself who saw these things in his trance, like Peter Bell, he "forsook his crimes, renounced his folly," and "became a good and honest man."

Such is, in brief, Plutarch's vindication of divine justice, and it will be readily allowed to be about as good as one as a Christian divine could make. It is evident, however, that he was a heathen and an idolater, and probably knew less about Christianity than his contemporary Tacitus did about the Jews. His views appear to be simply such as must suggest themselves to a serious, reflecting mind, when the notions of Providence, justice, guilt and punishment, are once admitted. So true is it that the ways of God vindicate themselves to man, even in the darkness of heathenism, and render him without excuse if he quarrels with the system of things.

We have only space to add, that this treatise has been edited from the best text, and with a body of ju-

dicious explanatory notes by Prof. Hackett. As the style of Plutarch is full of allusions and somewhat involved, and the text after all faulty in passages, more than usual explanation was needed in preparing the treatise for the purposes of the student; and accordingly Mr. H. has applied himself laboriously and successfully to the task. The philological remarks show acquaintance with classical Greek, and with the best German helps in that department. Indeed it would seem that no where in our country are the German fountains earlier and more familiarly visited than at the Baptist Seminary at Newton. As the edition was intended especially for the benefit of theological students, the references are frequent to the Scriptures, both for the purpose of illustrating the opinions of Plutarch, and of explaining points of style and grammar. To such readers it will commend itself, and we ask a perusal of it also from disbelievers who read Greek, if there are any such: we ask them to take notice, as they read, that what they find fault with the Scriptures for, is received and defended by a heathen philosopher. If admitted by Jew and Gentile, is it not pretty likely to be true?

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Young Pastor's Guide, or Lectures on Pastoral Duties; by ENOCH POND, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor.

THIS is the work of one who is well known in the community, and who would never offer any thing to the public that would not be read with pleasure and profit. "The Young Pastor's Guide," will be interesting chiefly to that class of per-

sons for whom it is particularly designed, and to such it will be a useful companion.

The *object* of the author is to assist young clergymen to qualify themselves for the proper discharge of pastoral duties. A settled minister sustains to his people the two-fold relation of preacher and pastor. Both of these relations are interesting and important, and it is necessary to his highest usefulness that he should combine in himself

the peculiar qualifications that appropriately belong to these two departments of ministerial labor. His collegiate and theological education affects chiefly the discipline of the intellect, establishes his religious opinions, and prepares him for the duties of the pulpit. For the acquisition of other equally necessary ministerial qualifications, he is too often left to the guidance of his own good sense, his intercourse with other ministers, and the teachings of his own not unfrequently painful experience. Young clergymen, in assuming the charge of a parish, have much to learn respecting the practical duties of the ministry, and much of their knowledge must be derived from experience rather than from books and teachers; but the experience of practical men, embodied as it is in the work of which we are now speaking, may aid them essentially in fitting themselves for the various duties that belong peculiarly to the pastoral relation. This is the object of the "Young Pastor's Guide;" and when we consider how many clergymen are good preachers, but very imperfect pastors, we do not hesitate to say that the writer will have done a valuable service to the Christian church, if his work shall become a part of every young clergyman's library.

In point of *scope*, the work is sufficiently extensive, and not too much so. The subjects are embraced within twenty-seven lectures, and include every thing, or nearly every thing, concerning which the young pastor needs advice in the incipency of his ministerial labors. He will find in it something applicable to almost every variety of circumstances, and will do well to consult it in all cases of doubt and perplexity.

In the treatment of the various topics, the author is for the most part very judicious, avoiding abstruse and unnecessary discussion of disputed points, and expressing

or withholding his private opinions with a strict regard to the nature and design of the work. From a few of his opinions we might dissent, but not on any topic of fundamental importance. We should not agree with him, for instance, in the opinion that it is a pastor's duty to become a member of the church with which he is connected as a minister. Not that it would be wrong in him to do so, if he or his church desire it; but it is not incumbent upon him as a duty to stand to the church in a twofold relation, as member by the usual forms of admission to membership, and as pastor by election and regular installation according to the usage of the Congregational churches. We are not aware of any special advantages in such a relation, nor of any practical disadvantages in the absence of it. We think that the ends of discipline do not require it, the case of the clergyman mentioned by Dr. Pond to the contrary notwithstanding. In the absence of any specific direction in Scripture on this subject, propriety may be regarded as a sufficient rule of conduct. We do not however object to it, if any minister chooses, either from his own desire or that of his church, to connect himself with his church in the ordinary forms of admission to membership.

The lectures that are devoted to revivals of religion are full of sound views and of good advice. They may be read with advantage by the experienced as well as the inexperienced pastor. There are no circumstances in which a Christian minister needs more wisdom, a deeper knowledge of human nature, of the workings of the human mind in all its varied states, and of the means by which the Spirit of God operates upon it, than amid the exciting scenes of a religious awakening. At such times especially the responsibilities of pastors are overwhelming. In connection with this,

the question of employing evangelists, or as they are more properly called, *revivalists by profession*, is discussed at length. The effects of their labors both upon the churches and upon the evangelists themselves, are, as we think, well and truly portrayed, and the conclusion arrived at, that modern evangelism is without *warrant from Scripture*, and is a *dangerous influence* in the churches.

In conclusion we will say that the "Young Pastor's Guide" (and it is the highest recommendation that such a book can have) is distinguished by good plain common sense, and will be useful to all, but especially to our young ministers.

The Literary Remains of the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., second President of Brown University, R. I.; late President of Union College, N. Y.; and of the South Carolina College, S. C., with a Memoir of his life. By ROMEO ELTON, D. D., late Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, in Brown University. New York: published by A. V. Blake, 1844. pp. 452, 8vo.

THIS neatly printed volume contains more than its title indicates. It actually embraces memoirs, with all the published works, of the three first presidents of Brown University or Rhode Island College; namely, President James Manning, D. D., President Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., and President Asa Messer, D. D., LL. D. Yet the title is not inappropriate, since more than nine tenths of the volume are devoted to President Maxcy.

President Manning, we are told, was born in 1738 at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, educated at Princeton College, became pastor of the Baptist church in Warren, Rhode Island, in 1763, was a prime mover in

the establishment of Rhode Island College, and its president from 1765 till his death in 1791. He is represented as being a thorough scholar, a good preacher and a man of great influence in the circle in which he moved. But he so seldom committed his thoughts to writing, that Prof. Elton, after diligent inquiry for several years, could obtain only two of his familiar letters, and a valedictory address to the graduating class of 1789. The last of these is now first published from the original manuscript.

President Maxcy was born at Attleborough, Mass. in the year 1768, entered Brown University at the age of fifteen, graduated with the highest honors of his class in 1787, and was at once elected tutor in the college. In 1791 he resigned his tutorship, and being ordained pastor of the first Baptist church in Providence, was elected professor of divinity in the college, and the next year, when only twenty-four years old, was raised to the presidency. Ten years after he succeeded the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D. as president of Union College at Schenectady, and in 1804 was installed the first president of Columbia College, S. C., in which office he remained till his death in 1820. This very active, precocious and popular man has left us fifteen written sermons, five valedictory addresses to graduating classes, three orations on public occasions, and one lecture introductory to his course on rhetoric and criticism; all of which are here collected and handsomely edited by Prof. Elton.

President Messer was born at Methuen, Mass. in 1769, graduated at Rhode Island College in 1790, was chosen tutor in the following year, made professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in 1799, and raised to the presidency in 1802. After filling the presidential chair twenty-four years he retired to private life, and died in 1836.

Less brilliant and versatile than Maxcy, he was probably more distinguished for vigor of intellect and metaphysical acumen. Dr. Elton obtained a manuscript volume of his addresses to graduating classes; and four of these addresses inserted in the present volume, are supposed to be the only productions of his pen which have ever been published.

By collecting and editing the few literary remains of these worthy men, together with memoirs of their lives, Prof. Elton has done good service to his country. For, although their writings were only occasional effusions and of no very uncommon merit, yet the men will be long remembered and venerated, not only by the alumni of the college over which they presided, and by the Baptist denomination of which they were honored members, but by all the friends of sound learning in our country. They were the enlightened and liberal minded men who planted and raised up a respectable college in a state in which public education had received little patronage, and among a denomination whose very clergy once held learning in low estimation, thereby elevating the standard of education in that state, and infusing respect for learning into the mass of that large denomination, and furnishing it with many well educated ministers. For these their great merits, it was fitting that their names should be handed down to posterity, and their literary remains be gathered up and preserved as memorials of their genius and specimens of their talents.

Expository Notes, with Practical Observations, on the New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; wherein the sacred text is at large recited, the sense explained, and the instructive example of the blessed Jesus and his holy Apostles, to our imitation recommended. The whole

designed to encourage the reading of the Scriptures in private families, and to render the daily perusal of them profitable and delightful. By WILLIAM BURKITT, M. A., late vicar and lecturer at Dedham in Essex. Philadelphia; Sorin and Ball. 2 vols., large 8vo, pp. 725 and 847. Sold by Tappan and Dennet, Boston.

THE author of this pious and popular work, was born in 1650, educated at Cambridge, settled, first as curate, and then as rector, at Mil-den in Suffolk for twenty-one years, afterwards removed to the vicarage of Dedham in Essex in 1692, where he died in 1703, having been "much esteemed as a plain, practical, affectionate preacher." He is chiefly known by the above mentioned work; which has passed through many editions, and has ever been highly esteemed by the devout readers of the Bible, as a plain and evangelical exposition of the New Testament. It was intended for private use, in the closet and the family circle, and makes no pretensions to profound philological or critical learning. The humble Christian, who wishes to understand the Gospel, and to make it the guide of his life, and the foundation of his hopes for eternity, will find this book one of his best closet companions.

Coleridge, and the moral tendency of his writings. By ——. New York: Leavitt, Trow & Co.

WE commend this "digest of an indigestible philosopher," as a friend of ours calls it, to the considerate attention of all who have been accustomed to think that the poet Coleridge was also a profound philosopher and an evangelical theologian. We may find time before long to do more justice to this timely pamphlet and to the subject of it, than can be done in one of these brief notices.

WRITERS.

The following is a very imperfect list of the writers on whom we depend to enrich the pages of the *New Englander*. Many persons on whose assistance we have good reason to rely, we have been unable to consult.

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The unexpected length of two articles has compelled us to enlarge this number. We shall, however, add *only eight pages* to the size of the volume.

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